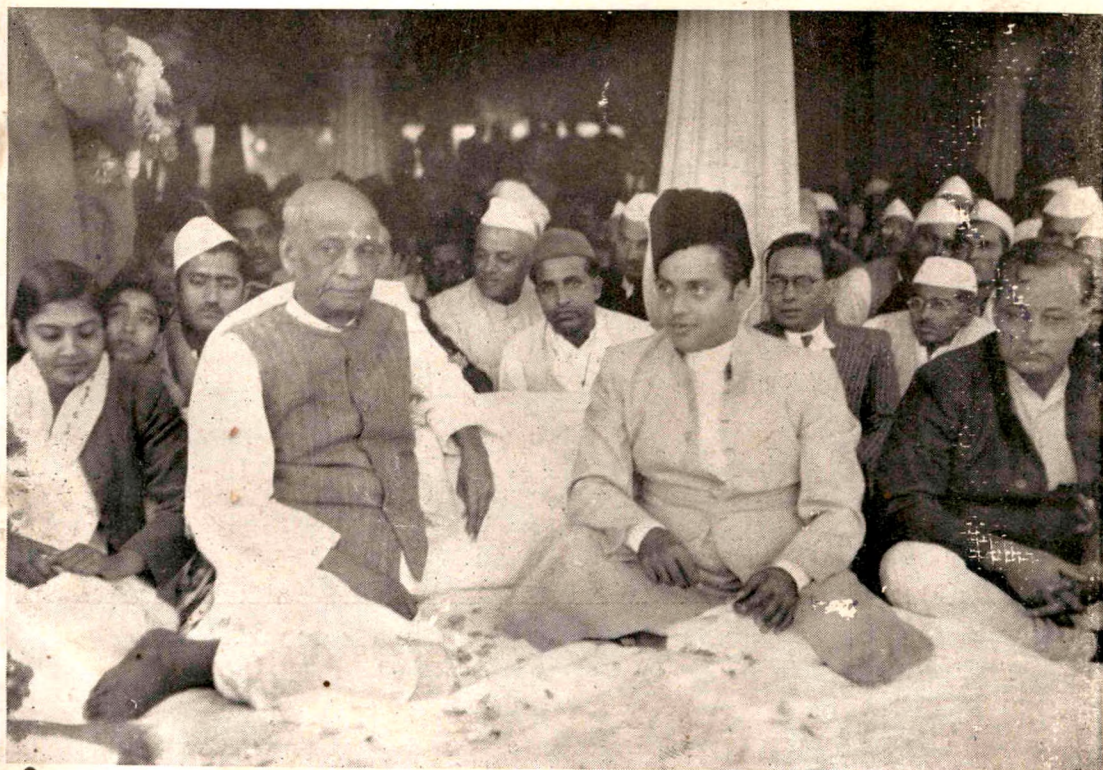
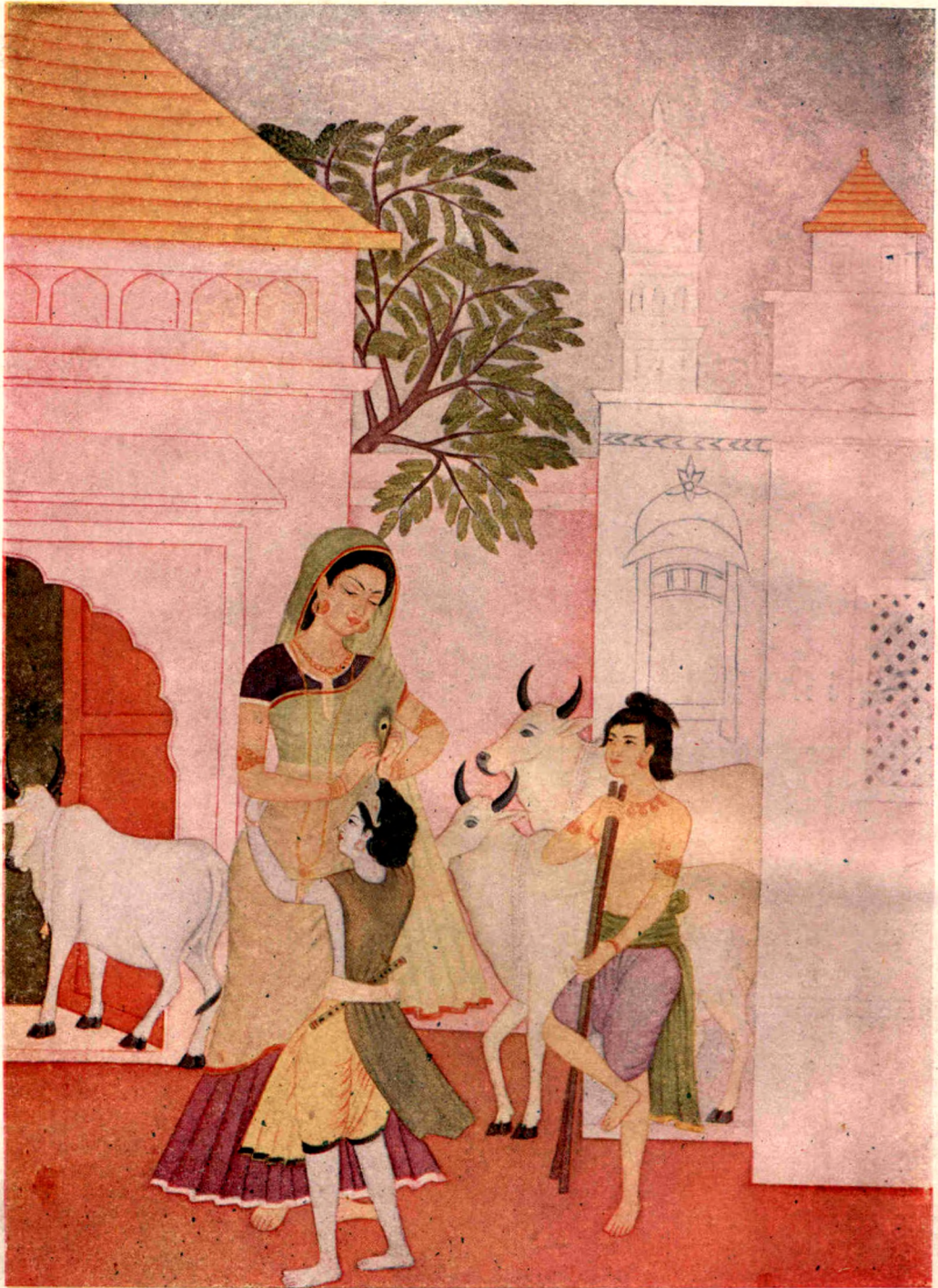




Governor-General C. Rajagopalachari, Prime Minister Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Deputy Prime Minister Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, and Ministers Dr. John Mathai, Dr. Shyama-prasad Mookerjee, N. V. Gadgil, Jagjivan Ram and others. His Excellency Sri Rajagopalachari swearing in Dr. B. V. Keskar as Deputy Minister



The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, with His Highness the Maharaja of Gwalior at a public meeting held recently in Gwalior



KRISHNA-BALARAM AND MOTHER YASHODA

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NOTES

The New Year

The old year is going out at the time of our writing these notes. As yet the New Year does not mean much to us. The same high prices, the same corruption, the same trouble and discontent in labour continue. The Kashmir problem remains unsolved, and Pakistan continues with its war of attrition and at of nerves. The latest move being to try and enlist scenarios from the exiled Poles and Czecho-Slovaks. There are signs of awakening in the people to the causes of the evils that infest us. And in that we see all the hope that there is for the New Year.

We have just had the biggest session of the Congress ever held, and the first after the attainment of freedom. Let us hope in future sessions there will not be such a wasteful spending of money to so little purpose. The one outstanding event was the passage at arms between the High Command and its rank and file over the "standards of public conduct" resolution. Pandit Nehru was perfectly right in asking for a reopening of the matter and what followed might have been found wanting in methodology but not in principle. All the same Pandit Nehru would do well to remember the occasion and to devote a little thought about the basic causes that led to it.

We hope the New Year will bring some relief to us all, and notably to those who have to bear the brunt of the effects of other people's avarice and malice, political and economic.

Congress President's Address

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has established for himself position as a wide-awake public man, as a powerful controversialist, as a publicist of wide interests. We looked forward to his address as Presi-

dent of the 55th Session of the Indian National Congress with a certain amount of eager curiosity. And though the characteristic qualities are there, the address lacked a central theme round which would revolve his ideas of reform and reconstruction so long denied opportunity for flowering into shape and form in the body-politic of India. This absence is responsible for the rather rambling note of doubt and hesitation that disappoints the reader. The medical man, who turned in his youth his back on the healing art with a view to devote his superb powers to public affairs, to service of a country subject to an alien State, must have lost his skill so that he failed to diagnose and prescribe for the ills from which his people suffered. An interpreter of Gandhism, possessing an inexhaustible mastery over words, an organiser of constructive activities inspired by Gandhiji, he was expected to give a lead to fellow-travellers towards the better life incarnated in the Master—self-reliant but unaggressive, rooted in honest labour but disdaining to exploit the labour of others. This ideal reached by a man who lived amongst us has been the inspiration of India's fight for the renewal of national dignity in the comity of modern nations.

Dr. Pattabhi has shared the heat and dust of this struggle against alien usurpation, and it was hoped that his address as President of the first session of the Congress in an India freed from that domination would ring the call that would send millions to the battle for social and economic *Swaraj*. Instead we have a laboured disquisition on things as they are and as they ought to be. The reason is difficult to locate. But we will hazard a guess. Dr. Pattabhi has called on us to recognize that the era in which he is required to guide the Congress is not one of "martyrs," but of "heroes and statesmen," of poets and philosophers. We

cannot say that we detect in his address the characteristic marks and notes of the poet and the philosopher, though that of the statesman can be found if we bring him down to the rank of a politician concerned with clever manipulation of day-to-day affairs lacking the wide vision that wisdom brings, where the pointers of knowledge are halting. The source of the handicap can be further traced if we recognize that Dr. Pattabhi was not a revolutionary in the sense of the Master whom he has sought to interpret with such loyalty. Perhaps this change was inevitable; the leadership of the Congress which he shares today has lost the inspiration of the more spacious days when Gandhiji was there to warn and to guide.

We have to accept the decree of this evolution. The hesitancy of the times has been reflected in Dr. Pattabhi's address, and it has been brought out so prominently in that part of it wherein he used similes and metaphors to explain the true relation that should subsist between the Congress and the Government. The number of these similes and metaphors shows that the speaker has had an uneasy feeling, an uncertain mind with regard to this relationship. "Mother-in-law" (Congress), "daughter-in-law" (Government); the former is benevolent and elderly; the latter is tactful while "ultimately carrying out her own will." There are other analogies which physiology and mechanics supply. And in the abundance of these we are almost lost. The same characteristic came out in his handling of the Linguistic Provinces problem of which he has been a protagonist for about 40 years, almost the whole period of his public life. In face of the reactionary recommendations of the Dar Commission, appointed by the Constituent Assembly's President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, Dr. Pattabhi has been content with merely recording the fact of this appointment, with his concern for the "South"; he is of opinion that "the north of India is fortunately administered, roughly speaking, even now, through such homogeneous provinces, but not the South." Evidently, the crusading period of the Linguistic provinces yearning has gone; and Dr. Pattabhi is weighed down with the "stern sense of the practical and a due balancing of the immediate and the remote." This is beautifully vague language; and when the crusader dons the toga of the legislator, we cannot expect more from him.

We leave the President of this year's Congress with finding the key-note of his address which has been struck as follows:

But, then, the thought occurs—where lies all, balance—we are all familiar with the two opposite views on the question. "It is true on the one hand that there is a period of youthful enthusiasm when we imagined that society could proceed without the spur of self-interest. The world of facts on the other has proved to us that an enlightened but staunch self-interest is and must ever remain the mainspring of human endeavour. The explosive reformer refused to profit by his experience. He

is too proud in his concept to learn from life. F. idly fancies that by enlisting all men as servants of an octopus State, he can solve the problem which have baffled political philosophers like Plato and Aristotle. He is deluded enough to believe that in the abolition of prizes which stimulate ambition lies the cure for all social evils."

And this before a year has lapsed since the passing of the Father of the Nation!

"Standard of Public Conduct"

The resolution on this subject has been one of the most remarkable incidents of this session of Congress. Its repercussion on the public and the world outside has yet to be seen. After the President's verdict that "the Government has incurred the displeasure of the public and courted a certain measure of unpopularity because corruption has been so well-established that it excites no regret anywhere except in the sufferer," the resolution was a piece of ineffectual repentance. And to enable our readers to judge the validity of this criticism, we make extensive use of the resolution. After paying homage to the moral uplift worked by Gandhiji, the resolution proceeded:

"Unfortunately, contact with power has affected many Congressmen and there is a tendency to use this power and position for self-interest. The spirit of disinterested service and of constructive work for the public cause gradually ceases to be the motive power which moves large number of people. It is essential, from the point of view of the individual as well as of the nation, that this tendency should be arrested and every Congressman and Congresswoman has a duty and obligation to work to this end.

"The success of the Central and Provincial Governments, controlled by the Congress, depends to a large extent on full co-operation between the Government and the Congress organisation. This co-operation should be evolved in each province subject to broad principles being laid down in regard to it by the Working Committee of the Congress or the Central Parliamentary Board. It is not possible or desirable for individual Congressmen to interfere in Government's activities. Complaints of Governmental activity or abuse of authority should be dealt with by the Provincial Congress Committees alone, who should approach Government for redress. In particular, Congressmen must always beware of getting any special facilities, financial or otherwise, for themselves or for their friends and relatives.

"All Congressmen, and more specially members of the Central and Provincial Legislatures, must set an example in all such matters and maintain a high standard of conduct."

The condemnation of members of the Congress by the "High Command" of the organization gave rise to an angry discussion in the Subjects Committee. Mr. Biswanath Das, ex-Premier of Orissa and President of the Orissa Provincial Congress Committee, wanted to throw oil on the troubled waters by pointing out that "it was unfair to tar everybody in this sweeping manner," that by passing a "vague resolution" it would be putting "a weapon in the hands of those who are

ready maligning the Congress"; the recommendation about Provincial Congress Committees dealing with "complaints of Government activity and abuse of authority" would be "setting at loggerheads" the Provincial Governments and Provincial Congress Committees. But Mr. Sankar Rao Deo who sponsored the resolution on behalf of the Working Committee could not pay heed to reason.

He admitted that the resolution did constitute a bitter pill and it was difficult to gulp it. But it had to be done. Its very existence depended on accepting the standards of morality indicated in the resolution and observing the do's and don'ts laid down by it. Like the draught of poison which the great God Shiva drank and transmuted it into nectar, the Congress would have to quaff this out. Otherwise the nectar which they wanted could not be earned.

It was natural for members of the Subjects Committee to resent this implied censure on the general body of their fellow-workers. Mr. Mahesh Misra, a member from Pandit Jawaharlal's home province, leapt to fame by specifically mentioning members of the Central and Provincial Cabinets as the persons who should more specially "set an example in all such matters and maintain a high standard of conduct"; he contended that if it came to a question of accepting blame, every one, high and low, should be measured by the same yard-stick. The news-report of what followed then continues thus:

The back benchers scored their first victory and the less leadership sustained its only defeat in the final meeting of the Subjects Committee held here this morning. It was writ large on the faces of the members of the Working Committee when Sri Mahesh Dutta Misra's amendment to the official resolution moved by S. J. Shankar Rao Deo, entitled "Standards of Public Conduct," was passed by 107 votes to 52.

The resolution *inter alia* states that the tendency to use power and position for self-interest, noticeable among many Congressmen, should be arrested from the point of view of the individual as well as of the nation.

In its original form the clause, which was amended, directed that all Congressmen and more especially the members of Central and Provincial Legislatures should set an example and maintain a high standard of conduct in public life and affairs. By the amendment Congressmen and members of Legislatures and "more specially members of the Cabinet" were directed to set such an example.

After S. J. Deo's speech, the resolution was put to vote and passed with four amendments accepted by the mover.

S. J. Shankar Rao Deo then moved the resolution on the "Standards of Public Conduct," which was seconded by Acharya Jugal Kishore.

S. J. Shankar Rao Deo said that this resolution raised the question of the very existence of the Congress. If the moral conduct of the organisation was not improved, the Congress would lose all its strength and cease to exist.

"The resolution before us," said he, "is like a cup

of poison. It is difficult to swallow but we shall have to do it in the interest of our own existence. Even our God had once to swallow poison and save the world."

"Power corrupts," he said, "is a well-known maxim and we cannot deny that as soon as we came into contact with power it corrupted us as well. The Congress can no longer claim that they are still in that high pedestal of moral conduct."

This resolution, he continued, was a warning to all including the tallest among the Congress leaders, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. Every word stated in the resolution was true, he added, and was weighed before it was drafted.

S. J. Shankar Rao Deo referred to the complaints that this resolution about the moral conduct of Congressmen should not have been brought before this open session, as it would give an easy handle to enemies of the Congress. "As followers of Mahatma Gandhi," he said, "we have learnt to admit our defects in public and make no secret about it. Admit your mistakes and try to reform yourselves, was the teaching of our Master. This alone can strengthen the organisation. This alone can win the confidence of the people."

Commending the resolution to the acceptance of the House, S. J. Deo said that no purpose would be served by merely passing the resolution unless it was implemented in practical life. Those who wanted to save the Congress from the rut, he added, must go back determined to implement this resolution by improving their day-to-day conduct.

After this, the resolution was adopted with one non-official amendment of S. J. Mahesh Dutta Mishra which was pressed to vote and carried.

The fat was thus put in the fire. It appears that Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel were absent when this angry discussion took place, it appears that both of them took the vote in the Subjects Committee as a form of "censure" on themselves. The President, evidently influenced by them, "recalled" the amendment passed the day before, and asked the Committee to give their "final verdict" on the issue. There were loud protests against this procedure as without "a precedent." This plea was wrong. For, there was a "precedent" of Gandhiji having a resolution rescinded on "United front of non-Europeans" against the racial policy of the South African Government. It happened at Bombay sometime in June, 1939, the resolution drafted by Gandhiji spoke of unity amongst Indians in South Africa; an amendment was moved suggesting co-operation with "the inhabitants of South Africa" in opposing the segregation policies which are directed against all non-European races." The mover of the original resolution, Pandit Jawaharlal, had accepted this amendment. We recall this episode to correct a wrong impression. But this is by the way.

What followed on the morning of the 19th December was not at all edifying.

Pandit Nehru briefly explained that the amendment had put the Cabinet in an embarrassing

position. A section of the House expressed strong objection to any reconsideration.

Pandit Nehru, opening the question, told the Subjects Committee with unequivocal emphasis that he and his colleagues in the Central Government regarded this matter as an issue of confidence and he wanted to know definitely where he and his colleagues stood. He pointed out that most of the other resolutions adopted by the Subjects Committee were an endorsement of the Government's policies.

Pandit Nehru demanded "a clear guidance" from the House and insisted that they could not speak in two voices. He was clear that if the House retained the amendment even after reconsideration he would regard it as a vote of no-confidence and such a decision by the House would be followed by "certain consequences" clearly hinting at resignation.

Several members asked with a great deal of heat whether there was any precedent for such a procedure.

No reply to this query was immediately forthcoming and after some confused exchanges, the President put the motion to the House for reconsideration. The result of the voting was 116 for and 75 against. Many members were not satisfied. They declared that the procedure being adopted was most unusual and objectionable.

That brought Pandit Nehru once again to the microphone. He declared that if the House wanted to censure or condemn the Cabinet, it had the right to do so. But what it had done yesterday was to censure the Cabinet as a side issue. If the intention was to censure the Cabinet then let it be expressed in a definite and positive motion and it should be passed after due consideration.

That was his main point, but he spoke with vehemence that expressed itself in jerky, broken, and provocative sentences. He asked the House to consider the matter calmly, but he was perhaps the angriest man in the House. Members of the Cabinet, he said, had been frank and terse and that a lot of nonsense has been talked about them.

A large number of members jumped up at this and with excited ejaculation demanded the withdrawal of the word 'nonsense.'

Pandit Nehru by now had comparatively sobered down, but he declined to withdraw the word. He had used it, he said, in a context in which no member could take legitimate objection. He pointed out that when the main resolution mentioned the members of the legislature it had applied to a large number of people, but when the amendment singled out members of the Cabinet it was definitely an expression of censure on the Cabinet. The Cabinet had immensely difficult problems to deal with and it must know whether it had a full confidence of the Congress.

The U. P. I. report gives details as follows: Pandit Nehru gave a threat to resign, if the amendment of Mr. Misra was not withdrawn, for he held that if the House had no confidence in his Government, they could bring in a censure resolution in a 'precise and definite form' 'instead of doing' it in an indirect way.

Much heat was noticeable at to-day's meeting. Pandit Nehru himself spoke twice on the subject. He was followed by Sardar Patel and Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant.

Pandit Nehru said that it was a matter of serious importance. Unfortunately, neither he nor Sardar Patel were present when this particular resolution was placed before the Subjects Committee yesterday and an amendment was accepted by the House. It would be normal for him or for any one to ask the House to reconsider the matter which had once been disposed of. But he was not sure if all aspects of it were placed before the House yesterday. If they are not, it was right that the House should consider those aspects of the matter, otherwise the consequence of the resolution would not be clear.

He then read out the operative clause of the resolution as amended yesterday and said it was obviously the duty of the members of the Cabinet or members of the Working Committee to set an example and maintain a high standard of conduct. The Draft Resolution referred to a large body of Congressmen which, unfortunately, included every type of men, good or bad.

Being sought to be confined to a small group, it was tantamount to censure of that group. If they said that all members of the Provincial and Central Legislature must set an example of high standard of conduct, it was a large body of men, but when they talked of the Cabinets, it meant that "a particular Cabinet is not worthy of your confidence and you want to pull it up and censure it."

Pandit Nehru did not think that the House meant a censure, but this was the real aspect of the matter. So far as the general policy was concerned, the House had accepted it. Now it was a matter for them to know, added Panditji, whether it was approved on personal ground of the conduct of those who were in the Cabinets. It was the members of the Congress who had formed the Cabinets in the Centre and Provinces.

He knew there were some who had certainly been against the Cabinet Ministers. But this was not the way in which they should vindicate their grievances. If it was done in this way, it would not do good to the Congress or the working of the Government. This was certainly not a responsible approach to the programme which could be and should be approached in a different way if the House chose. He, therefore, requested the House to reopen the matter.

The Prime Minister said, that if the House agreed to reopen the discussions on the resolution, he would suggest to the House not to accept the amendment of Mr. Mishra.

Mr. Alguri Shastri said that it was such a matter that it should not have been discussed at all. He wanted the entire resolution to be withdrawn, as its discussion was likely to give handle to unfriendly non-Congress group.

The President put the question to vote and the motion of Pandit Nehru to reopen the matter was accepted by 116 votes against 79.

Some members protested against the procedure characterising it as "undemocratic" and wanted to know if there was precedent for such a procedure.

Pandit Nehru replying to these members said that

was just because of such temper that the question had been reopened. He wanted to know if they should behave in this manner in the House or in the Government. "We are completely at your disposal to work. But cannot work if you say we are not decent and if we are abused and treated. I do not care for it (Ministry)."

Continuing the Prime Minister said, "I have come before you to reopen the matter. I want to know, because I cannot carry on if I do not know if I and my colleagues have your support. I want a clear verdict of the House."

The resolution, he said, applied to all Congressmen including the Cabinet Ministers. He did not know why a small group should be singled out. When it was done, it amounted to condemnation of those persons. The amendment, if accepted, would have its consequences. The House could decide what it chose. Whether I was to be accepted or not it was for the House to decide. But they could not have both ways. If they wanted to condemn the Ministers, they could bring in a separate resolution instead of doing it in such an indirect way.

(A member was heard to say: I did not say that it was your intention.) But the acceptance of the resolution will boil down to it. If you want us to carry the work, we must have a clear guidance. We cannot move on two ways.

Pandit Nehru moving his amendment sought to delete the words "members of Central and Provincial Legislature, more especially members of the Central Cabinet." Reiterating his arguments he said, "When you single out a small group it means naturally that you are censuring that small group. If it applied to us all, it will not mean censure. Members of the legislature are very large in number and a large body can be asked to do something, without censuring them.

"There are members who dislike the Provincial and Central Ministers. Let them do it precisely and definitely. What I object to is not censuring which is a side-issue in this resolution. To be fair to the Government, you have to decide the matter precisely. It is censuring of ourselves for not living up to the standard. Indirect method is unfair to the House and to the persons concerned."

But Sardar Patel intervening in the debate asked the members not to do anything in an excited frame of mind. It was a matter which should be decided calmly. Yesterday the Chairman of the Reception Committee took both him and Pandit Nehru to the exhibition and in their absence the amendment was accepted. Of course, they could decide whatever they liked. This was not a question of prestige with them. But if they were to face the problems before the country, they must pull together and they must decide everything coolly and calmly.

He felt sorry when he heard that the words "more especially members of the Central Cabinet" had been done in retaliation. If they thought that the resolution had been brought in order to cast aspersions on them, they could remove them. But they could not say that because reference had been made about others in the resolution, members of the Central Cabinet also should be included in the terms of the resolution.

If they did not want the Cabinet Ministers, he said, he and his colleagues would resign. If the amendment was accepted, the world would think that the Central Government were not working up to the ideals or standard of the Congress or of public morality. He asked them to realise the implications of the amendment. When the Prime Minister had asked for their confidence, added Sardar Patel, they should express their confidence in them. If there were any other matter, they could discuss with him personally. If the hands of the Prime Minister was not strengthened, the Cabinet would become weak, concluded Sardar Patel.

Pandit Pant called upon the House to accept the amendment moved by Pandit Nehru and thus remove the misunderstanding created by acceptance of amendment at yesterday's Subjects Committee meeting.

Mr. Mahesh Dutt Misra, whose amendment on the Standard of Public Conduct was accepted by the Subjects Committee yesterday, wanted to express his opinion on the reconsideration of the resolution after the speech of Pandit Govind Vallabh Pant, but Mr. S. K. Patil moved the closure motion.

On the insistence by Mr. Mahesh Dutt Misra that he should be allowed to voice his reactions, the President said that there was a certain amount of unanimity that the proposition as moved by Pandit Nehru should be taken up immediately. Though there were some dissident voices they could not be allowed as the closure motion had already been put.

Mr. Misra supported by Mr. Harvan claimed his right to speak as it was the acceptance of his amendment which necessitated this special meeting of the Subjects Committee.

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya ignored his requests and put Pandit Nehru's amendment to vote which was passed with an overwhelming majority.

After this, the Subjects Committee concluded its session.

Thus was laid low a tempest in a tea-pot; the world has been no better or wiser for it either way.

Linguistic Provinces Commission

When this Commission was appointed by Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly, we felt forced to criticise him for the limited reference that he had prescribed for it. We have reasons to believe that the Minister of Law in the Central Government of the Indian Union questioned the competence of this appointment. Since then we have had other occasions to criticise him in this respect; public men and publicists of South India have never felt happy with this Commission, manned as it was by two ex-officials of the United Provinces—Mr. Dar, ex-Judge of the Allahabad High Court and Dr. Pannalal, an Adviser to a Section 93 Administration of the Province—and by a public man from Bihar, Mr. Jagatnarayan Lal. The three gentlemen have produced a report which has inflamed the public mind of South India as never before. And we can prophesy that this report will receive consideration at

the hands of very few of the people for whose edification and consolation it has been written. The appointment by the Jaipur Congress of a three-men Committee consisting of two of the topmost men in the Central Government and of the head of the Congress for the coming year shows that the report has already been reserved for the waste-paper basket.

The point has been raised that the three-men Commission went beyond their terms of reference. It may be quite true when we remember that the members developed such an aggressiveness of approach that they could brush aside the deepest feelings and ideals of about 10 crores (100 millions) of Deccani people. The two bureaucrats and the Bihari politician were hardly the persons who could get inside their skin. Entrenched in their position as representatives of a single language—Hindi—and bent on crushing other languages and scripts in their own midst, the Dar Commission's members could play the cavalier in their treatment of the Dravidian languages. They talked high of building up a "nation" in India forgetful or ignorant of the lessons of their country's history. We do not know if they were competent by their knowledge to discuss these, and whether they devoted any part of their report to the elucidation of the problem raised by these. But we know that there is hardly anybody in India who is more competent by knowledge and intuition to throw light on these than Sri Aurobindo. In course of a message sent to the Andhra University's special convocation he discussed this problem both from the practical and ideologic points of view. We reproduce extracts from it relevant to the question.

In taking over the administration from Britain we had inevitably to follow the line of least resistance and proceed on the basis of the artificial British-made provinces, at least for the time; this provisional arrangement now threatens to become permanent, at least in the main and some see an advantage in this permanence. For they think it will help the unification of the country and save us from the necessity of preserving regional sub-nations which in the past kept a country from an entire and thoroughgoing unification and uniformity. In a rigorous unification they see the only true union, a single nation with a standardised and uniform administration, language, literature, culture, art, education,—all carried on through the agency of one national tongue.

How far such a conception can be carried out in the future one cannot forecast, but at present it is obviously impracticable, and it is doubtful if it is for India truly desirable. The ancient diversities of the country carried in them great advantages as well as drawbacks. By these differences the country was made the home of many living and pulsating centres of life, art, culture, a richly and brilliantly coloured diversity in unity. There is no possibility any longer that this diversity will endanger or diminish the unity of India. Those vast spaces which kept her people from closeness and a full inter-play have been abolished in their separating effect by the march of Science and the swiftness of the means of communication. The idea of federation

and a complete machinery for its perfect working have been discovered and will be at full work. Above all, the spirit of patriotic unity has been too firmly established in the people to be easily effaced or diminished, and it would be more endangered by refusing to allow the natural play of life of the sub-nations than by satisfying their legitimate aspirations. The Congress itself in the days before liberation came had pledged itself to the formation of linguistic provinces, and to follow it out, if not immediately, yet as early as may conveniently be or might well be considered the wisest course. India's national life will then be founded on her natural strength and the principle of unity in diversity, which has always been normal to her and its fulfilment, the fundamental course of her being and its very nature, the Many in the One, would place her on the sure foundation of her *Swabhava* and *Swadharma*.

This development might well be regarded as the inevitable trend of her future. For the Dravidian regional peoples are demanding their separate right to a self-governing existence; Maharashtra expects a similar concession and this would mean a similar development in Gujarat and then the British-made Presidencies of Madras and Bombay would have disappeared. The old Bengal Presidency had already been split up and Orissa, Bihar and Assam are now self-governing regional peoples. A merger of the Hindi-speaking part of the Central Provinces and the U. P. would complete the process. An annulment of the partition of India might modify but would not materially alter this result of the general tendency. A union of States and regional peoples would again be the form of a united India.

Believing in this ageless truth of India's history, we are not prepared to yield ground to those upholders of a new-nationalism who would ride roughshod over the diversities in India that add beauty and value to Indian life. We have seen a tendency to make much of the financial deficits that would accompany and follow the setting up of Linguistic Provinces in South India. A New Delhi story gives us the implications of this apprehended loss. Barring Gujarat, which will have a small surplus, all linguistic provinces, it has been worked out, will be insolvent. This is one solid reason which weighed with Linguistic Provinces Commission in rejecting the demand for linguistic provinces.

Andhra will have a deficit of Rs. 6.5 crores, Kerala Rs. 1.1 crores, Karnataka Rs. 2.3 crores, Maharashtra Rs. 3.74 crores, if the city of Bombay is not excluded, Tamilnad Rs. 5.79 crores and Mahakosal Rs. 26 lakhs. Gujarat's surplus is estimated to be Rs. 35 lakhs.

These assessments of the financial position of the seven proposed provinces are based on three years' average of revenue and expenditure.

The margin of reserve in most of the existing provinces is so small that for many years to come, it was feared, the new provinces could only function as mere police States. As matters stand, admits the Commission, the provinces are carrying on their administration "on a bare margin of safety."

Again, seen from the financial angle, setting up of seven provinces in place of the existing three, will require an additional recurring expenditure of Rs. 6 crores at a time when money is wanted for defence and nation-building.

With the exception of Maharashtra the new Governments will have to build new capitals. This will involve an estimated expenditure of Rs. 50 crores. Such a building programme, it is stated, would clash with the building and housing programme of the Government of India primarily meant for refugees.

We are not quite sure about this apprehended loss. The people who feel strongly on the necessity of linguistic division of India, on its wisdom as a necessary step in India's next evolution—and there are millions of them—have the intelligence to get over this particular difficulty. So, we leave the matter for this month with only one remark that the reference to this question in the Presidential address was remarkably clear about the South of India, where the President hails from and ambiguous in the extreme, where the North was concerned. Perhaps the intention was to influence the Commission.

India's Relation with the "British" Commonwealth

We publish below an "Appeal from Indians in America" addressed to the Constituent Assembly sitting at New Delhi engaged in drawing up a constitution for the Union of India. The signatories are men of that group that left their mother country in their youth to fight for her "freedom and democracy" from outside her boundaries. Many of them have left the vale of tears, unwept and unsung. Of those who have been spared to us to share the exultation of a Free India, only a few of them live in the United States. Dr. Tarak Nath Das is the *doyen* amongst them; and his co-signatories are—Ram Lal Bajpai, Monindra Guha, Ram Nath Puri, Govind Behari Lal, Harnam Singh, Mrs. Ram Chandra, S. N. Upadhyaya, V. Kokatnur, Swami Nikhilananda, Prafulla Mukherji, Goda Ram Channan, and Nripendra Lahiri. The appeal which they have addressed to the leaders and rulers of the Indian Union is based on the appreciation of world events. The second paragraph of their appeal makes it clear that they are not basically opposed to relationship with the "Britains Beyond the Seas" and their "Old Country." As it is we publish below its relevant portion:

I. We appeal to the Constituent Assembly to consider the desirability of proclaiming in India a sovereign Federated Republic of the United States of India (like the United States of America) outside of the (British) Commonwealth. We make this suggestion, not because we are hostile to the British people, but because of our firm conviction that a free India outside the (British) Commonwealth, will be more genuinely disposed to maintain cordial relations with the Commonwealth than remaining within it. Absolute independence of India, apart

from the Commonwealth, will remove one of the most persistent psychological factors of friction between India and Britain and the Commonwealth.

It is our hope that to serve her best interests, a free India on its own responsibility and initiative will pursue a policy of supporting the democracies of the world, led by the Anglo-American powers, on vital issues in world affairs, provided these powers do not act against India's vital interests.

II. We recognize the fact that so far Britain and other members of the British Commonwealth have pursued anti-Indian policies in the UN. regarding rights of Indians in South Africa, invasion of Kashmir by Pakistan and the Hyderabad issue; and thus Indian public opinion will be opposed to a policy of India pursuing unconditionally a policy of closest collaboration with the Commonwealth. However, we recognize that if Britain and members of the Commonwealth change their stand in favor of Indian rights and develop a common foreign policy, common defense policy and common economic policy to uphold Indian and Commonwealth interests, it might lead to a defensive alliance between a free Federated Republic of the United States of India and the Commonwealth.

In the light of the words used in this part of the appeal, our readers will be able to take note of the uncertain mind of the rulers and leaders of India as it is reflected in the resolution on "Foreign Policy" passed at the Subjects Committee of the 55th Session of the Congress held at Jaipur as given below:

The National Congress has, even while it was struggling for the freedom of India, associated itself with progressive movements and struggle for freedom in other countries. India's liberation was viewed as a part of the larger freedom of all the countries and people of the world. In particular, the Congress has stood in the past for the ending of all imperialist and colonial exploitation, of any country or people, and has opposed Fascism and all other tendencies which suppress the human spirit.

The achievement of independence brought new responsibilities to India in international affairs, and it became necessary to develop direct and closer contacts with other nations. The Congress welcomes these contacts and trusts that they will lead to mutual understanding and co-operation and the promotion of world peace.

The foreign policy of India must necessarily be based on the principles that have guided the Congress in past years. These principles are the promotion of world peace, the freedom of all nations, racial equality, and the ending of imperialism and colonialism. In particular, the Congress is interested in the freedom of the nations and peoples of Asia and Africa who have suffered under various forms of colonialism for many generations.

With a view to advance the cause of world peace and co-operation, India associated herself with the United Nations. This Congress declares its full adherence to the principles underlying the character of the United Nations.

It should be the constant aim of the foreign policy of India to maintain friendly and co-operative relations with all nations and to avoid entanglement in military or similar alliances which tend to divide up the world in rival groups and thus endanger world peace. Maintaining her freedom of action in foreign affairs and in the economic

development of the country, India should continue to function as a member State of the United Nations, co-operating with other States in the maintenance of peace and freedom.

In view of the attainment of complete independence and the establishment of the Republic of India, which will symbolise that independence and give to India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, her present association with the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth of Nations will necessarily have to change. India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence, and the Congress would welcome her free association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common wealth and the promotion of world peace.

India is specially concerned with her neighbour countries of Asia and the Congress trusts that closer bonds of fellowship and co-operative effort for the maintenance of the freedom of Asian nations and their progress will be developed.

The sixth paragraph of the resolution is concerned with the problem discussed here. It does not explain any reason or reasons why the Indian Union should be related by any specific and specified "links" with the "British" Dominions including Britain. The mover of the resolution, Shri Sankar Rao Deo, Joint General-Secretary of the Congress, and his seconder, Pandit Gobinda Ballav Pant, Premier of the United Provinces, did not make any attempt to enlighten us on this. The Prime Minister of India and its Foreign Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, was as unhelpful; his splanetic outburst to give up "sentimentalism" in the discussion of this matter was an indication of the mood which he had brought to persuade and convince his fellow-delegates. The ex-Premier of Orissa, Shri Biswanath Das, tried to bring the issue to a head by moving an amendment that the words in the sixth paragraph beginning with "and the Congress would welcome her present association with the independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common wealth and promotion of world peace," be deleted. The speech of Pandit Jawaharlal, as it has been reported in the Press, leaves no doubt in the mind that he was not there to reason out the psychological difficulties bred in Britain's 190 years rule of insult and grab, but to brush these aside. He talked of taking "a practical view of things as they exist today" without explaining the why and how of these things. He declared: "We shall not enter into military alliance with any power" without explaining if Britain and her Dominions would find any consolation or profit in such a declaration.

Separation of Executive and Judiciary

Sir Clifford Manmohan Egarwalla, Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, while inaugurating the annual conference of the judicial officers of Bihar at Patna, made some caustic comments against the framers of the Draft of the Indian Constitution as they had not

thought it necessary to insist upon the immediate separation of the judicial and the executive functions.

For decades, Sir Clifford said, those who were struggling for the freedom of India were made painfully aware of the danger to liberty which exists when judicial and executive duties are mingled and yet since they have obtained the power to remedy this deplorable state of affairs they have done nothing effective to remedy the defect, thus illustrating the truth of the saying that power corrupts.

Sir Clifford said that it was proposed to include in the Constitution a provision that this long-felt reform should be effected within three years. The period of limitation, however, has finally been deleted. The explanation given is that some of the States may not be able to introduce the change within a period of three years so that if a period of limitation be prescribed some of the provinces may not consider it necessary to take any action until the end of the prescribed period. As now proposed to be enacted the Constitution contains merely a directive that the State shall take steps to separate the judiciary from the executive in the public services of the State.

In the debate on this clause in the Constituent Assembly, the Prime Minister of India is reported to have stated that the Government of India is entirely in favour of the separation of the judiciary from the executive and that he did not know how any provincial Government could delay the matter.

Referring to Bihar, Sir Clifford said, unfortunately in this province, we know how the matter is being delayed. Nor have I perceived any indication that the matter is at present being actively pursued by the Government of any other province. In this province, Sir Clifford continued, when a Committee was appointed to draw up a modified scheme for separation of the judiciary and the executive there were reasons to hope that in this respect at least Bihar would show the way to the rest of India. The suggestions which the Committee made required no radical alteration in the law. They were of the mildest possible nature and one cannot avoid thinking that if there had ever been any intention of giving effect to the scheme the Committee was appointed to devise, it would have been done long ago. Having paid lip-service to this long-standing public grievance, the Government has, it is now said, shelved the scheme and the opposition in the legislature has done nothing to protest.

Sir Clifford said in his concluding remarks, "What is the reason? Why is it that a step which seemed so eminently desirable before August 15, 1947, has now lost its appeal for those who were formerly such ardent advocates of it? Is there any other answer than the one I have already suggested, namely, that power corrupts? Is it not obvious that having discovered that power over those appointed to administer the criminal law helps to lubricate the creaking machinery of administration, Government is reluctant to part with that power even though the public they claim

to represent demands this long-overdue reform and even though they themselves are fully aware that a necessary step for the administration of the criminal law is to command the confidence of the people for whose protection it exists? I consider that without an absolutely independent judiciary it is idle for the Constitution to contain a list of Fundamental Rights and impossible to keep the springs of justice pure."

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces, who also addressed the Conference, endorsed what the Chief Justice of the Patna High Court, had said. He had put in very clear terms, she said, what she herself had been thinking. On hearing him she had realised the full significance of his observations. Mrs. Naidu also stated that on her return to her own province she would see that her own Government did not act as foolishly as some other Governments had done. She did not like to mention, however, which Governments had acted foolishly.

It is regrettable to find the Congress going back once again upon its commitments. Congress stands committed to the principle of separation of the judiciary and the executive. It is difficult to understand why a demand that was pressed upon the British administration in this country for immediate implementation cannot be implemented within three years from the date the new Constitution came into force, that is, within a period of nearly five years from the achievement of independence. The irresistible conclusion that can be drawn from this sudden departure has been very aptly summarised by Sir Clifford Egarwalla in two pregnant words—power corrupts.

Patel's Warning to Pakistan

The following has been published in the *Statesman*, dated December 22 (Calcutta Edition):

(From Our Special Representative)

New Delhi, Dec. 21.—A speech by Sardar Patel during a meeting of the Congress Subjects Committee has, it appears, due to alleged emphasis in reporting, threatened to become a fresh source of friction between the two Dominions.

The report stated that the Deputy Prime Minister had "warned" Pakistan regarding the consequences that may follow her failure to create conditions in which Hindus could live in peace and security in East Bengal.

Here is the relevant extract from the report of his speech which has been authorized by Sardar Patel and a copy of which has been sent to Pakistan. "The problem of East Bengal is difficult. There are about 15m Hindus there. They are weak and soft. The people of Punjab were different. They were strong, could assert themselves and could fight.

"The people of East Bengal are in a sad plight. Nobody wants to leave his own hearth and home without reason. After all, in India they just have to starve. It is because the conditions in which they live

there are bad that they migrate to India. This was one of the important questions that was recently discussed at the inter-Dominion conference and let us hope that a satisfactory agreement will be reached.

"The issue is undoubtedly serious and its seriousness has been made clear to Pakistan. The Hindus who left East Bengal and are now in India as refugees, must return. India cannot undertake that burden and would be faced with serious problems if they were to remain here and others were to follow.

"The Pakistan Government must create conditions for the peaceful stay of these persons in their own homes. They must protect them from harassment or persecution. They must be assured that their lives will not be in danger in Pakistan.

"I suggested some time ago that if Hindus in very large numbers were made to leave East Bengal on account of unsatisfactory conditions there, the Pakistan Government should provide additional space for their settlement. This suggestion was made as one of the methods for solving this difficult problem, by mutual discussion and agreement. It was not intended as a challenge or as an imposition by force.

"I have no aggressive intentions against Pakistan and believe that the two Dominions must settle this problem amicably by mutual discussions. I always desire peace. If I did not, I could not have spent a lifetime with Gandhiji. I do not hesitate in saying what I feel, whether it displeases Hindus, Muslims or anybody else. I admit that I do so in blunt language, but to learn the proper language I shall have to spend my next birth also with Gandhiji.

"It is possible there may be other methods by which this problem could be solved, but if Pakistan has any alternative solution, she must put it down so that we can discuss it amicably together. Whatever I am saying is not merely in the interests of the refugees, but also for the good of Pakistan. It is for Pakistan now to take concrete steps to solve the problem; otherwise India cannot undertake the burden of these refugees and will be crushed under its weight."

Education in the New Indian Constitution

In the Draft Constitution, education has been directly mentioned in articles 22, 23, 32, 33, 37 and 298. Article 22 deals with rights relating to religion. Article 23 confers on minorities the right to establish educational institutions. The organisation of a national system of public education is provided in articles 32, 36 and 37 in Part IV, which deals with the directive principles of State policy. Of these, Article 36 is the most important so far as public education is concerned and it has been closely scrutinised by an eminent educationist, Shri Anathnath Basu, Head of the Teachers' Training Department, Calcutta University, in a small booklet entitled *Education and the Draft Constitution*.

The Article reads, "Every citizen is entitled to

free primary education and the State shall endeavour to provide, within a period of ten years from the commencement of this Constitution, for free and compulsory education for all children until they complete the age of fourteen years."

The first thing to be noticed is that this article occurs in Part IV, which enunciates the directive principles of State policy and not in Part III, which embodies the Fundamental Rights of every citizen. As a result, the right to education (even primary education up to the age of 14) ceases to be a justifiable right. No citizen will therefore be able to claim it as a matter of fundamental right of citizenship. The word "endeavour" occurring in the Article should also be noted. This word lays the Article open to interpretation that the State shall not be bound to provide for primary education but shall only make an endeavour to do so and that the State cannot be held responsible if it fails to make any such provision. If the time-limit of 10 years be removed from the Article at the time of passing it, as has been done while considering the question of separation of the judiciary and the executive, and the word 'endeavour' be retained the entire Article will be reduced to a mere pious wish with no binding force to execute it.

Primary education is regarded in every progressive country as one of the fundamental rights of the citizen. This should also be regarded as such in this country where universal adult suffrage is going to be introduced right from the first general elections. The following relevant sections from some of the modern constitutions of the world may be illustrative :

U.S.S.R. : "Citizens of the U.S.S.R. have the right to education.

"This right is ensured by universal, compulsory elementary education ; by education including higher education, being free of charge, by the system of State stipends for the overwhelming majority of students in the universities and colleges ; by instruction in school being conducted in the native language ; by the organisation in the factories, State farms, machine and tractor stations and collective farms of free vocational, technical and agronomic training for the working peoples." (Article 121).

Eire : "The State shall provide for free primary education and shall endeavour to supplement and give reasonable aid to private and corporate educational initiative, and, when the public good requires it, provide other educational facilities or institutions with due regard however, for the rights of parents, especially in the matter of religious and moral formation." [Article 42(4)].

Switzerland : "The cantons provide for primary education, which must be adequate, and exclusively under the control of the civil authorities. Primary education is compulsory and, in the public schools, free." [Article 27].

Poland : "Primary education is compulsory on all nationals of the State. The duration, limits and

method of primary education are fixed by law." [Article 118].

In the Karachi Resolution of the Congress on Fundamental Rights it has been definitely laid down that "The State shall provide for free and compulsory education." [Section 1(xi)]. We fully agree with Prof. Basu when he says that primary education at least should be regarded as a fundamental right and the proper place of the right defined in article 36 is in Part III, and not in Part IV. The words 'endeavour to' should also be excluded from this Article.

United Provinces Today

Mr. K. A. Abbas, a noted Bombay journalist, has contributed two syndicated articles which we have read in the Nagpur weekly, *Independent*. These throw light on Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's home province, on the development of a reaction as blind as that of the Muslim League ; the writer calls it "Pakistan in Dhotie." The apex covered by the province—the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh—is associated with Hindu life traced to the times of Ram Chandra and Sri Krishna ; Agra recalls the attempt to build up a synthesis of the two culture-forms—Hindu and Muslim. And during the British regime, the misnamed "Bengal Army," recruited principally from Oudh, started the "Sepoy Mutiny" which was suppressed with crude cruelty ; if the British officers had lived today they would have deserved trials like what took place at Nuremberg and Tokyo. In the revolutionary-terrorist movement, the province could lay claim to Ram Prasad Bismil, Ashfaqullah, Rash Behari Basu, Sachin Sanyal, Chandrasekhar Azad, Pandit Paramanand and Moulana Muftaba Hussain as its heroes. Madan-mohan Malaviya, Motilal Nehru, Ganesh Sankar Vidyarthi, Acharya Narendra Deo, and the present Prime Minister of the Indian Union are names to conjure with in the Congress movement.

With traditions of intrepidity like this, the Muslim League's "two-nations" theory could be regarded only as an outrage on the natural evolution of things. But yet this strange transformation took place, and the crescentadors of the province played a very decisive part in poisoning relations between the Hindu and the Muslim. The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad with an annual rental of Rs. 32 lakhs was the treasurer of the All-India Muslim League ; he was the traditional guest of the Muslim League's Qaid-e-Azam when he favoured the province with a visit ; Chaudhuri Khaliquzzaman, Leader of the Muslim League in the U. P. Assembly, has sought and found asylum in Karachi ; his relative Mohammad Wasim, an eminent lawyer of Lucknow, is Advocate-General of Pakistan. Others of lesser light have followed these leaders. And the writer says that the greatest demoralization has overtaken the Muslims of the province, about 90 lakhs (nine millions) in number.

He has also brought certain curious facts to substantiate his contention that the Muslims had more

than their share of public services. A percentage of 14 per cent had representation in the Legislature of 33 per cent; in services of 40 to 44 per cent; in the police of nearly 70 per cent; on August 15, 1947, out of 30 Indian District Magistrates in the province's 45 districts, 22 were Muslims; today there are only 2; in the police department, recruitment of Muslims have been stopped with a view to bring it down to the proportion of 14 per cent. The writer is sardonically cruel in caricaturing Muslim League enthusiasts in their attempt to obscure their recent past. The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad has returned and has been trying to stage a come-back on the strength of his nationalist father's service to the country's cause.

Another curious paradox to which he draws pointed attention was that the "Congress Right Wingers" and the Government are said to be preferring these prodigal sons to seasoned Nationalist Muslims who had suffered insult and injury to mind and body at the hands of the former. The educated Muslims are either sinking into indifferentism or gliding into Socialism or Communism "not always because of conscious ideological conversion but, sometimes, out of old prejudices against the Congress." The common Muslims, betrayed and abandoned by Muslim League leadership, are "confused, and bewildered and frightened, distrusted, suspected and shunned." They get "nightmares of massacre, forced conversions and the imposition of the 'Hindu way of life'."

Mr. Abbas doubts if the Congress will be able to "reclaim" them. He charges the U. P. Ministry with succumbing to Rashtriya Swayam Sevak Mandalis' pressure and making things difficult for the common Muslims; petty pin-pricks inflicted by petty local officials have been turning the average U. P. Muslim into "a sullen and secretly resentful loyalist" who has never been educated to accept a "secular, progressive ideology." And the tragedy of the situation is that the average Hindus of the Province have been "slipping into the communalist quagmire;" the hated campaign of the Muslim League has not only poisoned the Muslim mind but has also "infected" the Hindus. Indian Nationalists cannot ignore the prospect that if the united Provinces goes, everything of hope goes down with it.

East Punjab is a Pattern

In a recent issue of the *Liberator*, a weekly organ of Sikh opinion, we have certain facts which should be taken as a warning. Sardar Sajjan Singh was quoted as drawing attention to a phase of the Province's Parliamentary life that is a pattern of other Provinces. Besides seven Ministers, there are ten Parliamentary Secretaries and six Private Parliamentary Secretaries in the Province of East Punjab. Out of these "Public Servants," S. Shivcharan Singh received, during the last one quarter, Rs. 1400 as salary and Rs. 4,000 as T.A. Mr. Sher Singh received Rs. 3,200, Thakar Beli Ram Rs. 1,800, Rao Sumer Singh Rs. 1,600, Pandit Bhagat

Ram and Sardar Dalip Singh Rs. 1,100 each, and S. Ajit Singh Rs. 1,071.

This state of things appears to have moved an East Punjab paper to sardonic humour. It has suggested that instead of seven ministers there should be thirteen Ministers, one for each district, and the number of Parliamentary and Private Parliamentary Secretaries should be increased to coincide with the number of Tehsils in the Province. Each Minister may be given a district and each Secretary a Tehsil to administer. This will accommodate about sixty-five legislators out of seventy-four. The remaining nine or ten members may be kept on the waiting list or appointed honorary Magistrates so that public service in the border province with all its attendant risks may be fully rewarded.

The cynical may say that the suggestion will introduce the "spoils" system into India in which the United States of America appears to thrive. But the evil complained of is of more ancient descent. The holders of State power have ever tried to consolidate their position by careful distribution of patronage. This takes different forms—titles, contracts, offices, honorary and paid, and their perquisites. The East Punjab story can be seen repeated in every area in India; the "Standard of Public Conduct" resolution passed at the Jaipur Congress has been a witness to a decline that people have learnt to tolerate as part of human nature. We show a particular sensitiveness to it because we have been nursed in the ideology and practice of Gandhiji. In the West, in other countries, they accept it rather complacently, appearing to suggest that they have not as high an opinion of human nature as we pretend to have. A few more years of experience as rulers of the State in India will teach us that raising a hue and cry on matters like this is a waste of breath. Not very complimentary this prophecy to us and our rulers.

Fighting Inflation is No Press-button Affair

We have received the following note from Shri P. R. Srinivas of the *Indian Finance* :

Recent discussions have shown how easily large economic problems like the problem of inflation tend to get out of focus. The different groups of experts whom the Government summoned to their aid in this regard also showed that, while the industrialists and businessmen were helped by their own concrete self-interest to take a comprehensive view of the economic situation in the country, the economists could not get over the mental habits acquired in the course of their professional work. To the industrialist, inflation connotes both a plenitude of money for productive enterprise and the danger of such enterprise being foiled by unpredictable or uncontrollable rise in costs. He would welcome the one, provided the other can be kept in check. And his remedy for inflation would lie along the line of devising checks for the rise in costs. To the economist, inflation is a phenomenon of

many facets, of which the most important is the disequilibrium between purchasing power and the volume of goods and services. If he is asked to control inflation, he would start with the less intractable of these two factors. If we lack the means of increasing the output, can we not, the economist asks himself, cut the volume of circulation by all the means and methods that are open to us?

The difference between these two lines of thought has obviously great importance to public policy and the course of the nation's economic life. Not only are the practical measure different, but there is also the difference that in the latter case, the diagnosis is taken for granted. The question, as to what extent inflationary conditions actually obtain in the country and to what extent they must be combated by the monetary antidote of deflation, tends to be more or less ignored. Those, who are obliged by virtue of their position to pay more heed to immediate practical consequences, are naturally deterred by the thought of those consequences from following the advice of the professional economists in certain important respects. And if we bear in mind the ease with which motives can be attributed to each political or economic group, the room that is thus afforded for controversy may prove a serious danger.

It is necessary therefore that the general public should be helped to form certain basic ideas about the present inflationary problem, ideas which will help them to judge and evaluate particular measures from the standpoint of inflation. In the nature of things, the issues connected with inflation have the widest ramifications in our national economic life and our national finance. Sound measures can be prejudiced in the mind of the public by just calling them 'inflationary.' And, by the same token, unsound measures, that is, measures which can do great harm to current economic life and future progress alike, can be assured of favourable reception by the argument that such measures are necessary for a successful fight against inflation.

The first point to note in regard to this all-important question is what Dr. Matthai has been the only one among authoritative officials to state in public, *viz.*, that inflation is overrated. It is overrated in the sense that the extent of the fall in the price-level necessary to bring about equilibrium is greatly exaggerated in the minds of many people. One must remember in this context that the general price-level has over long periods been steadily rising higher. It was higher after the first world war than before it. It rose far higher in the second half of the last war period. And it has ruled higher since. Doubtless, the price-level is very high. But to what extent should it be reduced? We have had two sets of prices for most of the necessities of living, the controlled prices and the blackmarket prices. If the former leave considerable margins of profit for the producers and are no great burden on the consumers, they may justly be deemed to be in the vicinity of the prices which indicate a proper equilibrium of costs and

prices. There would be little point in asking for a return to pre-war prices or to prices below the level of controlled prices. The price-level that can thus be contemplated surely requires a far larger volume of circulation than in the pre-war years; and the amount of contraction that present conditions call for will be recognised to be far less than what most people are thinking of when they talk of the present inflationary conditions.

Having acquired a new sense of the dimensions of the task on hand, it behoves us to ask ourselves, how the inflationary pressure comes to be increased in the way it has been during the last few years. There is, in the first place, the basic scarcity of goods in relation to existing demand, the form and extent of which have changed vastly as a result of a new distribution of money incomes during the war period. In the second place, there is the action of surplus funds in the hands of the various classes and groups, surpluses, the size and the movements of which are affected greatly by official policies and changes therein, actual or apprehended. Taking first the demand for goods, the necessities of life it must be remembered that in the pre-war period, all our talk of per capita consumption of this and that and the other was only talk of arithmetical or mathematical fiction. A very large section of the people of the country were really beyond the pale of our economic life. Due to unemployment, they contributed nothing to our production. Through poverty, they made no demand on the annual pool of national income. Wartime employment changed these conditions very considerably. It put nearly every person in the country in possession, either directly or indirectly, of a sizable money income. Wartime controls and rationing enabled them to get a share of the annual production of goods and services. What in fact happened during this period was that the consumption of the upper classes was cut and consumption by the lower classes was first brought into being. All this was done with the vast inflation and vast public expenditure which the war period made possible. These changes have not lost their force. The volume of demand even today is determined to a large extent by the forces set in motion at that time. And they have been greatly reinforced by the movement for higher wages and salaries which naturally comes in the wake of the inflation, from which it draws strength and to which in turn it lends strength. The basic shortage of goods is accentuated when the regulation of demand to available supply cannot be effected by the obvious means of a rise in prices and the automatic dropping out of buyers of low purchasing power. That heartless, cynical solution of the problem of equilibrium between supply and demand is not open to us at present. The gap has got to be covered by additional production; and it is idle to think that this gap can be closed only by deflationary measures, unless deflation is taken to the point, not only of forcing down wages and salaries, but also causing considerably more unemployment than there is. Those who look to mere monetary remedies for inflation ignore a large amount

of purchasing power which dividend limitations, retentions of E.P.T. deposits and measures of that kind will leave untouched.

Now the destruction of this purchasing power, in itself the very opposite of economic progress, can be achieved either by a deflation, a slump or decontrol leading to higher prices and consequent shrinkage of demand. But it is not these that are the objectives of the fight against inflation.

Doubtless, the chief monetary factor, namely, the persistence of redundant funds in the hands of the well-to-do, is not unconnected with inflation. If it is allowed to continue it may worsen the position. In the past it did, by commodity speculation, cornering and the like. To some extent, the absorption of these surpluses is part of the fight against inflation.

But in devising the measures of this nature, we ought not to forget that the real cure for inflation, such as we have in India today, is the increase of production consonant with the wider spread of consumptive demand which has followed wartime employment and the rise in the prices and profits of all classes. Only those monetary cures can be adopted which have no unfavourable effect on the prospects of increased production. Higher taxes, limitation of dividends, all these have to be judged by their effect on new investment. Likewise, we have to keep our grip on costs and the elements thereof. To the extent that wages are a principal element, we have as a nation to set our face against the rise in wages. And to the extent that increased production cannot be expected to be automatic—the inevitable result of higher profit margins and better incentives to production—the administrative task of encompassing a rise in production in each industry has to be tackled and solved. Altogether, the fight against inflation is not a press-button affair. You cannot expect by tightening the monetary screw to create an equilibrium which will of its own accord, further progress. It is a hard task to step up production; and the least that the State can do is to refrain from policies which will prejudice the prospects of recovery.

Government of India Act Amendment

A Bill to amend the Government of India Act 1935 has been introduced in the Constituent Assembly. It is rather unique because for the first time it is the Constituent Assembly and not the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) that is being asked to pass it and also because it is the first time, after independence, that an amendment is sought to be made to the Government of India Act 1935 in this way. The main purpose of the Bill seems to be firstly to confer powers on the Centre to set up appellate tribunals for hearing appeals against awards made by the Central and Provincial Industrial Tribunals in order that uniform principles in the review of these awards may be adopted under the overall control of the Central Government and secondly to make amendments in the Federal and Provincial Legislative Lists in order to

secure for the Central Legislature adequate powers for implementing the Government's declared industrial policy.

We should like to take this opportunity to draw the attention of the Legislative Department of the Government of India to the need for inserting a provision in the C. A. Bill I of 1948 for the repeal of Section 142A(2) of the Government of India Act 1935. This section has been inserted in 1940 at the instance of the British merchants of India and it limits the maximum of a tax on professions at Rs. 50. Section 142A(2) stands in the way of an expansion of municipal revenues and so far as we know the Madras Corporation has been the hardest hit. During the war, several big business have come into being doing business in millions of rupees and the tax that a Corporation can levy on these professions has been limited at Rs. 50 per annum. Faced with this difficulty the Calcutta Corporation had tried to increase the profession tax where the tax was below Rs. 50. Loud protests were made in the press against this move to squeeze the small traders where, as the Corporation itself admitted, "The law is in favour of big business and they cannot be touched."

Mayurbhanj's "Merger" in Orissa

The announcement was made on the 17th December last that the State of Mayurbhanj would be "merged" in Orissa on and from the 2nd January, 1949. This puts the coping stone to Orissa's aspiration for a more expensive life embracing Oriya-speaking people dispersed among three or four administrations. By this step Orissa adds to her area about 4,243 square miles with natural resources of incalculable value. And with her major ambition thus satisfied, we can expect the people to be able to concentrate all their energies on the work of reconstruction of the norms and forms of her ancient life modified in response to the needs and challenges of the modern world. They would not be allowed to forget that the Orissa of the 20th century is both materially and spiritually different from that of the days of the Gajapati dynasty.

But this "merger" does not promise her any placid existence. There are about 20 lakh (2 million) *Adibasis*, aborigines, in Orissa who have awakened from their sleep of ages. The Political Advisor to the States' Ministry, Mr. V. P. Menon, recognized this factor when he declared in course of his announcement made at Cuttack that in arranging for the Mayurbhanj "merger" his department had to face "the discordant note of some of the *Adibasis*." We do not know the representative character of this "some". But the States' Ministry's advisor appears to have rubbed them in the wrong way when he declared that tested by his own standard of "a real leader"—"one who could do something for the betterment of his fellow-men"—the *Adibasi* leaders "failed in their duties."

Indonesia

The Dutch have suddenly launched an attack upon the Indonesian Republic in violation of last January's "Renville" truce. Fighting broke out in the Indonesian Republican capital, Jogjakarta, which was captured by the Dutch airborne units, according to a Republican report. Official Dutch sources at The Hague have denied the report of this capture as "entirely unfounded." The Dutch have launched this attack by calling it a "police action."

This report has reached India while the Congress Session at Jaipur was going on. Pandit Nehru, who was addressing the plenary session of the Congress described the Dutch action as "contrary to all principles of the United Nations Charter."

Pandit Nehru said :

I have a message about certain developments in Indonesia. The question of Indonesia became intricate in the past few months and it has now become very delicate and difficult. The Dutch Government has attacked the Republicans and has captured Jogjakarta. We knew that if the Dutch attacked, they would be able to capture the Republican capital as the Indonesians have no adequate forces at their disposal against the overwhelming might of the Dutch. The action has been started by the Dutch but I may warn them that they will not be able to achieve their object. This action does not mean that the Republicans have been defeated. You have seen that past four years, small imperialist countries have been withdrawing themselves from Asia and the conditions in those countries have improved. The day of imperialism is over because no imperialist power can stay in Asia.

Due to our efforts in U.N.O., the fight in Indonesia was stopped and suspended for eleven months. I may emphasise that no one can prevent the tide of independence in Asiatic countries. The police action of the Dutch will have serious repercussions in India, in Asia and perhaps in some other countries too. Though we cannot give the Indonesian Republics effective aid now, we cannot remain idle spectators.

Whatever happens, we will keep our ideal before us. Our foreign policy is that no foreign power should rule over any Asiatic country. The reaction to the Dutch action will be heard soon all over the Asiatic countries and we will have to consider what we will have to do under the circumstances.

It is gratifying to find that there has been some important reaction against this action of the Dutch Government. The Economic Co-operation Administration and United States has halted all Marshall Aid to Netherland East Indies pending settlement of hostilities. The United States, Colombia and Syria have called on the U. N. Security Council to order an immediate cease fire in Indonesia. The United States, it is understood, fears that Dutch 'police action' will encourage rather than suppress Communists in the Far East. A Colombo message states that Ceylon has closed her harbour and airports to all Dutch ships and aircraft carrying troops or war materials for

Indonesia. India and Pakistan have officially closed their airports to Dutch planes. The United Nations Good Offices Commission, reporting to the Security Council on the situation, said that there were "some features of an ultimatum" in the last Dutch communication on December 17 before military action began. The Commission's report added that the time-limit imposed by the Netherlands delegation for a reply was impossible of fulfilment.

The Government of India, it is learnt, have received a communication from the Prime Minister of Burma suggesting a conference of Asian countries to consider the Indonesian situation. But since the Security Council is already in session over the matter, it may not be found necessary to convene immediately another international conference. The Indonesian situation, however, is engaging the serious attention of the Government of India and the mind of the Prime Minister of India has already been revealed in no uncertain terms at Jaipur.

U.S.A. and East Asia

The news of Dutch hostility against the Indonesian Republic which has broken out in attack on its capital has not come to us as a surprise. Since the uneasy Liggerjati Truce of 1947 confirmed by the Agreement signed on board the U.S.A. ship "Renville" in January, 1948, we have known that the Dutch imperialists have been able to disrupt the united front of the Indonesian people and to set up certain "puppet" administrations in various islands of Indonesia. The Press, representative of all the imperialist interests spread over Asia and Africa, could hardly conceal their glee as the news of one administration after another being set up came over the ether. We in India, who have had experience of the British technique can see through the game of the "federalists"—as the supporters of the "puppet" States are called. The latest example of such a State comes from East Java where the Dutch *Recombo onder Plas* (Commissioner for Civil Administration) invited on 18th November, 1948, a conference of delegates to take decisions on (a) the right of the people to determine their own political status, and (b) the right of the population of Dutch-occupied East Java to express their own will. The purpose behind this conference can be easily understood if we take note of the character of the delegates. It is related in *Merdeka*, official organ of the Indonesian Information Service, published from I.I.A. Prithviraj Road, New Delhi, that of the 60 delegates attending this conference, 47 were Dutch Colonial Government Civil Servants—such as regents, chiefs of police, chairmen of local courts, etc., all of them "indirectly appointed by the Dutch."

Since then the Dutch Government has launched an organized attack on the Indonesian Republic; the first news told us of the capture of the Republican capital, Jogjakarta, of the capture of the leading members of the Republican Government including Dr. Soekarno, the President. The latest news tells us of

the Republican re-capture of their capital city, and the outbreak of guerilla warfare. About the fate of the Republican leaders a pall of secrecy has been spread. The Security Council of the U. N. O. has been apprised of this renewal of warfare in Indonesia while its Goodwill Office Committee has been trying to negotiate a settlement on the spot. The Council could not act promptly as three of its members including the Soviet Union happened to be absent. The Prime Minister of the Indian Union, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of Burma, Thakin Nu, have lost no time in expressing their anger and in drawing attention to the dangerous possibilities of the situation created by Dutch aggression. Pakistan's Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, has contented himself with the comment that the Dutch outbreak will "complicate" affairs in the region. But we are not at all sure that the imperialists of Holland at whose back was the finance-capital of Britain and the United States of America will pay heed to these warnings, even to those that may be uttered by the Security Council. The ineffectiveness of its authority has been demonstrated in Palestine; in Kashmir, for instance.

But the real question that we are concerned with is finding the seat of strength from which the Dutch imperialists draw their power and inspiration. We have directed attention to it in many of our previous issues. And we are enabled to do it again by the summary of an article that appeared in the "widely-read Conservative magazine *United States News*." We are indebted for it to the Allahabad *Leader* whose Special Representative at New York sent the summary. We share it with our readers :

This important article is the result of Asia-wide journey of the correspondent, Mr. Joseph Fromm, who tried to find out the real story behind the Communist gains in Asia. His main conclusion is that "the United States and the West are losing 'cold war' in Asia by default. Native movements (for independence and betterment) are championed and aid of many kinds are promised by Russia, while the United States because of its commitments in Europe is giving support to Colonial Powers. Thus France is permitted to divert 35 million dollars (Rs. 11½ crores) from the Marshall Plan allotment for use in Indo-China which France is trying to reconquer. Similarly, the Dutch Government has been authorized to use 54 million dollars (Rs. 18 crores) from the European Recovery Funds from the United States in parts of Indonesia they have reoccupied. Further damage to the American prestige is done by the sums of money poured into the Nationalist China and occupied Japan while the Marshall Plan for the rest of Asia is denied."

The correspondent quotes as a typical statement what Sultan Shahrir, Indonesian ex-Premier, said, "We expected America to champion the cause of independence and democracy in Asia. Instead we found it supporting the Colonial Powers. Who can blame us for being disillusioned?"

Reporting on India, "where Communists are checked now although they are still influential among labourers and peasants," Fromm writes in connection with the general statement that the

reservoir of American goodwill in Asia is running dry ; "recent survey of the Indian newspapers shows that of 82 editorial comments concerning the United States all but 13 were unfavourable."

While regretting that the United States' post-war policy gives paramount consideration to recovery in Europe while keeping Russia outside the industrial West to which every decision in Asia is subordinated, he is able to report hopefully that "some diplomats on ground in Asia feel that the United States should shift her European policy in view of the inability of Colonial Powers to restore order (in their Asian possessions). They say that the United States is up against dilemma in reconciling the effective European policy with one for Asia and as a consequence has decided putting all her chips on Colonial Powers in Europe and subordinating decisions in Asia to that."

Cordial Relations between India and U.S.

The U. S. Ambassador in India Mr. Loy W. Henderson, giving his first Press Conference after his arrival in India, said that his purpose in India would be to continue to promote the cordial relations between India and the U. S. A. which already rested upon a sound basis. India has always valued, and will doubly do so today, an intimate friendly relation with the U. S. A. not only in the field of economics but in the cultural sphere as well. Some of India's best sons have settled in America and spent a lifetime there in strengthening the cultural tie that exists between the two great countries. India has drawn no small inspiration from the history of American revolution in her struggle for freedom. We are glad to find that the need for fostering a cultural and spiritual fellowship between the two great countries has been emphasised by the American Ambassador in his very first Press Conference held in this country.

Mr. Henderson said : "There was a 'receptive feeling' on the part of India. There is thus no reason why it should not be possible to build up co-operatively good relations between the two countries which would be an example to the rest of the world."

Asked how far the talks between the Government of India and the U.S.A. for a treaty of friendship had proceeded, Mr. Henderson stated that there had been a number of exploratory talks on the subject between the representatives of the two countries. They were now awaiting final instructions from their respective Governments. He hoped that something final would soon come out of these discussions and added, "We are very anxious that the basis of our relations with India shall be laid firmly in a treaty war. It would help to solve a lot of problems."

Indicating the lines on which India might get assistance from the U.S.A., Mr. Henderson stated it was the basic policy of the U.S.A. to aid India, in so far as it was possible, quite effectively with such resources as it had for India's economic development. The extent to which they could help India depended : Firstly, on how much the U.S.A. had, secondly, on

what India wanted and thirdly, to what extent such help would be effective in promoting production and prosperity in India. There were a number of ways.

Firstly, there was the International Bank, which seemed to him the most logical approach. It was not an American institution and India was a member of the Bank. If India was interested in obtaining loans from the International Bank and told the Bank what the loans were intended for and if the Bank approved of these plans, she would extend loans to India.

A second source of possible assistance was the U.S. Export and Import Bank, which was an American institution. It was an institution which did not take orders from the State Department; nevertheless, it was used for facilitating foreign trade and promoting specific projects of extreme consequence for Government and trade. It was quite possible that some propositions might be made from India—either by private capitalists or by Government themselves—which would meet with the requirements on the Import-Export Bank, and loans would be made.

A third source was aid by special Acts of Congress, but this, Mr. Henderson pointed out, was made only in extremely exceptional circumstances. He did not look forward to any special Act of Congress being made for aiding India, although he could not prophesy what Congress would do. India was no doubt in great need of financial assistance to carry on her economic development programme, but he did not think any situation of emergency existed to warrant special Congressional aid.

Asked whether U. S. capital would help India by private loans, Mr. Henderson pointed out that U.S. capital was not too keen on going outside the country because there was a great need for capital even within the U.S.A. However, if it felt that it was welcome and that it would be allowed to operate under conditions which would not make the risk too great, it would come into India.

But apart from this, the U.S.A. was interested in giving technical assistance to India because she had a large reservoir of technical skill. Such technical men, he pointed out, were even now working with a number of Indian firms or with the Governments in the country. He thought that eventually U.S. capital would consider investing in India. At the moment, India was framing her Constitution and deciding what pattern of economy she was going to have. This understandably engendered a policy of wait and see in the mind of U.S. private capital. At the moment, he was not even sure that India herself wanted foreign capital invested in the country.

Declaring that the U.S.A. was interested in developing friendship with India, Mr. Henderson stated that such friendship would be possible without curtailing India's friendship with any other country. Time and again he had heard people talking of "blocs," but he was sure that the men who worked out America's foreign policy had no desire for any bloc whatsoever.

The U.S.A. had no intention of claiming any spheres of influence anywhere. The U.S.A. merely asked for friendship and would extend her hand of friendship to any country in the world, provided that country conformed to the principles laid down in the U. N. Charter. These principles, he stated, must be lived up to if there was to be an orderly world and prosperity. The U.S.A. was not interested in setting up blocs against any country.

Mr. Henderson stated that the U.S.A. wanted cultural relations, apart from economic relations to develop between India and the U.S.A. There were already more than Indian students undergoing training in various educational institutions in the U.S.A. It was hoped to start very soon an Indian radio programme from the U.S.A. in Hindi and Urdu, to cover the whole sub-continent of India and Pakistan.

Mr. Henderson stated that it was encouraging to note the increasing interest in India and Indian affairs on the part of the U.S.A. and its people and vice versa.

Tea and Tea Chests

In our September and October numbers, we had referred to the present position of Tea and Tea Chest industries in this country. These two important articles of trade are still in British hands. If the tea trade is freed from British control and direct sales from India are made to hard currency countries, this single trade can relieve our hard currency deficiency to a very appreciable extent. Similarly, if the British monopoly in the supply of tea chests from Finland is broken and direct imports from that country be arranged, it will not only mean a reduction in the cost of the commodity but also it will take out of the hands of the British monopolists a powerful weapon against genuine Indian interests. We had drawn the attention of the Commerce Department of the Government of India to these two matters and in this connection had stated that a deputation from Calcutta had waited upon the Commerce Minister and that they were "almost summarily dismissed." The Secretary of the Association on whose behalf the deputation had gone to New Delhi and one of the members of the deputation have intimated that we had been inadequately informed. The deputationist says that they "got a kind and courteous reception from both the Commerce Minister and the Secretary of the Commerce Ministry. The import policy of the India Government regarding Tea Chest had by that time been decided. A busy man like him will naturally be very brief." We have been requested on behalf of the Commerce Minister to make this correction, which we gladly do but we must point out that nothing has been said about main points at issue, namely, the immediate need for freeing tea and tea-chest from British monopoly and setting up direct trade in these commodities with hard currency areas and Finland.

Risks of Probing into Corruption

Sir Henry Shawcross, Britain's Attorney-General, told the British Corruption Inquiry Tribunal that it

was "dangerously short-sighted and superficial to believe the six-week-old official inquiry into alleged corruption in public life would have a damaging effect on the present British Government." Sir Hartley was making his closing speech at the Inquiry Tribunal which has become Britain's most talked of subject. The British Attorney-General's remarks on this subject deserve special attention in our country as well, specially with reference to the resolution on public conduct passed at the Jaipur Session of the Congress.

Declaring that the real danger of such a probe was that it might tend to undermine public confidence not in a particular politician but in a form of Government, Sir Hartley said that the public were entitled, however, to be reassured that never before had any Government been more determined to vindicate and maintain the highest traditions of public life. Sir Hartley submitted that there had not been a shred of evidence suggesting corruption by civil servants involved in the investigations. He wished he could say the same for each of the Ministers and public men involved.

We shall await, with eagerness, the report of the Tribunal. We wish that the Congress High Command had set up a similar Tribunal in order to give a concrete shape to the pious wish expressed in the Public Conduct Resolution adopted at Jaipur.

Historical Records Commission

The Indian Historical Records Commission has recently concluded its sittings at the Delhi University. Inaugurating the session, which was the Silver Jubilee of the Commission, Pandit Nehru urged that historians should seek to lay emphasis more on the binding aspects of history and events rather than on the fissiparous and disruptive tendencies in the world. This, he submitted, could be done without sacrificing preciseness, truth and scholarship. Historians must also develop a popular approach to history, so that instead of its having an appeal only to a choice circle of scholars, it could be made intelligible and understandable for the people as a whole. He was sorry to say that most books on history today were written in a lifeless and dull manner. There was no flesh and blood in it. It was merely dry bones. History was, after all, a record of human progress, the struggle of the human spirit for some unknown or known objectives. In the old days history was written mainly on political or religious lines and to some extent on cultural lines. Later on, a great deal of stress was laid on the economic aspect which was undoubtedly very important although it was by no means the only aspect. But apart from all this, he supposed that ultimately all these problems of the world could be reduced to two or three sentences. They were problems of relationship—relationship of the individual with individual and of the individual with a group and the relationship of one group with another group or

groups. All problems—cultural, economic and political—could be brought within this definition.

History was thus a record of the binding processes which sought to bring nations and groups together as well as of disruptive and fissiparous tendencies which also went on at the same time, said Pandit Nehru, and added, even today, in the world, both these forces were at work. In any activities of the Commission they had thus a choice of laying emphasis either on the binding aspect, or on the other. Of course, they must not give way to wishful thinking and not emphasise that which had no relation to fact. But, he thought, they could lay emphasis on the binding forces within the terms of preciseness and truth and emphasise the constructive aspects of history and events rather than the disruptive forces. Far from being a mere record of events, Pandit Nehru said, History must also be a record of the social progress and development of countries and of the world. The latter factor was very important because now-a-days it had become impossible to think of history-in-the-making in terms of any one nation or territory. They had inevitably to think in terms of the world as a whole. A great deal of research would be necessary to fill up the dry bones of history with flesh and blood. He was sorry that most of the books on history, valuable as they were, had not got this new approach and were lifeless and dull. The only way to write or understand history was to evoke in the mind the picture of a living society functioning, having all the failings and virtues of the human being. To achieve these, said Pandit Nehru, a very intimate knowledge of details, would be necessary. The Indian Historical Records Commission should collect these details. Secondly, these details must be clothed in a proper garb, thus giving history a semblance of life. In India, the writing of history has been defective from the very beginning. The early history, as depicted in the Epics and the Puranas abound in a mixture of mythology and exaggeration from which it is exceedingly difficult to separate true history. For the medieval period, almost all recorded history comes from the pen of the courtiers of Muslim rulers where the versions of the oppressed people are absent. During modern period, the first attempts to write Indian history were made by British historians who had no knowledge of the ways of life and temperaments of the people and therefore have been defective in many respects. The present works on Indian history have been generally scholastic, but in the sphere of popular writings on Indian history, they have been more or less projective of the British versions with some corrections. The method of "approving" books on Indian history by the then Administrators also stood in the way of its development and diverted the flow of the course of history in its natural channel. With history text-books "approved," it is idle to expect that books on the same subject would fill the literary field.

Pandit Nehru has touched another very important point. He hoped that in the task of rebuilding Indian

history on the solid foundation of truth, the Indian Historical Records Commission would not be confined to themselves and to their choice circle but would also enlist the help of others outside their fold. He did not think there was necessary conflict between scholarship and popular approach. We think that this missing link between history for the scholar and history for the people should now be provided in this country as is done in many other countries of the world. The Indian Historical Records Commission is the best suited to do so.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the President of the Historical Records Commission, in his address said that we had no knowledge of the condition of India up to the seventh or eighth century A.D. and again after the establishment of the Sultanate of Delhi. It was also strange, according to him, that almost all their historical research and studies for even a later period were based on Persian records and overlooked material from Arabian history and literature. It should also have been said that Indian sources of history, depicting the condition of the people of this country under Muslim rule in India must also be searched and tapped. The Maulana also said that another period which must be studied afresh was the British connection with India. Despite there being a wealth of material, they did not have a fair and balanced study of the period. The reason for this defect is only too obvious. But one word of caution is needed. A very large portion of the material of history for the British period lie buried in our periodicals. They are our source material and are as important as Indian State despatches in safe custody in the British Museum, if not more important because these periodicals are the only sources that will unfold the various movements and undercurrents of history during British rule. It is a pity, if not a disgrace, that they are not cared for even today. We consider it one of the most important tasks of the Historical Records Commission to collect these old periodicals from all over the country and make arrangements for their preservation.

Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati

The 47th anniversary of the foundation of the Santiniketan was celebrated on the 22nd December last. It was the day on which Maharshi Devendra Nath Tagore had attained spiritual realization, and the foundation-day was chosen to commemorate that event. To the present generation of Indians the father of Rabindra Nath Tagore remains a mystic and almost mythical figure who forgot the world and all that it symbolized. But in his own day during pre-"Mutiny" days, Devendra Nath Tagore was a pioneer of constitutional agitation for political rights for all Indians. He as Secretary of the British Indian Association of Calcutta was known to have opened correspondence with leaders of public opinion in Madras, in Fuzna, in Bombay, and in Lucknow with a view to press the Indian point of view on the occasion of the renewal of the East India Company's Charter in 1853.

When the model School was founded forty-seven years back by Rabindra Nath Tagore, he had the Maharshi's blessings, and for 40 years the poet lived laborious days to give shape to the ideals of India's renaissance under modern conditions of life. These ideals had first flowered in the *Ashramas*, abodes of peace and universal amity, of the sages and saints of India. Santiniketan was a school where boys and girls would grow up in the company of Nature, drawing from her various manifestations impulses for a full life of balance and beauty, reconciled with the clamant claims of the modern world. This initial inspiration abides with the school, though the simplicity and the rigidity of the earlier days have been overlaid by the patronage of the State made bountifully available since August 15, 1945.

The experiences gathered by the poet in the conduct of the school enabled him to make a "new departure" by the foundation of the *Visva-Bharati*, nucleus of the World University where all the learning of all the world, of all the cultures, will have equal opportunity to seek and find a new centre of reconciliation. Cheena-Bhawan, centre of Chinese learning; Board of Islamic Studies; Hindi-Bhawan; Board of Jaina and Buddhistic Studies; Indological Research Department; Art College, C. F. Andrews Memorial Institute—these institutions represent a type of activity that respond to that call for "harmony of relationship," for *visvā-maitri*, on the development of which depends the existence of human civilisation.

Santiniketan and Visva-Bharati, thus, represent the high water-mark of Rabindra Nath Tagore's contribution to the richness of Indian and world life. It is but natural that the leaders of thought in India, dignitaries of her State should come forward to acknowledge the debt immense of endless gratitude that the world owes to this minstrel of light, sweetness and high endeavour. On the present occasion also Dr. Amar Nath Jha, ex-Vice-Chancellor of the Allahabad University, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, Governor of West Bengal, and Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, Governor of the United Provinces and President of the Governing Body of the Visva-Bharati, addressed the graduates (*snātākas*).

Dr. Jha's address dwelt on the havoc created in India by the education introduced by the alien State that had control over India till sixteen months back, and the way in which the Santiniketan and the Visva-Bharati had striven to neutralize its effects. But he appeared to have forgotten the spirit of the place which nurtured "the synthesis of the different cultures of Asia" to use Dr. Katju's words, when he railed against "the siren song of diversity" that clamoured for acceptance.

Nai Talim—Basic Education

We have seen a report of the new session of the Basic Training College held at Sevagram. Mrs. Asha Devi Aryanayakam, Assistant Secretary, Hindusthani Talimi Sangha, explained the fundamental principles according to which the work of *Nai Talim* was being carried on; she also introduced the students coming from the different provinces. The total strength

of the trainees was 101, deputed by the various Provincial Governments and States distributed as follows: Madras 12, Assam 27, Orissa 9, Bihar 8, Cochin State 8, Mysore State 6, Udaipur State 7, Panna State 1, Patna State 1; candidates deputed by different organizations of constructive work throughout India 22. We do not know why the other provinces have failed to take advantage of the opportunity offered at Wardha—Bombay, United Provinces, Central Provinces and West Bengal, for instance. Are we to understand that the Ministries of these Provinces do not appreciate the advantage of *Nai Talim*? It is hard to believe. The number sent by Assam has a significance of its own. It shows that her leaders are determined to cover the neglect of a century as quickly as it is humanly possible.

Conscription for National Service

With the withdrawal of British power from India, the problem of conscription for national service has become a live issue with us. Gandhiji has taken India through a discipline which we dare not forego if we desired to live as a nation, an equal among nations in the modern world. He lived and worked so that his people can set a new example to the warring nations. In non-violence he found the way of deliverance; and thought-leaders from all countries have realized its value without accepting all its implications and requirements. The trend of their mind can be found in the following extract from an article published in the *Harijan* of 19th December last. It was written by Mr. Donald Townsend.

You ask about the import of conscription in Europe. It differs with the country. In Germany and Italy before the last war, conscription meant just one thing: preparation and eagerness for war. In Switzerland where there is no such thing tolerated as conscientious objection, the ideal is just the opposite. Every able-bodied Swiss must undergo his military training. After the prescribed years of concentrated training are passed, men are obliged to go out for a period of training every year. Every Swiss citizen is a soldier. He keeps his equipment, gun, ammunition and uniform, in his home. Far from seeking war, the Swiss is determined to remain free and independent whatever wars may rage like angry seas against his country's borders. Such has been his military training that it would never occur to him to use his gun against his neighbour. Periodically his equipment is inspected by government authorities; he regards it as a sacred trust. I believe that very much the same idea exists in Scandinavian countries.

Such conscription, far from having prepared Switzerland for wars of violence, has enabled her to maintain her neutrality throughout two great European wars.

Development of Irrigation

India has 70 million of acres of land under irrigation. This figure is claimed to be equal to all the land under irrigation in the rest of the world, writes the *Commerce*, dated December 11, 1948. Its system of canals is reputed to be unrivalled by any other system

in the world. In view of this importance, the fourth International Congress on Large Dams is to be held in India in 1951. It is, therefore, fitting that India should serve as the headquarters of the proposed International Irrigation Commission on Irrigation and Canals, as suggested by the Central Board of Irrigation and sponsored by the Government of India. In fact, the proposal has already been approved by the International Congress on Large Dams. This was done at its meeting held in Paris in 1946. Since then, it is understood, both Australia and the U.S.A. have evinced keen interest in India's move, while replies are being awaited from other countries interested in the problem. It may be hoped that the move will meet with good response, as every country interested in the development of agriculture stands to benefit from it, inasmuch as the main function of the proposed International Commission is to encourage new and modern methods in the design and construction, and operation of irrigation works and canals. Besides, the Commission facilitates promotion of research in problems relating to irrigation.

While writing on this subject, it will not be out of place to refer here to some of the problems of irrigation engaging the attention of Provincial Governments in this country. The most outstanding among these has been the need for making irrigation self-supporting. In many provinces, the existing rates are stated to be yielding considerable revenues in respect of some project, as also losses in certain others. This obviously unsatisfactory position has compelled provinces like Bombay and the U. P. to review the method, manner, and scope of charging the rates. In the latter province, the Government has appointed an *ad hoc* Committee to report on the present system of rates in the U. P. and make suitable recommendations to bring the rates in conformity with the present high prices of agricultural produce. Meanwhile, the Government has levied a surcharge of 30 per cent on the existing rates.

In Bombay, the problem of making major irrigation schemes self-supporting came up for review as far back as 1938, when the then Government appointed the Visvesvarayya Irrigation Inquiry Committee. However, as in the case of many other Committees, the recommendations of the Committee also remained unimplemented owing to the war. The large programmes of post-war irrigation works drawn up by the present Government must have prompted them to pursue the question of putting major irrigation works on a sound financial basis. A Cabinet Committee was accordingly appointed to go into the question. This Committee is stated to have submitted its report recently.

A few observations are, however, necessary here on the recommendations of the Cabinet Committee. The introduction of a combined system of betterment levy, irrigation cess, and water rates forms one of the main recommendations of this Committee. The basic

principles underlying these rates are no doubt sound. Thus, the betterment levy is a tax on unearned income of the land values following the construction of an irrigated project. Although rates under these vary according to the land in one or other of the three zones, namely, perennial, eight months, or monsoon, the Committee has recommended to recover 50 per cent of the unearned increased value of the land. Since the value of land changes according to economic conditions, and the present value being very much higher than in ordinary circumstances, on account of inflationary conditions, the recovery of the betterment tax on the basis of current values would affect the cultivators adversely. Of course, provision has been made for reduction during depression days but the provision leads to unnecessary correspondence, avoidable delay and endless disputes. Further, the Committee has recommended an irrigation cess at Rs. 3 per acre in the perennial zone and Re. 1-8 per acre in the non-perennial zone. Again, as water rates are meant to meet the interest charges on the capital invested, the Committee has recommended that the sum-at-charge should be considered as the capital invested. In this connection it is not clear whether the Committee has taken into consideration the effects of the total costs of the irrigation on the structure of costs and prices of agricultural commodities and whether it would result in diverting land from the growth of food-crops to cash-crops immediately after the repeal of the Bombay Food Crops Act. The impression that one gets from the available information is that the Committee has reviewed the question more from the point of view of making irrigation schemes self-supporting than from that of adjusting the levy to the requirements of agriculture.

Sugar

The sugar import policy of the Government of India was explained by a representative of the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India, addressing the Indian Tariff Board Conference on sugar industry, held in Bombay. The Government of India representative declared that the Government's present view was that imports of sugar into India need not be permitted for the next two or three years; but the question had to be reviewed from time to time in the context of production, consumption and price of sugar in the country. The reasons for this ban on imports, he said, were that there was sufficient domestic production to meet the requirements of the country and in fact, there was a surplus; while it was also necessary to conserve foreign exchange particularly dollars. On the question of protection to sugar industry he said that apart from the question of conservation of foreign exchange, the fact that the ban on the import of sugar was to continue for another two or three years should not weigh with the Tariff Board in deciding the question of continuance of production.

The Conference then discussed at length the

question of continuance of protection to sugar industry. The industry representatives demanded the continuance of protection for another five years. Representatives of the Governments of the United Provinces and Bihar generally agreed with the demand of the industry for the continuance of protection for another five years in addition to the ban on imports. The representative of the Government of Bombay was also in favour of continuing protection for another five years but he did not favour such continuance if the ban on imports was to be maintained.

The consumers' viewpoint put before the Conference was that the industry did not need protection particularly in view of the ban on imports and absence of competition. The representatives wished that the forces of demand and supply should be allowed to have free play within the country so that the consumers would benefit by a competitive market.

An earlier Kanpur message stated that a fresh approach had been made by the Indian Sugar Syndicate in its efforts towards securing revision of minimum sugar prices by the Government of the United Provinces. The Central Government, it may be remembered, had early in December fixed the sugar prices chargeable by the U. P. and Bihar mills. The Indian Sugar Syndicate, an organisation of U. P. and Bihar sugar mill-owners, has, ever since the announcement of the new sugar prices, been trying to influence the Government by placing their viewpoint before them in order to have the prices fixed a little higher than Rs. 28-8 per maund.

The Indian sugar industry has enjoyed protection for 17 years and the mill-owners have thrived behind the tariff-wall at a tremendous cost to the consumer. We quite realise the importance of the statement reported to have been made at the Conference by the President of the Tariff Board that "There is no denying the fact that the Indian sugar industry is a high cost industry and if free competition of imports of sugar were possible or permitted, it (the industry) would be severely undercut by foreign manufacturers. In view, however, of its vital importance in the national economy, there can never be any question of allowing the stability of the second largest industry in the country to be jeopardised by unequal foreign competition." But we confess our inability to understand why, after having enjoyed protection for a continuous period of 17 years, and specially after the role of this industry *vis-a-vis* the consumer during and after the war years, it should further be strengthened as against the consumer through the double boon of ban on imports and internal protection? Now that this industry is thoroughly stabilised and is a surplus producer for the internal market, why should the Government of India still pursue its policy of spoon feeding the sugar industry? The consumers' viewpoint expressed in the Conference has the general support of the country; the industry ought to be in a position now to face internal competition.

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THE STATUS OF HYDERABAD DURING AND AFTER BRITISH RULE IN INDIA

By PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Watumull Professor of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University Lecturer in History,
Columbia University, New York, N. Y.

THE relationship between the Government of the Union of India and the Princely State of Hyderabad has attracted worldwide attention. Through what seems to be complete misunderstanding of the legal status of Hyderabad, the United Nations placed the case on the agenda of the United Nations. Although the Nizam of Hyderabad, after the successful conclusion of the Indian Army's punitive expedition into Hyderabad, has petitioned the United Nations to withdraw the case, the question still remains on the agenda.

Correctly to understand Hyderabad's status under international law, we must first survey the entire question of the legal standing of the Indian Princely States in relation to the suzerain power. In the past much has been written by Indian and British lawyers employed by some of the Indian Princes, in support of the claim that the Princely States of India had special relations with the British Crown and thus could maintain their relations directly with the British Crown without being in any way responsible to the Government of India. The fact of the matter, however, was that Indian Princely States did not negotiate treaties with the King of England or his representatives, but with the sovereign of British India, who happened to be the King of England. Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, who is the Head of the Department of Political Science at Benares Hindu University, as well as an eminent barrister, in his work on Indian States and British India (Benares, 1930), has made this point clear in an exhaustive discussion. I quote a short passage from it:

"The Paramount Power has been, throughout, that body in whom the Government of India has been legally vested for the time being—it may have been the Emperor of Delhi, the East India Company with its headquarters in London or Windsor. It is true that at the present time the Crown is the paramount authority, but he is paramount not because he is the King of England but because it is in him that the Government of British India is vested. It is the Government of India which is the Paramount Power as far as Indian States are concerned: and this is proved by the fact that several of the States pay tribute to the Government of India, the amount of which is credited to the revenues of British India. If the Paramount Power had been the Chief Executive of Great Britain and not the Sovereign of British India, then the tribute would have been paid to Great Britain and credited to British revenues . . . If these facts are borne in mind, it will be readily admitted that the relations of the Indian States have been all along with the rulers of British India—and today if they are with the Crown, they are so because he is the

ruler of British India at present . . . The Indian Princes have nothing to do with the Chief Executive of Great Britain though they are bound by certain ties to the Sovereign of British India. The confusion comes only because it happens that the Crown of England and of India is possessed by the same person . . ."

It should be clearly kept in mind that before International Law and in relation to the British Government, Hyderabad did not enjoy a status different from that of any other Princely State and, hence, was never really an independent state.

What, historically, has been the status of the Princely States? It is generally recognized that during the time of the East India Company, the Princely States enjoyed greater freedom than in more recent years. The East India Company had so-called treaty relations with Indian Princes, the real motive for which, in so far as the East India Company was concerned, was described as early as 1803 by Sir John Barlow:

"It is absolutely necessary for the defeat of those designs (the subversion of the British Empire in India) that no Native State should be left to exist in India which is not upheld by the British Power under its absolute control."

On February 4, 1804, in a Dispatch of the Indian Government to the Resident at Hyderabad Lord Wellesley, Governor-General of India under the East India Company, formulated a policy which became the guide for his successors in dealing with the Indian Princes:

"The fundamental principle of His Excellency the Governor-General's (Lord Wellesley's) policy in establishing "subsidiary alliances" with principal States of India is to place these States in such a degree of dependence on the British Power as may deprive them of the means of prosecuting any measures of forming any confederacy dangerous to the security of the British Empire, and may enable us to preserve the tranquillity of India by exercising a general control over these States . . . This object can alone be accomplished by the operation of a general control over the principal States of India established in the hands of the superior power, and exercised with equality and moderation through the medium of alliances contracted with these States on the basis of security and protection of their respective rights."

1. Singh, *op. cit.*, pp. 95-97.

2. Vide Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes by Taraknath Das, Madras, 1925, p. 32; Collected Papers of John Westlake on Public International Law, edited by Dr. L. Oppenheim (Cambridge, 1914), p. 205.

3. For a concise but excellent study of Lord Wellesley's policy towards Indian Princes, see Chap. XX of The History of British India by Roberts, Oxford University Press, 1923.

This the motive of the treaties of alliance with Indian States was to reduce them to the status of Subsidiary States. The history of India under British rule for the last century and a half bears witness to the successful achievement of this purpose. Hyderabad was no exception to the general rule.

By 1813, during the administration of Lord Hastings as Governor-General of India, a new policy of "subordinate isolation" was inaugurated in relation to the Indian Princes. As the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* put it:

"A policy of subordinate isolation (in matters of relations with other States in particular) including all States up to Sind, the Punjab and Burma, took the place of empty professions of non-interference which the Parliament had preached. The policy lasted until the Mutiny, and it included a period in which Lord Dalhousie gave effect to the doctrine of lapse by annexing "dependent" Native States, on the failure of male heirs to the Hindu rulers. Most of the treaties or engagements concluded with the protected States were made during this period . . . The main change introduced by Lord Hastings was the extension of British suzerainty over the whole of India east of the Punjab and west of Burma . . ."

In this connection it may be noted that Prof. Edward Thompson, in his *The Making of the Indian Princes* quotes Sir Charles Malet to the effect that the Nizam of Hyderabad in 1803 was virtually a tributary State to the Marhattas.⁵ Prof. Thompson's general conclusion on the status of Indian Princes in relation to the East India Company after 1813 is interesting and illuminating:

"Its result (of the Second Anglo-Marhatta War) involved the subordination of the 'country Powers' to the East India Company's Government, whose paramountcy now merely waited for the name. After 1819, only stupidity and hypocrisy or excess of tactfulness could pretend that the East India Company was not the Paramount Power or that any of the Princes were its equals in status; the Third Anglo-Marhatta War had made this clear. . . ."⁶

After British success in suppressing the Sepoy Mutiny 1857-1858, the policy of "subordinate isolation" was replaced by the doctrine of "subordinate co-operation." The transfer of the Government of India to the Crown, after the suppression of the Mutiny, left the British Government in name as well as in reality the suzerain power. As Lord Canning wrote in 1850:

"The last vestige of the Royal House at Delhi which we had long been content to accept as a vicarious authority, has been swept away. The distinction between the independent and dependent States lost its significance. *Sanads* of adoption and

succession were conferred upon the Rulers of larger States. The doctrine of lapse gave place to public assurance of the desire of the paramount power to perpetuate the houses of the principal ruling families."

The doctrine of "subordinate co-operation" presupposed the relation between master and vassal and unquestioned loyalty to the master's will in order that the latter's superior interests may be preserved. Lord Canning made this concept distinct and clear in his declarations to the Indian Princes. On the rights of Indian Princes he stated:

"Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who now govern their territories should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued, I hereby in fulfilment of this desire convey to you the assurance that, on the failure of natural heirs, the adoption, by yourself and the future rulers of your State, of a successor according to Hindu or Mohammedan Law and the customs of your race, will be recognized and confirmed. Be sure that nothing shall disturb the engagement just made to you, so long as your house is loyal and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants and engagements which record its obligations to the British Government."

Thus loyalty to the British Crown or the British Government in India was for the Princes an obligation without which they had no rights whatsoever. But the British Government had the right to interfere in the internal affairs of any of the Indian States, if the Suzerain Power saw fit to do so.⁷

By this imposition of complete isolation and subordinate co-operation, the Indian Princely States were reduced to a position of complete subordination to the British Government of India. The extent of this subordination is set forth in Volume IV of the *Imperial Gazetteer*:

"At the outset, then, an obligation was imposed and accepted by even the largest States, which prevented their rulers from entering into relations with foreign nations or other States. The doctrine of isolation was carried so far that the employment of the subjects of European nations, or of Americans, without the previous sanction of the Government (British) was strictly forbidden . . . His subjects when outside his dominions become to all intents and purposes, British subjects, as shown by the Treaty with Maskat in 1873, which declares that the words "British subjects" in all treaties between the British Government and the Maskat State shall include subjects of Indian Native States. If an American or a Frenchman shall be accused of committing offence in a Native State, his government would expect that he should receive justice, and the Suzerain Power take the responsibility of ensuring that result. In short, in all circumstances where foreign interests are concerned, the Paramount Power must act so that no just cause of offence may be given by its "subordinate allies,"

4. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, 1907. Published under the authority of His Majesty's Secretary of State for India in Council. Oxford: Clarendon Press. Pp. 77-82. (Italics mine).

5. Prof. Edward Thompson: *The Making of the Indian Princes*. Oxford, 1944. P. 14.

6. Prof. Edward Thompson: *Op. cit.*, p. vi.

7. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IX, p. 82.

8. "Liability to intervention in case of grave misrule is an incident common to all the States. There are also other occasions for interference which are likely to be taken whenever they occur."—*Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, page 83.

and they in turn must fulfil the obligations incurred on their behalf. So, too, the external boundary of a frontier or maritime State is regarded for international purposes as a British frontier, and the Native Chiefs can have no admiralty rights save such as are specially allowed to them by the Paramount Power.⁹

Isolation of Native States, as described above, necessarily resulted in limitation of their power and led ultimately to the loss of the last vestige of sovereignty. How far this process went, the *India Year Book* of 1922 described in the following significant passage :

" . . . The Native States are under an obligation not to enter into relations with foreign nations or other States ; the authority of their rulers has no existence outside their territories. Their subjects outside their dominions become for all intents and purposes British subjects. Where foreign interests are concerned, the Paramount Power (the British Government in India) acts so that no just cause of offence is given by its subordinate allies. All Native States alike are under an obligation to refer to the British every question of dispute with other States. Inasmuch as the Native States have no use for a military display or for co-operation with the Imperial Government, their military forces and armament are prescribed by the Paramount Power. Although old and unaltered treaties declare that the British Government will have no manner of concern with any of Maharaja's dependents or servants, with respect to whom the Maharaja is absolute, logic and public opinion have endorsed the principle which Lord Canning set forth in the Minutes of 1860 that 'the Government of India is not precluded from stepping in to set right such serious abuses in a native Government' as may threaten any part of the country with anarchy or disturbance nor from assuming temporary charge of a Native State when there shall be sufficient reason to do so. Of this necessity the Governor-General in Council is the sole judge, subject to the control of the Parliament. . . . Where cantonments exist in Native territories jurisdiction both over the Cantonment and the civil station is exercised by the Suzerain Power. . . ."¹⁰

Professor John Westlake in his *Collected Papers on Public Law* described fully the limitation of power of the Native States of India stressing their inability to have official intercourse either with one another or with any power outside the Empire. They were not able, he pointed out, even to send representatives to Calcutta (then the capital of British India), but had to communicate with the British Government through the British representatives at their courts. When it

was necessary to establish a course of extradition or of any other dealings between two of them, each had to make an agreement with the British Government to that effect. *They could not unite in any representation to the Government of India, even when having identical interests on any question, but each must approach it separately.* They could not receive even commercial agents from foreign States, had no direct communications with Consuls or commercial agents accredited by foreign states to the Government of India. They were precluded from receiving foreign decorations except through the British Government, and from conferring any honor or privileges on any person but their own subjects.¹¹

In view of the limited sovereignty of the Native States of India, there could be no question of treaty rights on the basis of equality granted to sovereign states, according to International law. Hence the Government of India decapitated the international existence of all Indian Native States by Circular No. 1700E, August 21, 1891 which reads as follows :

*"The principles of International Law have no bearing upon the relations between the Government of India as representing the Queen Empress of India on the one hand, and the Native States under the suzerainty of Her Majesty on the other. The paramount supremacy of the former presupposes and implies the subordination of the latter."*¹²

Prof. Westlake makes further interesting observations regarding the actual status of Indian Princes :

*"The Native Princes who acknowledge the Imperial Majesty of the United Kingdom have no international existence. That their dominions are contrasted with the dominions of the Queen and their subjects are contrasted with the subjects of the Queen, are niceties of speech handed down from other days and now devoid of international significance, though their preservation may be convenient for purposes internal to the Empire, in other words, constitutional purposes."*¹³

Lawrence in *Principles of International Law* holds that the Indian Princes are not even "part-sovereign" from the point of view of the definition he gives of part-sovereign States :

"Part-sovereign States may be defined positively as political communities in which the domestic rulers possess portion of powers of sovereignty, the remainder being exercised by some external political authority or negatively as States which do not possess absolute control of the whole of their policy. But no such State is a subject of International Law unless the division of powers cuts athwart external affairs, assigning some of them to the house government and some to the outside authority. When a political community is obliged to submit itself habitually in some matters of

9. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 84-85. (Italics mine.)

10. *India Year Book*, 1922, p. 115. (Italics mine). Sir William Hunter in his *Indian Empire* describes the limitation of the right of Indian Princes in the following manner : " . . . The English Government has respected the possessions of Native Chiefs and more than one-third of the country still remains in the hand of the hereditary Rulers . . . The Government (British), as Suzerain in India, does not allow its feudatories to make war upon each other, or to have any relations with foreign States. It interferes when any Chief misgoverns his people ; rebukes, and if needful removes the oppressor, protects the weak ; and firmly imposes peace upon all."

11. *Collected Papers of John Westlake on Public International Law*, pp. 217-218.

12. *Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes* : Tarakan th Das, p. 59.

13. *Collected Papers of John Westlake on Public International Law*, pp. 220-221. Also vide John Basset Moore's *Digest of International Law*, Vol. I, p. 17.

external importance, to the control of another State, it is for international purposes in a condition of part-sovereignty. When a number of political communities join themselves together into a confederation, they are for central purposes in a condition of part-sovereignty. We thus obtain two divisions of part-sovereign States, and it will be convenient to consider each separately. But before we do so, we must exclude altogether from our classification such communities as Native States of India and the Indian tribes of North America. *The former are sometimes spoken of as independent States: but in reality they are not even part-sovereign in the sense given to that term by International Law; for they may not make war or peace or enter into negotiations with any Power except Great Britain.* The latter have been adjudged by the United States Supreme Court in the case of *the Cherokee Nation vs. the State of Georgia*, not to be foreign States, but 'domestic dependent nations.' They cannot deal in any way with any power other than the United States, and consequently International Law knows nothing of them."¹⁴

Hall, in his *Treatise on International Law*, confirms the position of Prof. Lawrence regarding the status of Indian Princes. He states:

*"Protected States, such as those included in the Indian Empire of Great Britain, are not subjects of International Law. Indian Native Princes are theoretically in possession of their internal sovereignty, and in matters not provided for by treaty, a 'residuary jurisdiction' on the part of the Imperial Government is considered to exist, and the treaties themselves are subject to the reservation that they may be disregarded when the supreme interests of the Empire are involved, or even when the interests of the subjects of Native Princes are greatly affected. The treaties really amount to little more than statements of limitations which the Imperial Government, except in very exceptional circumstances places on its own action. No doubt this was not the original intention of many of the treaties, but the conditions of English sovereignty in India have greatly changed since these were concluded, and the modifications of their effect which the changed conditions have rendered necessary, are thoroughly well understood and acknowledged. By notification in its official Gazette of August 21, 1891, the Indian Government declared that the 'principles of International Law have no bearing upon the relations between itself and Native States under the suzerainty of the Queen-Empress.'"*¹⁵

When the rule of the East India Company came to an end in 1858 succeeded by the direct rule of the British Government in India that the status of Indian Princes was reduced to that of simple vassals or rulers of puppet States whose existence was tolerated as a means of strengthening British control over all India. In several instances the British authorities dethroned Indian princes whose loyalty was suspected or who misruled their subjects.

Lord Curzon, at the time of the installation ceremony of the Nawab of Bhawalpore on November 12, 1903, gave the following interesting explanation regarding the position of authority of the Crown in relation to Indian Princes:

*"The political system in India is neither feudalism nor federalism; it is embodied in no constitution; it does not always rest upon treaty. The sovereignty of the Crown is everywhere unchallenged. It has itself laid down the limitations of its own prerogative."*¹⁶

Lord Minto, as the Viceroy of India, in his speech at Udaipur in 1909 expressed the nature of British Suzerainty in very restricted language, but gave essentially the same interpretation as Lord Curzon:

*"Our policy is with rare exceptions, one of non-interference in the internal affairs of the Native States. But in guaranteeing their internal independence, and in undertaking their protection against external aggression, it naturally follows that the Imperial Government has assumed a certain degree of responsibility for the general soundness of their administration and could not consent to incur the reproach of being an indirect instrument of misrule. There are also certain matters in which it is necessary for the Government of India to safeguard the interests of the Community as a whole as well as those of the Paramount Power, such as railways, telegraphs and other services of Imperial character. But the relation of the Supreme Government to the State is one of suzerainty. The foundation stone of the whole system is the recognition of the identity of interests between the Imperial Government and Durbars, and the minimum interference with the latter in their own affairs."*¹⁷

During the twentieth century with the rise of Indian nationalism, it was British policy to assure the Indian Princes that the British Government would not tolerate any act on the part of British subjects which might undermine the authority of Indian Princes in their territory. At the same time the British Government in India made it clear that by asserting British Paramountcy over the Princely States, the Government would use its unlimited power over the affairs of Indian Princes. The Princely States were thus warned against taking part in any activity which might be injurious and detrimental to British rule and suzerainty over all India.

World War I brought about significant changes in the Government of India. The Montagu-Chelmsford Reform Scheme of 1917 and the Government of India Act of 1919 promised that there would be 'progressive realization of responsible government in British India.' It is beyond the scope of our discussion to examine the nature of the Government of India Act of 1919, but the following passage of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report contains most significant ideas regarding the evolution of Dominion Status for Government of India with the Princely States of India as integral parts of a federation:

14. *Principles of International Law*: T. J. Lawrence, New York. 1915. Pp. 62-63.

15. *Treaties of International Law*: William Edward Hall. Seventh edition, 1917. Oxford University Press. Page 27.

16. *Speeches by Lord Curzon*, Vol. III, p. 212.

17. *India Year Book*, 1922, pp. 115-116.

"Our conception of the eventual future of India is a sisterhood of States self-governing in all matters of purely local or provincial interest. . . . Over this congeries of States would preside a Central Government increasingly representative of and responsible to the people of all of them; dealing with matters both internal and external of common interest to the whole of India; acting as an arbiter in inter-State relations and representing the interests of all India on equal terms with the self-governing units of the British Empire. *In this picture there is a place also for the Native States.*"

It should be emphasized that the rightful place of Indian Princely States was thus considered to be within the State which would comprise all India.

To pave the way for Indian Princely States to develop common concern in Indian affairs, and in pursuance of the recommendation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Committee's Report, a Royal Proclamation on February 8, 1921, inaugurated a Chamber of Princes. But the creation of the Chamber of Princes did not change the status of member Princes in relation to the Government of India, the suzerain power. This was quite evident from the fact that even after the inauguration of this body, one of the Princes, the Maharaja of Nabha, was dethroned by the Government of India on the ground that the suzerain power believed that the Prince misgoverned his own State and interfered with the affairs of neighboring Princely States. The Chamber of Princes did not enjoy any executive power, it could discuss *only those subjects* which were referred to it by the Viceroy and present its views merely as advisory opinion. The British Government did not encourage the members of the Indian Chamber of Princes to form any kind of federation of their own or to act collectively on their own initiative. For instance, in 1923 when the Thakur Saheb of Rajkot made a suggestion for the formation of Kathiawad Chamber of Princes, Col. Wood, the Agent of the Government of Bombay, on January 12, 1924, wrote :

"I am directed to inform you that the Government views the Thakore Saheb's proposal to establish a local Chamber of Princes and Chiefs with disapproval and could not agree to it."

It should be carefully noted that the British statesmen as well as historians were quite conscious that, with a change of status in India, Indian Princely States would not be able to carry on their mediaeval form of autocratic government and would have to become closely integrated with the Government of India. Messrs. Thompson and Garratt in their work, *The Rise and Fulfilment of British Rule in India*, wrote :

"We believe that no matter what the Paramount Power may guarantee to Indian Princes of their former status and unimpaired authority, they must come to terms with the majority as the nobles did in mediaeval times and the Samurai in

Japan; and it is obvious that they know it themselves."

Most of the enlightened Princes of India did realize that they should merge their interests with those of a Federated India. The Maharaja of Alwar in the course of his speech at the State Banquet held at the city palace, Alwar, in honor of their Excellencies, the Viceroy and Countess of Reading, and His Highness the Jam Saheb of Nawanagar, on March 29, 1922, gave expression to the ideal cherished by many Indian Princes :

"My goal is the United States of India, where every province and every State, working its own destiny in accordance with its own environment, tradition, history and religion, will combine together for higher and imperial purposes, each subscribing its little quota of knowledge and experience in labor of love freely given for higher and nobler cause."

Inauguration of the Chamber of Princes did not make any difference with regard to the undisputed and unrestricted right of the suzerain power to assert its supremacy over the Indian Princely States. Lord Reading, who was once the Chief Justice in England, while acting as the Governor-General and Viceroy of India, in his famous letters to the Nizam, one of them dated March 22, 1926, made the following judicious declaration which gave the final interpretation of the status of Indian Princes in relation to the British Crown, the Sovereign of India :

"A sovereignty of the Crown is supreme in India. Its supremacy is not based only upon treaties and engagements but exists independently of them, and quite apart from its prerogative in matters relating to foreign power and policies, it is the right and duty of the British Government, while scrupulously respecting all treaties and engagements, to preserve peace and good order throughout India. The consequences that follow are so well-known and so clearly apply no less to Your Exalted Highness than to other rulers that it seems hardly necessary to point them out. But if illustrations are necessary, I would remind your Exalted Highness that the Ruler of Hyderabad along with other rulers received in 1862 a sanad declaratory of the British Government's desire for the perpetuation of his house and government subject to continued loyalty to the Crown; that no succession to the Musnad of Hyderabad is valid unless it is recognized by His Majesty the King Emperor; and that the British Government is the only arbiter in case of disputed succession.

The right of the British Government to intervene in internal affairs of Indian State is another instance of the consequence necessarily involved in the supremacy of the British Crown . . . When Imperial interests are concerned or general welfare of the people of the State is seriously and grievously affected by the action of its government, it is with the Paramount Power that the ultimate necessity for taking remedial action, if necessary, must lie."

19. *Indian Review*, Madras, India, April 1922, p. 275.

20. (a) *Indian States and the Government of India* K. M. Panikkar, London, 1927, pp. 47-48; (b) *Indian Constitutional Documents* by A. C. Banerjee, Calcutta, 1946, Vol. 2, pp. 458-462; (c) *White Paper on Hyderabad* : Fort of India, New Delhi, 1948, pp. 13-48.

Lord Reading further wrote to the Nizam in 1926 :

"The Sovereignty of the British Crown is supreme in India, and therefore no Ruler of an Indian State can justifiably claim to negotiate with the British Crown on an equal footing."²¹

It should be kept in mind that this interpretation of the right of the British Government in India to interfere in the internal affairs of the State of Hyderabad, including matters of succession was accepted by the Nizam of Hyderabad. In fact, there was no alternative but to accept the British Government in India as the sole arbiter of its position in relation to all Indian States.

In conformity with the above declarations, the *Indian States Inquiry Committee*, popularly known as the Butler Committee, came to the following interesting conclusion regarding the status of Indian Princes without any exception:

"It is not in accordance with historical fact that when the Indian States came into contact with the British Power they were independent. In fact, none of the States ever held international status. Nearly all of them were subordinate or tributary to the Moghul Empire, the Mahratta supremacy, or the Sikh Kingdom and dependent on them. Some were rescued, others were created by the British."²²

Indian political scientists who have carefully weighed all factors—legal, political—have come to the conclusion that the idea that Indian Princes (under British suzerainty) had sovereign rights as rulers, is really a myth and a fiction.²³

Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh put the case in a nutshell when he wrote:

"It may tickle the vanity of Indian Princes to be called 'sovereign' but they do not possess in reality even 'internal sovereignty.'"²⁴

Although the Simon Commission discussed the question of the Princely States of India in a future constitution of India, it nowhere designated independent status for them outside of India. On the contrary, the Simon Commission Report, like the Montagu-Chelmsford Report, held that ultimately India should have a federal constitution:

"It is only in a federal constitution that units differing so widely in constitution as the Province and the States (Princely) can be brought together while retaining internal autonomy."²⁵

This idea of Indian States as component parts of an Indian Federation had considerable support from certain Indian Princes, before, during and after the Round Table Conference held in London during 1930-

1933, a conference which resulted in the formulation of the Government of India Act of 1935. For instance, the Maharaja of Bikanir in support of the idea in 1929 said:

"They (some of the Princes) have openly given expression to the belief that the ultimate solution of the Indian problem and the ultimate goal—whenever circumstances are favourable and the time is ripe for it—is Federation, which word has no terror for Princes and the Governments of the States."²⁶

It is sufficient to mention that the Government of India Act of 1935 which remained as the basic law for the Government of India until the Independence of India Act of 1947 came into operation, did not provide for any change of status of Indian Princes in relation to the suzerain Power, the Government of British India.

The first effort on the part of the British Government to change that relationship with an eye to the independent regime which began to appear inevitable, had been undertaken by the Cripps Mission headed by Sir Stafford Cripps at the end of 1942 when the Japanese had occupied Singapore and Burma and threatened an attack on India in co-operation with the Indian Revolutionary Army led by Subhas Bose. The Cripps plan opened the way to the Balkanization of India, for it "accorded the right to any Province or (Princely) State of India not to adhere to the new Constitution" of a Free India within or outside the British Empire. By this plan the British Government, under the leadership of Mr. Churchill, extended its support and encouragement to "partition of India into Pakistan and Hindustan." Provinces, predominantly Moslem in population, might thus not become a part of a United Federated India. It was well understood by the planners that this policy would accentuate Hindu-Moslem disunity, fostered by "communal representation" on the basis of religion, by the Morely-Minto Reform of 1909. As for the Indian Princes, the Cripps plan proposed made it clear that they need not accede to a Federal India, but might establish independent relations with the British Government. This was one of the principal reasons for the rejection of Sir Stafford Cripps' proposition by the All-India National Congress.²⁷

One of the cardinal principles of the Congress Party had always been to maintain the territorial and administrative unity of India including the Princely States. This was made clear by the resolution adopted by the Haripura session of the All-India National Congress in 1938. The resolution reads as follows:

"The Congress stands for the same political, social and economic freedom in the States as in the rest of India and considers the States as an integral part of India which cannot be separated. The Purna Swaraj or complete independence which is

21. *Subject India* : H. N. Brailsford, New York, 1943, p. 130.

22. *Indian States Inquiry Commission* (C. 3302 of 1929), para 39, p. 23.

23. *Sovereign Rights of Indian Princes* : Taraknath Das, Madras, 1925, p. 18.

24. *Indian States and British India : Their Future Relations* : Prof. Gurmukh Nihal Singh, Benares, 1930, p. 122.

25. *Indian States and Indian Federation* : Sir Geoffrey de Montmorency, Cambridge University Press, 1942, p. 105.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 121.

27. *Constitutional Proposals of the Sapru Committee*, Bombay, 1946, pp. 101-102.

the objective of Congress is for the whole of India, inclusive of the States, for the integrity and unity of India must be maintained in freedom as it has been maintained in subjection.

The only kind of federation that can be acceptable to Congress is one in which the States participate as free units enjoying the same measure of democracy and freedom as in the rest of India.

The Congress therefore stands for full responsible Government and the guarantee of civil liberties in the States and deplores the present backward conditions and utter lack of freedom and suppression of civil liberties in many of the States.²⁸

Although the majority of the people of India and the Indian National Congress Party was on principle opposed to partition of India in any form, the British (Labor) Government through its Cabinet Mission of 1946, headed by Lord Pethick Lawrence, made it clear that Britain would not agree to India's demand for freedom and "quit India" unless the All-India National Congress Party and the Moslem League could come to terms about the future of India. This could only mean acceptance of the Moslem League's demand for division of India into Pakistan—predominantly Moslem in population—and Hindustan or the Union of India—predominantly Hindu in population. The Cabinet Mission further proposed, as had Sir Stafford Cripps four years earlier, that the Indian States should be free to accede to either Pakistan or the Union of India, or to remain outside of both the Dominions.

During the Cabinet Mission of 1946 it was intimated by a British Government declaration of May 16th, that with the attainment of Indian independence there would be a change of the relationship between Indian Princes and the Government of India with regard to paramountcy:

"Before putting forward our recommendations we turn to deal with the relationship of the Indian States to British India. It is quite clear that with the attainment of independence by British India, whether inside or outside the British Commonwealth, the relationship which has hitherto existed between the Rulers of the States and the British Crown will no longer be possible. Paramountcy can neither be retained by the British Crown nor transferred to the new government. . ."

In this connection, it must be pointed out that the Cabinet Mission was incompetent to determine what should be the position of the "new government" in relation to Indian Princes. No declaration can take away the inherent power of a new Central Government in relation to territories historically dependent upon the Central authority in all such vital matters of sovereignty as defense, foreign policy and communications.

It is interesting to note that the Cabinet Mission, for all its advocacy of freedom for the Princely States, could nevertheless not shut its eyes to the need of development of a federal India of which the Princely States would become component parts. In one of its recommendations it clearly said :

28. *The Problem of India* : R. Palme Dutt, New York, 1943, p. 111.

"There should be a Union of India, embracing both British India and the States, which should deal with the following subjects: Foreign Affairs, Defence and Communications; and should have the powers necessary to raise the finances required for the above subjects. . . . The States will retain all subjects and Powers other than those ceded to the Union."²⁹

Despite this clear recognition of the imperative need for a functioning Union of India, the Indian Independence Act of August 15, 1947, speaking of the consequences of the setting up of the new Dominion on the appointed date of August 15, 1947, made the following provision regarding the relations between the British Government and Indian Princely States :

"As from the appointed day (August 15, 1947)

. . . (b) the suzerainty of His Majesty over Indian States lapses, and with it all treaties and agreements in force at the date of passing of this Act between His Majesty and the Rulers of Indian States, all functions exercisable by His Majesty at that date with respect to Indian States, all obligations of His Majesty existing at that date towards Indian States or their Rulers thereof, and all powers, rights, authority or jurisdiction exercisable by His Majesty at that date in or in relation to Indian States by treaty, grant, usage, sufferance or otherwise; (c) Provided that, notwithstanding anything in paragraph (b) or paragraph (c) of this sub-section, effect shall, as nearly as may be, continue to be given to the provisions of any such agreement as therein referred to which relate to customs, transit and communications, post and telegraphs or other like matters, until the provisions in question are denounced by the Ruler of the Indian State or person having authority in the tribal areas on the one hand, or by the Dominion or Province or other part thereof concerned on the other hand, or are suspended by subsequent agreements."³⁰

In other words, by the Independence of India Act, the Government of India was divested of paramountcy.

To meet this new unworkable situation, the Government of the Union of India approached the Indian Princely States to accede to the Union on terms according to which the Princely States would enjoy the rights of being an integral part of the Union. Paramountcy was thus to be replaced by partnership. It is possibly the greatest achievement of the Government of the Union of India that it has been able to arrange for consolidation of small Princely States into confederations which have acceded to the Union while all other large states except Hyderabad have either acceded to the Union of India or Pakistan.³¹

When negotiations were begun with the State of Hyderabad by Lord Mountbatten, the Governor-General of India, the Government of the Nizam answered that it would not accede either to Pakistan or the Union, but asserted its independent status. The

29. *White Paper on Indian States*, published by the Government of India, New Delhi, July, 1948, pp. 45-46.

30. *Indian Independence Act*, 1947, 10 and 11 Geo. 6, Ch. 30, pp. 4-5.

31. For details see *White Paper on Indian States*, Government of India Press, New Delhi, 1946.

Government of the Union of India could not consent to any such step, and therefore on November 29, 1947, a Standstill Agreement for a year between the Government of the Nizam and the Government of the Union of India was concluded. By Article I of this Agreement, it was agreed :

"Until new arrangements in this behalf are made, all agreements and administrative arrangements as to the matters of common concern, including External Affairs, Defence and Communications, which were existing between the Crown, and the Nizam immediately before August 15, 1947, shall in so far as may be appropriate, continue as between the Dominion of India (or any part thereof) and the Nizam."³²

After the signing of the Standstill Agreement, negotiations were carried on between the Governments of the Union of India and Hyderabad to come to a permanent agreement. The Indian Government proposed that the State of Hyderabad, like other States, Mysore, Travancore, etc., should accede to the Indian Union. It should also democratize the Government of the State which is now a feudal autocracy where Moslem feudal barons belonging to the minority community ruled over the Hindu majority. Of the sixteen millions of population of Hyderabad more than four millions or 88 per cent are Hindus tyrannized over by the Moslems, the minority community. Hyderabad rejected these terms and wanted to assert an independence which it has not enjoyed since the days of the Moghul Empire.³³

32. *Indian Information*, Vol. 21, Dec. 15, 1947, p. 357.

33. The very title "Nizam" means the superintendent of a territory under the Moghul Empire, and succession of a Nizam was invariably sanctioned by the Moghul Empire. After the suzerainty of the Moghul Empire passed into the hands of the East India Company, the succession of the Nizam had to be approved by the East India

Company. No independent country has its rulers' succession approved by another power.

During recent months a military Fascist organization named the Razakars, composed of fanatical Moslems of Hyderabad, burned Hindu villages and killed hundreds of unarmed Hindu peasants and abducted and raped many Hindu women and also violated Indian territories by attacking certain villages. The Government of India had moreover ample ground to believe that the Hyderabad Government was violating the Standstill Agreement by systematic gunrunning. This forced the Government of India to send a punitive expedition of limited character to protect the people and to preserve the peace which the Government of Hyderabad was incapable of carrying out. The Government of Hyderabad rejected the intervention of the Government of India, in consequence of which the large-scale Indian expedition was sent to Hyderabad, culminating in complete surrender of the Nizam who acknowledged the misgovernment and the violation of the Agreement of his Ministers and asked for the withdrawal of the Hyderabad case from the U. N.

From the facts above presented, it should become abundantly clear that Hyderabad has no legal status as a State from the standpoint of international law and that any United Nations intervention in the Hyderabad question will constitute an unwarranted interference with India's internal affairs and national security. All the more unwarranted since the matter has to all intents and purposes been settled between the Government of India and the Nizam.*

* This paper was originally prepared as "brief" and presented to the Secretariat of the United Nations and members of various delegations by the author. Later on the material of the brief has been used for this article.

:O:

POSITION OF THE DOMINIONS IN BRITISH COMMONWEALTH And Their International Status

By SHARAD KUMARI DUBEY, M.A.

IN 1857, the word "Dominion" was applied to Canada out of difference between the mother country and the self-governing colony. It simply meant a self-governing colony with certain limitations. Gradually other Dominions were established, such as Australia, New Zealand, the Union of South Africa, New Foundland, the Irish Free State, and of recent India, Pakistan, Burma, and Ceylon. These Dominions pressed for more and more liberty with regard to internal and external affairs. Numerous conferences were held attended by the Premiers of Great Britain and the Dominions in order to discuss problems that confronted the Empire as a whole and affected the relations of the members *inter se*. The object of the conferences was to seek a general agreement on principles of common concern.

II

So far as the internal freedom is concerned the Dominions have got the right of passing any law even though repugnant to the Imperial Statutes applying to such Dominions. They are sovereign units within their own sphere but the Imperial Conference of 1926 in a document known as the Balfour Report declared :

"They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by a common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

In 1929 a committee representing Great Britain and the Dominions was appointed to report on the method of bringing the old legal restrictions and the new constitutional practice into harmony. The Imperial

Conference of 1930 accepted the report of the committee, and finally in December, 1931, the British Parliament passed the Statute of Westminster.

III

The Statute of Westminster legally recognised the equal status of the Dominions with the mother country and thus virtually accorded them independence. It empowered the Dominion legislatures to enact laws even in conflict with the British laws, and thus abolish the Colonial Laws Validity Act. It also enabled the Dominion legislatures to pass laws having extra-territorial operation, for example, laws applying to Dominion citizens living abroad or travelling on high seas. No law of the British Parliament was to be applicable to any Dominion unless the latter specifically requested and consented. Moreover, it laid down that henceforth no alteration in the laws concerning succession to the Throne or the Royal Style and Titles might be made without the assent of the Dominion legislatures as well as the British Parliament. Thus at the time of the abdication of King Edward VIII, Mr. Baldwin (later Lord) consulted all the Dominion Governments along with the British Parliament. The Dominions have become autonomous units of the British Commonwealth avowing allegiance to the one and same symbol of unity the Crown.

IV

Regarding their internal freedom the Dominions are Sovereign entities except certain restrictions with regard to their constituent powers. Section 7 of the Statute defines that the British North American Act cannot be altered by the Canadian Parliament. Similarly there are certain restrictions imposed upon the constituent powers of New Zealand. The Imperial Act of 1852 which granted the legislature to amend or repeal the provisions of the constitution made certain reservations, such as the legislature shall consist of two houses and it shall have to take the oath of allegiance to the Crown. As regards Australia it is provided that she shall have no power to amend or repeal the constitution otherwise than in accordance with the pre-existing law of referendum. It is remarkable that the Irish Free State and the Union of South Africa enjoy a favourable position in the Commonwealth so far as their constituent powers are concerned. The Free State of Ireland has decided to repeal the External Relations Act of 1930, and to abolish the oath of allegiance to the Crown, thus severing away the last tie with the Commonwealth. The Dominion of Burma has already declared her intention to break away from the Commonwealth, and there is a similar move in India, and the matter is under consideration of the Constituent Assembly. The decision of Pakistan and Ceylon is unknown yet, as it depends upon the peculiar conditions, economic, political and strategic facing each country.

V

The Dominions are given more and more freedom in shaping their foreign policies so much to say that

at present their status is virtually indistinguishable from any independent State. Legally there is nothing to bind them with the British Empire but in practice they have to look to the British Government for initiative and guidance with regard to their foreign policy and defence. It is because of the fact that none of the Dominions today is a first-rate power, and as long as they do not break away from the British Commonwealth they enjoy the protection of a powerful navy. Thus the freedom accorded to the Dominions leads some political observers to remark that the British Empire is the frailest of political structure.

VI

The international status of the British self-governing Dominions has been anomalous. Theoretically Canada, Australia, South Africa, and New Zealand were colonial possessions till 1919, and had no international personality, but in practice these colonies had attained a degree of independence in their foreign as well as domestic affairs, which placed them in the category of more advanced protectorates. Thus the status of the Dominions has been changing from time to time. They were given a limited personality in International politics when in 1919 the representatives of the aforesaid dominions were allowed to sign the treaty of Versailles along with the other delegates of the Allies. Again each of them became a member of the League, and India was also allotted a seat though she was not a Dominion at that time. At present all the Dominions of the British Commonwealth except Ceylon are members of the United Nations. It proves that they occupy an equal status among the members of the family of nations.

VII

The resolution of the Imperial Conference of 1926 regarding the position and mutual relations between Great Britain and the Dominions is very controversial. So far as its legal aspect is concerned, to quote the exact words of the Conference :

"They are autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs, though united by the common allegiance to the Crown, and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

Further, while clarifying the implication of the word "status" it says that by "status" is meant equality of status and not equality of function.

"The principle of equality and similarity appropriate to status, do not universally extend to function. Here we require something more immutable than dogmas, i.e., to deal with questions of diplomacy and defence. We require also flexible machinery which can from time to time be adopted to the changing circumstances of the world. This subject has also occupied our attention."

VIII

Dr. Keith Schlossberg and Baker and a host of others have tried to explain the meaning of the word "status" in the context of the resolution. Appa-

rently there are two schools of thought, one emphasising equality of status and the other equality of function. Dr. Keith in his book *Sovereignty of the Dominions* writes :

"The essential position is that the autonomy of the Dominions wide in importance as it is, is subject to certain limitations."

Further with regard to the right of the Dominions concerning war and neutrality he holds that the Empire can only be at war or peace as a whole, thus denying the right of the Dominions to declare war or to be neutral. But time has proved that the Dominions can remain neutral when the Commonwealth is at war, as Ireland maintained perfect neutrality in World War II.

IX

CAN A MEMBER OF THE COMMONWEALTH DECLARE WAR ON ANOTHER MEMBER OR ON THE COMMONWEALTH ?

The issue is of vital importance. The two new sister Dominions, i.e., Pakistan and India, are already at war in Kashmir though it has not been officially declared. Again, India's dispute with another member of the British Commonwealth, i.e., South Africa has taken a serious turn owing to the recent political changes in that Dominion. Dr. Malan's hostile policy towards the non-white population, which has surpassed his predecessor General Smuts' has worsened the situation. Besides, India's relations with Ceylon are not cordial either, as the latter has enacted laws of citizenship debarring the Indians who have permanently settled there from enjoying equal political rights with the Ceylonese. All these questions are of vital importance to the Dominions.

X

The problem of declaration of war on the Commonwealth by the Dominions is of great legal controversy. The British Commonwealth is a myth, it has no personality. Schlossberg in his book *The King and the Republic* writes :

"The Britannic alliance has no personality, can own no property except as a partnership, has no corporate conscience, cannot sue or be sued, and has only a common will, when acting together after consultation and agreement in a definite transaction. It is merely a name indicating, not a body corporate like the League, nor a confederation like the United States of America, but an association of States free to agree whether or not they will act in a particular manner for a particular purpose."

Thus the whole issue is of a very controversial nature, and it would be better on our part to leave it on time and international developments.

XI

CAN THE DOMINIONS SECEDE FROM THE COMMONWEALTH ?

This problem has been constantly engaging the attention of the constitutionalists. Legally speaking so far as the definition of the Statute of Westminster goes there is no scope for the Dominions to secede from the Commonwealth, as they are united by common allegiance to the Crown. If the Dominions break away from the Commonwealth the whole structure will shatter. Therefore, unless the Statute of Westminster is repealed or suitably amended the constitutional position of the Dominions remains unaltered with regard to their right of secession. But the recent decision of the Irish Free State to break away from the Commonwealth as also the declaration of Burma to the same effect rules out any legal controversy in the face of practical politics.

XII

DOMINIONS' RIGHT TO MAKE TREATIES

So far as the report of the Imperial Conference of 1926 goes the Dominions are debarred from making a treaty without due consideration to its possible effect on the Empire as a whole in general and its component units in particular. Therefore, before the negotiations are opened steps should be taken by the parties concerned to ensure that all the Governments of the Empire are informed, so that if the interest of any of them is involved she may participate and express her views. However, bilateral treaties imposing obligations on one part of the Empire are signed by the representatives of that Government. It is important to note that all the treaties made by the Dominions must bear the signature of the King, after their ratification by the heads of the Governments concerned. Similarly all the important appointments especially foreign, such as ambassadors, envoys, consuls, are made by the King on the advice of the Prime Minister of the Dominion concerned.

CONCLUSION

Thus it is obvious that the international status of the Dominions is anomalous and most peculiar among the Independent Sovereign States of the world. To accord them a semi-Sovereign status is a sheer mockery. According to the rules of the international laws a state is either a full-fledged sovereign state or a protectorate of some other power. There is no middle course. The status of the Dominions remains uncertain in the present political set-up unless the Statute of Westminster is repealed.



GANDHIAN PLAN AND FULL EMPLOYMENT

BY PRINCIPAL SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, Wardha

ECONOMISTS all the world over agree that the first and the most important objective of national planning should be the provision for full employment in the country. Unemployment, it should be carefully understood, includes partial employment or underemployment as well. Viewed from this standpoint, any economic plan for India must take note of the colossal waste of national energy involved in enforced idleness for several months in a year on 75 per cent of the working population in this country. Although the different Economic Plans that have been published in India have emphasised the need for full employment, they have not cared to work out the detailed implications of a policy of complete employment. In India, the problem assumes all the more importance because capital is scarce and labour is abundant. A big country like America with a very sparse population, perhaps, cannot but industrialise; but India cannot afford to copy this Western model. According to Gandhiji :

"Mechanisation is good when hands are too few for the work intended to be accomplished ; it is an evil when there are more hands than required for the work, as is the case in India."¹

Nazi Germany and Soviet Russia tried to 'totalitarian solution' of unemployment completely planned and regimented by an irremovable and dictatorial central authority. This solution is not relished by the economists of the Western democracies :

"It is a vitally important safeguard for the preservation of personal liberty that the citizens of a free society shall enjoy the opportunity to choose between numerous employers, including private entrepreneurs, co-operative societies and governments, federal, state and local."²

The British and American economists have suggested various ways and means of achieving full employment in a democratic world. They include the undertaking of public works, encouragement of private employers by means of subsidies, payment of increased incomes in the forms of pensions and family allowances, expansion of exports and restriction of imports.

The remedies suggested above are only illustrative and not exhaustive. It is unnecessary here to analyse them and discuss their merits and demerits. But the fact remains that the democratic countries of the West have so far failed to provide full employment to their able-bodied citizens despite maximum industrialization. The Western economists' definition of 'full employment' is not very ambitious either.

"Full employment," observes Beveridge, "does not mean literally no unemployment, that is to say, that every man and woman in the country who is

fit and free for work is employed productively on every day of his or her working life."

Seasonal, transitional, frictional, and technological types of unemployment are taken for granted even under a policy of "full employment." In the United States, for example, these different kinds of recognised 'unemployment' would mean perhaps 4 or 5 per cent of the labour force unemployed or an average unemployment of about 3 million.

It is significant to know that in the United Kingdom, unemployment ranged from 10 per cent to 22 per cent in the inter-war years. The average rate was 21.3 per cent in 1931-1933, and in the relatively good years 1935-1938 it was 13.1 per cent. At the outbreak of the war in 1939 unemployment was still 10.3 per cent. In the United States unemployment averaged 11,800,000 in 1931-33, or 23.8 per cent of the total labour force. In 1936-1939, the average was 8,600,000 or 16.3 per cent of the total labour force. In 1940 unemployment was still 7,500,000, or 13.8 per cent. Employment had indeed increased by 9.2 million from the bottom of the depression to 1940. But in the mean time the labour force had increased by nearly 600,000 per year.³

It should also be remembered that the Western nations have been trying to provide maximum employment to their labour force at the cost of international peace.

"A policy of full employment means maximum production, increased exports, scramble for foreign markets and raw materials leading to the political conflicts and armed interference."⁴

It will now be desirable to study in detail the conditions of employment as they stand in India. In the 1931 Census, the total population of British India and the States was 352.83 millions. The occupational distribution was as under :

Occupation	Actual workers (in millions)	Subsidiary occupations	Percentage of workers to total following population
Agriculture	103.29	7.46	65.60
Mining	.34	.05	.24
Industry	15.35	2.17	10.38
Trade and Transport	10.25	1.86	7.18
Public administration and liberal Arts	4.15	.67	2.86
Domestic Service	10.90	.90	6.23
Total	153.92	14.88	100.00

Unfortunately there are no occupational statistics in the Census of 1941. But if we adopt the same proportions as in 1931, the comparative figures will be approximately as follows :

1. *Harijan*, 16-11-1934.

2. *Economic Policy and Full Employment* by Alvin H. Hansen, p. 17.

3. *Economic Policy and Full Employment*, p. 121.

4. *Gandhian Plan Reaffirmed* by Principal S. N. Agarwal,

Occupation	Actual workers (in millions)	Subsidiary occupation	Percentage
Agriculture and Mining	114	9	66
Industry	16	2	10
Trade and Transport	11	2	7
Public administration and liberal Arts	4	1	3
Domestic Service	12	2	8
Miscellaneous	11	1	6
Total	168	17	100

The standard proportion of working and non-working population in a country should be 2 : 1, the working population including all adults over 18 years and below 60 with the exception of the infirm and the invalid.⁵ But as the expectation of life in India is lower than that of the Western countries, a reasonable proportion in our country between the working and non-working populations may be regarded as 50 : 50. At this rate, out of the total population of 389 millions in 1941, the working population will be approximately 195 millions. But, as the above figures indicate, only 168 million workers were employed in that year, i.e., 27 million were without adequate employment. Even if we include half of the 17 million people who carried on subsidiary occupations, the total number of the unemployed would amount to about 20 million workers. Moreover, 114 million peasants dependent on agriculture are idle for about 4 months in a year.

For the purpose of scientific and economic planning in India we will have to take into consideration the pressure of population on land. The total area actually cultivated in British India and States before partition was 278 million acres. The cultivable waste and current fallows were 116 million and 60 million acres respectively. The rest is uncultivable and covered with forests. It has been calculated that the best results are achieved, if a holding of 20 acres is cultivated by a family consisting of five members. At this rate, 278 million acres can support only about 70 million of the total population or nearly 35 million people of the working population. If we add to the area sown the cultivable waste and current fallows, the total area available for cultivation can be 454 million acres. This acreage can provide employment to about 75 million workers or nearly 38 per cent of the employable population. Out of the 114 million workers the rest will, therefore, have to be diverted from land and given some other employment. We should also bear in mind that our population is increasing every year at the rate of 5 million souls. Jobs will have to be provided to this additional number as well.

It will be interesting to study the ideal proportion that should exist between different occupations in this country. Let us note in this connection the figures of a few countries in the West :

Country	Year	Percentage of occupied population engaged in		
		Industry, mining and transport	Agriculture, fishing and forestry	All other occupations
Great Britain	1931	53	6	41
Belgium	1930	53	17	30
Holland	1930	48	20	32
Germany	1933	47	29	24
France	1931	39	36	25
Denmark	1930	33	35	32
Hungary	1930	27	53	20
Poland	1931	19	65	16
Yugoslavia	1931	13	79	8
U.S.S.R.	1937	46	18	36

After examining the figures given above it will perhaps be reasonable to fix the following proportion between different occupations in India. Before partition, the total population of undivided India was 400 millions, the working population amounting to 200 millions :

Occupation	Number to be employed (in millions)	Percentage to the total working population
Agriculture	80	40
Industry	60	30
Commerce (trade, transport, etc.)	20	10
Public administration	10	5
Domestic Service	20	10
Miscellaneous	10	5
Total	200	100

In agriculture, it may be possible to absorb 80 million workers if the Government reclaims the waste land to some extent and helps the agriculturists to introduce intensive cultivation on a co-operative basis. In Free India, Commerce and Public administration will also be able to employ larger numbers. But what about industry ?

In the 1931 Census, out of 15 million workers engaged in Industry only about 1.5 millions were employed in organized and large-scale industries. In 1939, the figure stood at 2.03 millions. It may, therefore, be estimated that at present not more than 2.5 millions are working in large industrial establishments. The Bombay Planners visualise an increase of 500 per cent in industrial development. But if full scope is to be provided to small-scale industries, it may not be possible to expand the large-scale establishments five-fold. Still, let us presume that at the most 10 million workers will be absorbed in large-scale industries within the next ten or fifteen years. The remaining 50 million people out of 60 million allotted to Industries will, therefore, have to be engaged in small-scale and cottage industries throughout the country-side.

It is well-known that the potentiality of a large-scale industry in absorbing labour is very low. It can be judged from the following statistics :

	1911	1921	1931	1941
Persons employed in Industry (In millions)	17.5	15.7	15.3	16.3
Percentage to working population	11.0	11.0	10.5	9.0

5. *Principles of Planning* by K. T. Shah, p. 79.

As regards the details of employment in large-scale and small-scale industries in India, the curious reader can refer to my brochure *Gandhian Plan Reaffirmed* (page 38).

In this connection it will be useful to cast a glance at the figures given below :

Method of Production	Capital intensity or capital invest- ment per head of worker Rs.	Output per head Rs.	Labour employed per unit of capital
1. Modern Mill (large-scale industry)	1,200	650	1
2. Power-loom (small-scale industry)	300	200	3
3. Automatic loom (cottage industry)	90	80	15
4. Handloom (cottage industry)	35	45	25

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It is, therefore, abundantly clear that the organisation of cottage industries on a very wide scale is inevitable if a policy of full-employment is to be sincerely followed by economic planners in this country. Let us not be satisfied with merely paying lip service to this ideal if full-employment is to be achieved ; it is essential that the detailed and far-reaching implications of providing employment to all able-bodied workers of the nation are worked out realistically. When this is done, even orthodox economists would agree that the Gandhian Plan based on nationalisation of basic industries and the decentralisation of consumers' industries on the widest scale is the only satisfactory solution of 'enforced idleness' which is the greatest curse of the toiling millions in our country.

6. *Eastern Economist*, July 23, 1943.

SARDAR VALLABHBHAI PATEL

An Appreciation

By B. R. K.

Nobody could have imagined a year ago that the once fire-eating "agitator" Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel would overnight turn into a first-rate diplomat, an Indian Bismark or Cavour. His Merger Plan has proved him so. It has been a masterpiece of high diplomacy. And what astonishes many, his versatile genius has taken very little time to blossom. If Gandhiji will be remembered by posterity as "the architect of Indian freedom," Sardar Patel will go down in history as the Maker of Modern India—an India strong, united, closely knit into a fine fabric from Kathiawar to Assam and from Kashmir to Cape Comorin.

A realist to the core, the Sardar is solid without the least air of superficiality. He is a man of few words, a man of action. And it is for his sincerity, coupled with wisdom, in politics that he today commands the greatest respect from the greatest numbers. His hold over the masses of Gujerat is immense ; friendship of the millowners of Bombay and Ahmedabad with him verges on veneration, and his sway over the distressed minds of the Punjab's suffering millions is matchless.

Short, thick-set, Patel's grim looks of a Buddhist monk unmistakably reflect the elements he is made of—an inflexible determination, an iron will, an upright character and strong conviction. He is so strong-willed that he seldom likes to brook opposition ; but his views and judgments are always tempered with reason.

The Sardar looks calm and serene without ; within him there is an active volcano. But he does not let this volcano stir up to the point of spitting out lava and causing harm to himself and those around

him. He rather effectively converts it into that Churchillian dynamic energy which is enabling him even at 73 to shoulder the heavy burden of the three most important Ministries in the Government of India—Home, States and Information. This great quality of self-restraint never allows him to grow impetuous. Always wise and judicious in his decisions, he has rightly earned the beautiful appellation of "the Wise Sardar."

Sardar Patel's greatest achievement since independence is his Merger Plan. It is a step towards the real unification of an India which is vast and varied, inhabited by teeming millions adhering to innumerable political and religious doctrines or creeds. Ever since the days of Mauryas and Guptas and Akbar the ideal of national unity had remained confined to the realm of thought. But the Sardar's innate genius has given to this ideal, rather rapidly, a firmer and sounder shape.

The Merger Plan of Sardar Patel has been a great surgical operation. Although much has yet to be achieved by way of "complete recovery," the Sardar has successfully removed the growth of innumerable ulcers in the body-politic of India ; he is trying to destroy, once for all, the deeply-rooted seeds of disunity that have always hindered the country's growth into nationhood. These seeds have been India's curse ever since the times of Prithviraj and Jaipal, Rana Pratap and Man Singh or Siraj-ud-Dullah and Mir Jafar. Our mutual rivalries, jealousies and intrigues have been the cause of our disunity, and our disunity has been the cause of our slavery. The "Wise Sardar"

is laying axe to these roots with a view to preventing history repeat itself.

In less than a year the Sardar has achieved remarkable administrative integration of the country through the elimination of so-called sovereign and independent States, thereby gaining for India in area and homogeneity much more than she lost in Pakistan on partition. This integration has been four-fold: First, merger of 219 States—a total area of 84,774 square miles, population of 120.18 lakhs and revenue of Rs. 541.84 lakhs—in adjacent provinces, such as Orissa, the Central Provinces, and Berar, Bihar, Madras, East Punjab and Bombay. Secondly, consolidation of 22 States into two units, namely, Himachal Pradesh and Kutah, covering a total area of 19,061 square miles with a population of 14.37 lakhs and revenue of Rs. 165 lakhs. Thirdly, the integration of the territories of 294 States to create new viable units—Saurashtra, Matsya, Vindhya Pradesh, Rajasthan, Madhya Bharat and the Patiala and East Punjab States Union—covering a total area of 150,400 square miles, with a population of 237.64 lakhs and a revenue of Rs. 2,819.45 lakhs. Finally, there are viable units like Kashmir, Baroda, Mysore, Cochin, Travancore, Bhopal, Jodhpur and a few others. Though last yet the brightest feather in Sardar Patel's cap has been Hyderabad.

The mergers and democratisations are bound to produce far-reaching effects. They will help States people attain the same political, economic and social status as people enjoy in the rest of India; they will give the country greater homogeneity and cohesion so essential for our rapid but balanced progress, and they will also mean a more efficient administration and a stabilised economy. But more than that it means that "all the units of the Indian Union," to quote Sardar Patel, "will march side by side and with equal freedom and not some as free men and some as serfs."

The formation of a Union of Kathiawar States is something unique in the annals of India. Through Saurashtra, the Sardar has not only given his own people, Gujaratis—although he belongs to all—a place on the map of India but has thereby helped them revive their forgotten past; militarily also it is a strategic achievement. Saurashtra being a frontier province, it would have been a grave political mistake to allow 280 States to exist and thereby facilitate the work of a Muhammad ibn-Kasim once again to find easily renegade chiefs. The Junagadh episode was, perhaps, a lesson for us in time.

Future historians, when they see an "integrated" India in its full perspective, will pay glowing tributes to the work Sardar Patel is doing today with the burning patriotism and zeal of a missionary. He is doing for India what Bismark did in the unification of Germany or Cavour in the case of Italy. He is, in fact, the Indian Bismark. But there is a great difference between these personalities. While Bismark achieved his objective through a policy of "blood and

iron" and Cavour through the military exploits of Garibaldi, our Sardar remaining true to the ideals of Gandhiji, has effected unification through "a bloodless revolution." But the Sardar was modest about his achievements when he credited the Rulers with "the act of sacrifice" and said:

"None is more conscious than myself that all this could not have been achieved but for their willing co-operation and their intense patriotism which has just blossomed forth in all its fullness with the acquisition of independence by the country."

Gifted with great powers of clairvoyance, Sardar Patel's genius has exhibited a great understanding of statecraft, with the result that his friendly warnings and sane advice to Princes now and then have silenced the roar of innumerable lions and tigers. But his approach has been tactful, graceful, dignified. He has befriended the Princes; he has brought them closer to the common Indian.

He, perhaps, realises that the Princes possess a glorious tradition; they belong to the stock of the Chauhans, the Guhilats, the Rathors and the Marhattas, and their past is a proud record of the superb statesmanship of Shivaji, Tara Bai and Baji Rao I and the undaunted, selfless chivalry of Pratap and Rana Sanga, Gora and Badal, Jaimalla and Patta and Durgavati and Durgadas. It is from these luminaries that Future India will draw inspiration to become strong, brave and chivalrous, and strive to attain a position of power and prestige among the comity of nations. It would be the height of folly to alienate or annihilate this brave class. Wisdom rather lies in making them emulate their ancestors and serve their country and people with the same selfless devotion. The Sardar made it clear in his Patiala speech in October, 1947 that the Princes and people belonged to one family and, therefore, there could be no quarrel between them.

"They are ours," he said, "and we can make them understand and appreciate our point of view. The days of vilifying Princes, calling them names and maligning them are gone."

Sardar Patel's Merger Plan will usher into our country the second Golden Age, more particularly in States where people have so long groaned under the heels of tyrannical rulers, where they have so long suffered the pangs of poverty, misery and disease.

* * * *

Sardar Patel's approach to the refugee problem—baffling in its complexity—is his second great achievement. The way he broke up the vicious circle of attacks, retaliation and counter-retaliation and the manner he got speedy evaluation eloquently speak of his high statesmanship.

He is a great friend of the refugees; he brings to them soft words, words full of warmth, affection and sympathy. In one of his peace broadcasts from Delhi he declared:

"I do fully appreciate the feelings of anger that rule their mind, the amount of bitterness that has affected their outlook and the depth of sorrow that afflicts their hearts. . . . We can settle accounts with those who have to answer for this great tragedy at a more suitable occasion and in appropriate manner."

But more than this the refugee finds solace in his characteristic bluntness. What more could make him a beloved of the refugees than his plain-speaking to Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, the Pakistan Prime Minister, some months back that "non-Muslims cannot reconcile themselves to the 'paper' assurances of protection given to them by Pakistan leaders." Unequivocally and unhesitatingly he declared :

"The proof of the pudding lies in the eating thereof. The value of these assurances is writ large on thousands of murders, abductions, forced marriages, burnt houses and maimed children, and the treatment of non-Muslim men, women and children leaving Pakistan in utter distress when they are being subjected to most harassing and humiliating experiences . . . the wholesale pilfering of fleeing refugees."

This characteristic bluntness is a great virtue in Sardar Patel, and is the one factor that has gained him immense popularity and respect. His appeal to refugees and others never falls on deaf ears ; it has always magical effects. And he exhibited his magical powers in Amritsar in October, 1947, when his single speech instantaneously brought an end to retaliation on the part of Hindus and Sikhs in East Punjab. Since then he has been the Sikhs' greatest friend despite the latter's being the greatest sufferers in the recent communal carnage and mass migration. It were, indeed, his magical powers which could alone pacify the inflamed feelings of the great, warrior Sikh community last year.

At a time when Hindus and Sikhs in West Punjab had met their Dunkirk, it was the Sardar who came to their rescue. And through his frequent, but forceful, speeches he replanted shattered hopes in them and also restored their faith in the men running the National Government. In this vast, unprecedented tragedy, when dark clouds of misery and desolation, disappointment and frustration are hanging over the refugees, Sardar Patel shines now and then like lightning, giving them hope and courage.

* * * *

Previous to Sardar Patel's charge as Minister, All-India Radio was nothing but an agglomeration of heterogeneous voices ; nothing, in fact, could be claimed as the national language of the country. The language used in news bulletins was understood with great difficulty by our villagers and womenfolk, while features and songs were cheapish rather than a source of aesthetic delight. The Radio had been neglected, to the detriment of the country, as a modern and effective weapon to mould public opinion and to shape

the coming generation's thoughts and ideas on truly nationalistic lines.

But a new breeze into All-India Radio accompanied Sardar Patel ; it was healthy and pleasant, putting greater life and vigour in broadcasts. It has, in fact, changed the whole atmosphere. It has given due recognition to writers in the Devnagri script ; it has restored culture and religion to the places they had been denied. Formerly, the Radio was ruled by Bais and Begums ; now it is men-of-letters influencing it. Hindi poets and their compositions, despised and hated by previous masters, have secured a respectable place. This is definitely an encouragement to living men-of-letters ; it also means imparting greater vigour and richness to literature by inculcating in the minds of the people a taste, rather love, for it and at the same time raising the literary standard in the country.

Our varied, rich heritage of folk songs, so far scattered all over this vast sub-continent uncared for, has been brought back to us. We can hear them on the mike ; we can enjoy their richness in thought and beauty in narration, and rightly feel proud of our ancient glories. They have, indeed, imbued All-India Radio with the spirit of an India that was great, glorious and noble.

These innovations are likely to produce far-reaching effects in the next few years. They are likely to give an impetus to the development of our language ; they may prove the beginning of a renaissance in our literature. But it is certain that the news bulletins in Hindustani will give, in due course of time, a shattering blow to the babel of tongues that has come to exist in our country on account of our hundreds of years' slavery.

* * * *

Our political leaders are like comets and meteors in the firmament, shedding glory and lustre to guide the destinies of their people. But their uminosity is periodic ; while some lose, others gain more. Sardar Patel's has definitely increased after independence ; it is still in the ascendancy. He is nursing the year-old Indian Union with the care and fondness of a mother ; he is giving the child his very best to help it attain the full stature of nationhood. And his zeal and energy at 73 are remarkable. From where does this untiring zeal and this inexhaustible energy come in this old man ? One wonders and admires as one used to wonder and admire Churchill during war-time.

A few months back his political opponents, trying to make capital out of Gandhiji's foul murder, let lose a fusillade of virulent criticism against the Sardar. But he came out unscathed ; he remained unmoved, unshaken like a rock. And all this because of his unique, unassailable position in Indian politics, his giant towering political stature. Sardar Patel is a burning flame ; anybody who touches him with malice gets his fingers burnt.

GROWING PLANTS WITHOUT SOIL

By NEIL W. STUART

Although methods of growing plants in water or artificial soils were described in scientific journals as early as the 1860's, serious attempts at substituting soilless culture for crop production have taken place only during the past decade. Interest in hydroponics might have declined, had it not been for the development of a new method of applying water and nutrients to the plants. In this, the sub-irrigation method of culture, watertight beds or benches are filled with gravel or other suitable inert material, which is irrigated from the bottom of the bed. This system was conceived independently during the same year at the New Jersey and Indiana Agricultural Experiment Stations in the United States.

Irrigation is accomplished by pumping the nutrient solution from the storage tank or cistern into the bench, the bottom of which slopes slightly from the sides to the middle and also lengthwise to the point where the solution enters and subsequently leaves the bench. Inverted half-round clay tiles or boards nailed together to form an inverted V are placed end to end lengthwise along the middle of the bench and serve as a channel for the solution. When the solution has nearly filled the bench, the pump is stopped and the solution drains back to the tank by gravity. In the newer benches built for sub-irrigation, a solution channel is formed by making a longitudinal depression along the lowest part of the floor "valley." The channel thus formed is covered with bricks or slabs of concrete provided with drainage holes at the sides. To facilitate rapid drainage these holes are covered with coarse gravel. This is known as the direct-feed system and is useful in greenhouses or small units.

For larger installations it is more economical to employ the gravity-feed system. The beds or benches are built in series of 3 or 4 sections, each on a higher elevation and slightly longer than the one following it. Two solution tanks are used in this system. The larger one is located at the lower end of the beds and is below the bed level. It is connected with a somewhat smaller tank above the level of the beds. The smaller tank should have a capacity approximately one-half the total volume of the first sections of all the series. The nutrient solution flows into the first sections of the several series by gravity and then successively through the other sections, finally emptying into the sump tank. By this means only the solution for irrigating the first sections of the series has to be pumped, gravity flow irrigating the rest of the sections. The solution in the sump tank is analyzed, reinforced with the necessary chemical nutrients, made to volume, and pumped into the elevated tank in preparation for the next irrigation. A modification of this construction is the open-flume system. All the solution is carried to and from the beds by means of a flume, so that no piping or valves are necessary except at the pump. The nutrient solution is stored in

an above-ground tank, with a small sump for the pump, or a below-ground cistern.

Interest in this sub-irrigation method of soilless culture was increasing rapidly at the outbreak of the second world war. Resultant shortage of construction materials and nutrient chemicals curbed further expansion by private individuals. Interest in the method was stimulated in another manner, however. In 1944, General H. H. Arnold, Commanding General, Army Air Forces, observed the soilless culture activities at the AAF Regional and Convalescent Hospital (now Pratt General Hospital) at Coral Gables, Florida, in connection with the AAF rehabilitation program. He became interested in the possibility of utilizing this method for supplying AAF personnel with fresh vegetables at isolated bases.

The first installation was established on Ascension Island, an isolated island in the middle Atlantic, early in 1945. This plant consisted of 25 beds 400 feet long and 3 feet wide; it was irrigated with distilled sea water. The yield of fresh salad vegetables, cucumbers, tomatoes, radishes, lettuce, and green peppers, during the first year of operation, was 91,000 pounds.

In the summer of 1946, 75 beds were constructed at Atkinson Field, British Guiana. Production of vegetables at this installation in 1946 amounted to 234,337 pounds. Costs of production ranged from four cents a pound for cucumbers to 22 cents a pound for peppers.

A third soilless culture garden was constructed on Iwo Jima in the summer of 1945 and began operation in November of that year. In the same month it was decided to establish two hydroponic garden projects in Japan, with a total area of 80 acres. This decision was reached because of the difficulty of providing highly perishable vegetables over extended supply lines, with the heavy shipping losses involved. It is known that much of the Japanese soil is contaminated, and it was considered unsafe to serve uncooked soil-grown vegetables to United States troops.

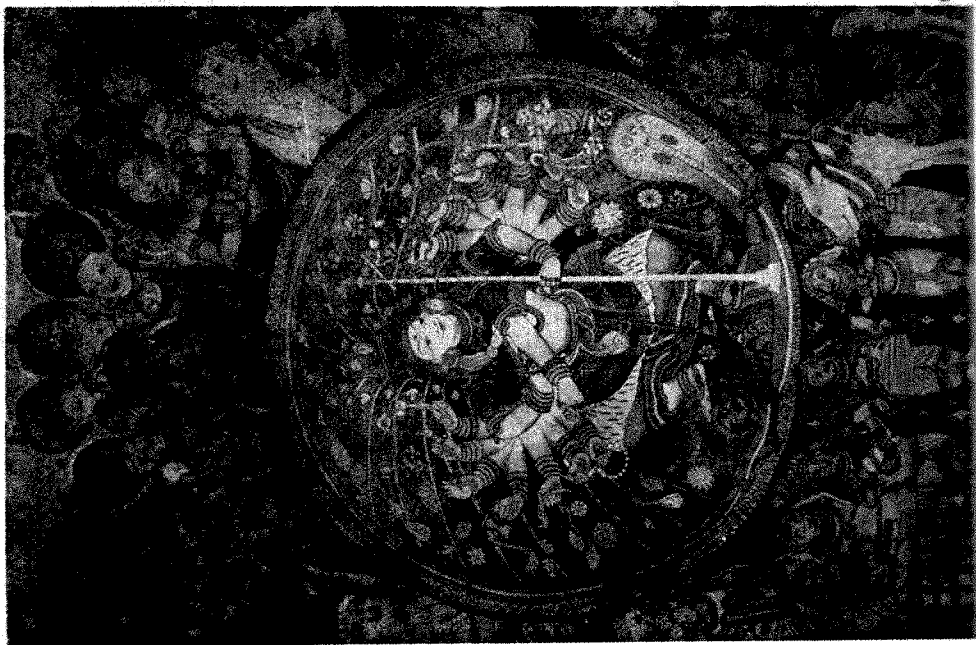
The Japanese soilless culture gardens are constructed in units of 5 acres. Each unit contains 87 beds 300 feet long and 4 feet wide. The first section of each bed is 120 feet long; the second, 100'; and the third, 80 feet. One of these units, at Chofu, near Tokyo, is under glass; the remaining 10 units at this location and five units at Otsu are in the open. It was expected that more than 10,000,000 servings of fresh vegetables would be produced during 1947.

Because of decreased appropriations and manpower, the United States Army Air Forces withdrew from active participation in the hydroponic program in 1946. The Quartermaster Corps was given authority to approve the establishment of new gardens where the following conditions exist:

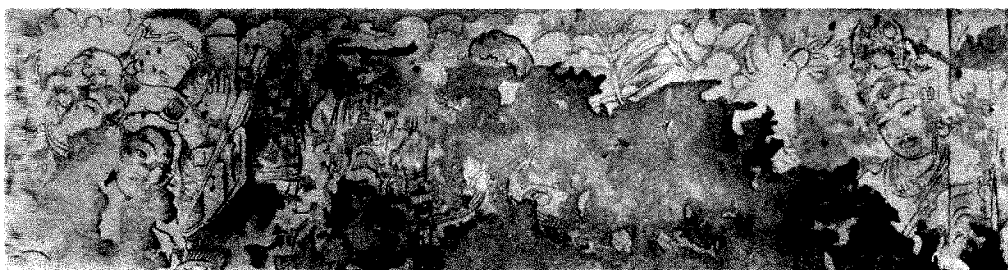
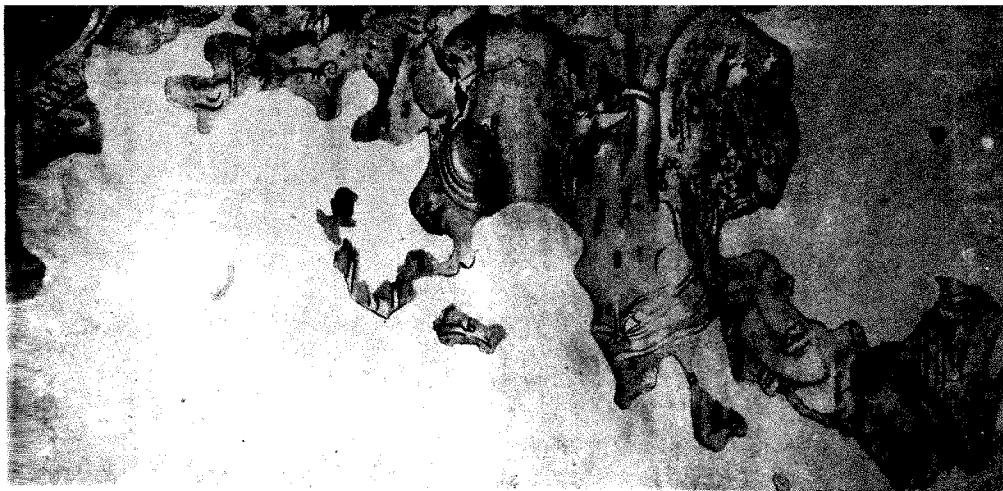
(a) No soil is available in which vegetables can be grown safely in the normal agricultural manner.



Venuganam, Udayanapuram Temple



Nataraja, Udayanapuram Temple



Top: The face of a prince and the head of an elephant. *Middle:* Devotees. *Bottom:* Human faces
Thirumandikara Cave Temple

(b) The installation is so located that no fresh vegetables can be supplied by shipping in adequate quantity or at reasonable cost.

(c) The post camp or station is permanent or is expected to be in existence for a considerable period.

(d) There is at least a four-month growing season each year.

(e) There is an ample supply of suitable water.

The operation of all overseas hydroponic gardens was assumed by the respective theater commanders. A Technical Manual, *Nutriculture*, was published for the purpose of providing construction and operating data. This Manual indicates that it should be possible to produce tomatoes, for example, at an Army installation in a favorable climate for about one-half the cost of shipping tomatoes to the base by refrigerated maritime shipping over a distance of 1,000 miles. This takes into account a 30 per cent loss due to spoilage.

At the present time in the United States, there is widespread interest in soilless culture in southern Florida, where approximately 20 installations produce vegetables chiefly for the winter market. In the northern states the method is used in greenhouses for winter production of tomatoes and cucumbers and also for growing ornamentals, roses, carnations, and chrysanthemums. Shortages of critical materials and chemicals, as well as a serious lack of trained operators, are restraining the spread of soilless culture. Present installations have not produced outstandingly greater yields, and consequently there has been little inducement to change production systems. Recently the development of a method of sub-irrigating benches containing soil has given promise of achieving many of the same results as soilless culture with less difficulty than in the latter method. Kenneth Post, at Cornell University, has extended these results and applied them to entire greenhouse benches. A concrete, or suitably waterproofed wooden bench is partially filled with an inch or two of gravel and sand. A constant water level is maintained in the sand by means of an automatic float valve attached to the water inlet. The bench is filled with soil kept at any desired moisture content by capillary rise of the water from the sand and gravel in the bottom of the bench. Too high a level of water in the gravel results in saturated soil and the production of anaerobic conditions. Conversely, too low a level results in a loss of capillary rise. It is, however, relatively easy to adjust the water level so that favorable growth conditions obtain. Less attention is required for adjustment of the nutrient level in the soil than is required where soilless culture is used. The method holds much promise, although it has not been tested enough for complete evaluation.

At the Plant Industry Station, Beltsville, Maryland, soilless culture investigations have been in progress since 1941. The section working with floriculture and ornamental horticulture of the Division of Fruit and Vegetable Crops and Diseases, Bureau of Plant

Industry, Soils, and Agricultural Engineering, maintains 20 concrete greenhouse benches comprising 5,400 square feet and divided into 88 sections, each section being provided with a solution tank and pump for sub-irrigations, so as to give control of experimental treatments. These benches are used in growing plants in phytopathological, genetic, and physiological investigations. The last include studies on nutrient balance and absorption, effect of temperature, light, growing medium, etc. It is now generally recognized that rather wide limits of solution composition are capable of producing equally good growth with many plants. Less attention has been given in the past to the choice of the growing medium, other than soil, and its possible role in furnishing nutrients to the crop growing in it.



U. S. Air Force personnel working on Coconut Island, Oahu, Hawaiian Islands

One of the soil substitutes now in use at Beltsville, expanded vermiculite, has proved superior to soil or sand for certain horticultural purposes. This product is obtained from naturally occurring deposits in Montana and other locations in this country. It is classified as a hydrated magnesium aluminum silicate and is used extensively as an industrial insulating material. The ore is laminated and made up of two minerals, vermiculite and biotite. In the former the scales are bonded together with water molecules and in the latter with potassium. When the ore is heated to about 2,000°F, the water is converted to steam and expands the ore from twelve to fifteen times its original volume. The resulting product is sterile, light in weight, highly

absorbant, and retentive of water and air. These physical properties make vermiculite well adapted as a medium for sub-irrigation. In addition, the available calcium, potassium, and magnesium are sufficient for seedling growth until they are of transplanting size. Vermiculite is also useful as a propagating medium in the cutting bench and as a growing medium in sub-irrigated nutriculture benches. A valuable property of the material is a water-holding capacity so great that nutrient solutions need to be pumped into the benches only once or twice a week.



A concrete greenhouse bench constructed for growing plants under the nutriculture system

Sintered shale, known as Haydite, a commercial product used in making low-density concrete, is another useful growing medium. It is porous, light in weight, and has a higher water-holding capacity than gravel. It, too, contains calcium and potassium that are available to plants growing in it. Haydite has the further advantage of being more durable than vermiculite.

Since phosphorus and iron in the nutrient solution tend to precipitate each other, the maintenance of a low level of the former is desirable in order to avoid iron deficiency. Such maintenance of a low, but adequate, level of phosphorus requires that frequent additions be made to the nutrient solution. Trials have been made at the Plant Industry Station since 1945 to determine whether untreated Florida pebble phosphate rock, as well as defluorinated phosphate rock, used as media in subirrigated nutriculture benches, would provide sufficient phosphorus for satisfactory growth of various floricultural crops. Concrete bench sections 12 feet long, 57 inches wide, and seven inches deep were filled with these two materials and others with washed pea gravel. The aggregates ranged from

one-sixteenth to half inch in particle size. A complete nutrient solution, except that it contained no phosphorus, was pumped daily into the beds containing the phosphate media. Similar sections containing gravel received the same solution and in addition 3.8, 7.7, 15.5, or 31 parts of phosphorus (as P) per million of the solution, were added at two-week intervals. The entire solutions were replaced monthly. The phosphorus content of each solution was determined photometrically, using the amino-naphthol-sulfonic acid and ammonium molybdate method, just before new additions of phosphorus were made or the solutions replaced. These data show that the amount of phosphorus in the solution from the phosphate media was always less than 1 and usually less than 0.5 p.p.m. More phosphorus and considerably more calcium were released from the defluorinated product than from the untreated pebble phosphate rock. The pH of the solution from the former tended to rise above 7.

Growth data show that six varieties of chrysanthemums were able to obtain sufficient phosphorus from the pebble medium to equal the growth of plants in gravel that received 300 liters of solution containing 15.5 p.p.m. of phosphorus at two-week intervals. Growth of the plants in defluorinated rock was inferior to that in the untreated phosphate rock. The same two materials have been used for the growth of snapdragons and Easter lilies with very satisfactory results.

In nutriculture tests nitrogen is the element absorbed by plants in largest quantities and is the one producing the greatest effect on growth. During rapid growth, plants rapidly deplete the nitrogen content of the nutrient solution. The use of natural organic nitrogen materials that would liberate nitrogen over an extended period is not feasible in soilless culture because of the disease hazard. However, the same effect has been accomplished by the use of urea-form fertilizers prepared and made available by the Division of Fertilizer and Agricultural Lime, Bureau of Plant Industry, Soils and Agricultural Engineering.

Four preparations with urea/formaldehyde mol. ratios of 1.15, 1.20, and 1.31 were used as the source of nitrogen for growing nine species of plants in sub-irrigated greenhouse bench sections containing Haydite. Each section was 8 feet long, 57 inches wide, and 7 inches deep. Two hundred liters of a complete nutrient solution, except for nitrogen, were pumped into each section twice daily. One hundred grams of the ureaform materials were added to the solution tanks on April 2, April 16, May 14, and June 11. Other elements were added to the tanks in amounts sufficient

to maintain the nutrient solution at a level sufficient for plant growth. The results of these tests show that the use of urea-form fertilizers in sub-irrigated greenhouse benches is a practical method of providing nitrogen to plants in soilless culture.

to provide for good growth. For comparison, other sections were provided with the same nutrient solution and 70 p.p.m. of nitrogen from sodium nitrate and ammonium sulphate. Additions were made weekly to this solution until a total of 406 p.p.m. of nitrogen was added between April 8 and July 3. The nitrate nitrogen content of the solutions was determined photometrically by the phenoldisulfonic acid method at weekly intervals until the plants were in bloom and after they were harvested.

The solution analyses show that more residual nitrate nitrogen was present in the solutions containing the higher mol. ratios of urea-form 1.27 and 1.31 than in the solutions with the lower ratios, 1.15 and 1.20. The plant weight data confirm the fact that more nitrogen was available from the higher-ratio urea-form than from the lower. The nitrogen in urea-form 1.15

and 1.20 was not sufficiently available for optimum plant growth. Urea-form 1.27 and 1.31, on the other hand, produced larger plants than did the inorganic nitrogen solution that was partially renewed every week.

After the plants were harvested on July 22, the nutrient solutions were pumped into the beds twice daily until August 26. Although no urea-form was added after June 11, nitrate nitrogen continued to accumulate in the nutrient solutions roughly in proportion to the mol. ratios of the four materials. The use of urea-form, together with some inorganic nitrogen, would seem desirable in soilless culture studies and should result in maximum growth with minimum adjustment of the solution.

—From *The Scientific Monthly*.

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MURAL PAINTINGS OF KERALA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, M.Sc., B.L., F.R.S.S. (Lond.), F.R.ECON.S. (Lond.)

AESTHETIC education is one of the prime elements of culture. Painting, with the probable exception of music, has the largest attraction for the majority of persons with its combined appeal to the sense of form and colour. Ancient India, Hindu India, was fully alive to this aspect of cultural education.

"The study of a good picture helps one to fulfil one's duty by becoming a better citizen; and to attain liberation from the expensive and enslaving demands of the lower nature, through the cultivation of the higher nature," says the *Vishnu-dharmottaram*.

According to the *Silpa-Sastras*, it is almost a canonical injunction to decorate temple-walls with paintings.

Speaking of painting in ancient India, we in this part of India, think mainly of the deservedly famous Ajanta cave paintings. Scholars in art history refer to the mural paintings of the cave temples and monasteries at Ajanta as the inspirational and technical source of this form of art in all Eastern and South-Eastern Asia. They point to their eloquent lines, none of which merely enclose a space, but all of which express feeling. These, in combination with beautiful colours and attractive composition pulsating with life, beautiful and religious themes, produced an art that attained its own perfection thirteen or fourteen centuries ago.

The Ajanta "caves," 29 in number, were cut into the solid rock as places of retreat for religious study and contemplation at a time when Buddhism was flourishing in India. The walls of these caves were covered with paintings in tempera between the 2nd century B.C. and the 7th century A.D. A Danish artist, Alex. Jari, declares that 'they represent the climax to which genuine Indian art has attained'; and

that 'everything in these pictures from the composition as a whole to the smallest pearl or flower testifies to



Sri Rama Pattabhishekam, Vaikom Temple

depth of insight coupled with the greatest technical skill.' The Ajanta murals depict the legendary lives of Gautama Buddha.

After the recession of Buddhism from India from the eighth or the ninth century of the Christian era, the caves fell out of human ken. It was extremely fortunate for art-lovers that it was so, otherwise it would have been destroyed and defaced by the



Sankaranarayana, Vaikom Temple

Muhammadans. Vincent Smith in his *History of India* writes :

"The three closely allied arts of architecture, sculpture and painting attained an extraordinarily high point of achievement. The accident that the Gupta empire consisted for the most part of the provinces permanently occupied at an early date by the Muhammadans, who systematically destroyed Hindu buildings for several centuries, obscures the history of Gupta architecture. No large building of the period has survived, and the smaller edifices which escaped destruction are hidden in remote localities away from the track of the Muslim armies, chiefly in Central India and the Central Provinces. They closely resemble rock-cut temples."

In 1819, the Ajanta caves were brought to light again, though they were studied, copied and photographed

much later and are now known the world over through monographs, articles and reproductions. The murals of Ajanta are religious, with social life as incidental. The closely related frescoes at Sigiriya in Ceylon were executed between A.D. 479 and 497 during the reign of Kasyapa I, soon after the close of the reign of Imperial Skandagupta. A group of half a dozen caves, similar to those of Ajanta, was discovered still more recently at Bagh in Gwalior State. The Bagh frescoes are social with religion as incidental. They are now faded almost completely away through exposure to the weather ; and they are supposed to be thirteen or fourteen centuries old.

The greater part of the frescoes at Ajanta supplemented by the remains at Bagh, and the friezes at Sigiriya may be regarded as records of the consummation of Buddhist painting in India. These examples were executed at an interval of time which corresponds for all practical purposes to the outstanding creative age of the Gupta Emperors. These three sites comprise practically all that remains of Buddhist painting in India.

That this art was a prolific one and that the examples noticed above are only a small portion of the painting executed in the times of the Guptas, and even until a later date, seems clear. Let it not be supposed that the art was confined to the Buddhists alone. As noticed above the *Silpa-Sastras* almost declare a canonical injunction to decorate temple walls with paintings. There is thus every reason to assume that temples and other religious buildings or edifices had their walls decorated with mural or fresco paintings. For example, the Kailasa temple at Ellora has the remnants of frescoes in it.

We think it would not be out of place if we point out that among the Brahmanical Hindus paintings of gods and goddesses are worshipped even to this day. The *Gautamiya Tantra* classified images into two kinds the *lepya* and the *lekhyā*.*

The former may be of two kinds, (1) pictures, paintings on canvas, walls or vessels and (2) chiselled figures of wood or stone. The latter may also be of two kinds, (1) moulded figures of clay and (2) metallic figures cast in moulds.

The *Matsya Purana* divides images into four classes, namely, (1) paintings on canvas, walls or vessels ; (2) moulded of clay ; (3) melted of metals ; and (4) chiselled of wood or stone.

In the *Varaha Purana* as quoted in *Deva Pratistha Tatva* allusion is made to the worship of paintings of Vishnu on walls or canvas.

In the *Mahabharata*, Sabha-Parva, Jarasandhot-pattypakhyān, Adhyaya 18, Slokas 2-5, is described the worship of the image of the demoness, Jara under the name of *Griha-devi* (household-goddess), painted on the walls of every residence. It proves both the anti-

* लेप्या लेख्या द्विधा चैव प्रतिमा परिकीर्तिता ।

quity and prevalence of the custom of worship of paintings as deities.

The *Hayasirsha Pancharatra* promises beatitude in Vishnuloka for a thousand *yugas* for every picture of Vishnu caused to be finely painted by the worshipper.

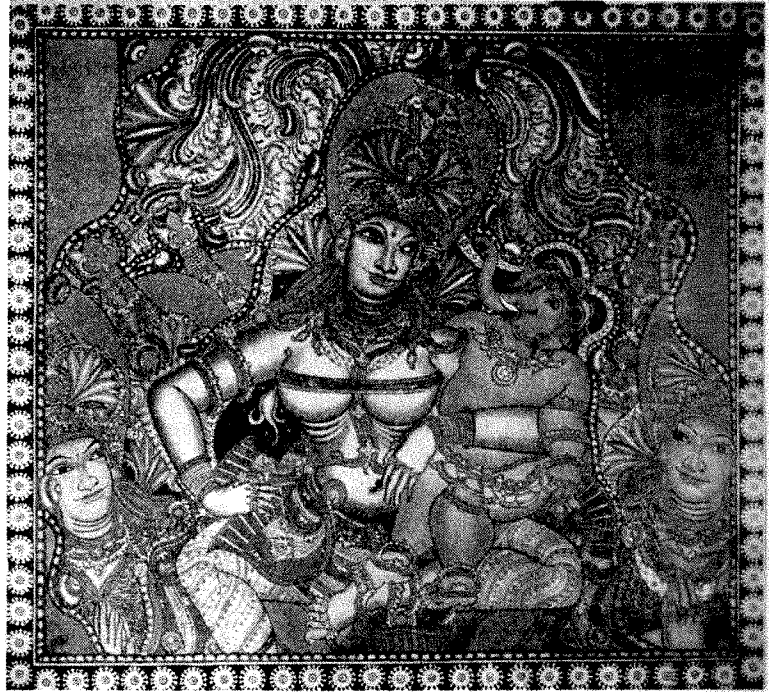
In our times paintings do not seem to be a very common emblem of worship in Bengal. Though not a very common emblem, worship of god or goddess in painting or picture is a frequent form of private worship. Pictures of the gods or goddesses are often put up in houses or chapels (*thakur ghars*) for decorative or commemorative purposes. The paintings on the *chals* in Bengali images of Durga are simply a background for the main image of clay. Group pictures of Jagannath made in Puri of varying sizes, are carried far and wide by pilgrims and *pandas*. Those in miniature are often made into amulets and worn on the neck or arm. Those of larger sizes are sometimes mounted on frames and worshipped in domestic chapels. In the case of *Gossamee Sree Greedhareejee vs. Ruman Lalljee Gossamee*, reported in the 16th volume of *Indian Appeals*, page 137 (same case reported in the 17th volume of *Indian Law Reports*, Calcutta series, page 3) will be found an instance of an endowment of a public temple in which the object of worship was a picture of a high priest of the Vallabhacharyas, who is looked upon as an incarnation of Krishna. The temple is in Calcutta.

The goddess *Laxmi* is worshipped periodically—four times in a year in Bengal. In many families she is worshipped as a *painting* on the convex side of a Bengali *sara*. The colour of the background and details changes with the seasons. There is a painting of four-handed *Bagala* in the temple of *Biraja*, attached to the Jagannatha Temple at Puri, which is daily worshipped. We have seen it so worshipped as late as 1937. In a private chapel at Bally, 6 miles north of Calcutta, an oil-painting of the same goddess is daily worshipped. On the *Vara Lakshmi Vratam* day, which occurs in the *Asadha* or *Sravana* month, most Brahmin households in Southern India (excepting *Vaishnavas*) will have a picture of *Vara Lakshmi* painted on the walls for worship.

We have made this digression to show that there must have been many Hindu temples whose walls were painted, even if the deity himself is not painted.

But all these, Buddhist or Hindu, are irrevocably

lost. The successive Muhammadan invasions, and their barbarous iconoclastic zeal no doubt accounts for their complete disappearance. Both Ajanta and Bagh, being monastic retreats, lying far from the track of political or religious strife, were overlooked, and so escaped destruction in order to be rediscovered at a later age.



Parvati with Ganapati, Vaikom Temple

Sigirya owes its security to the fact that it was an almost inaccessible sanctuary devised by King Kasyapa as a place of refuge, and to the fact of being far away from the track of Muhammadan invaders.

Mr. Percy Brown, until lately the curator of the Victoria Memorial at Calcutta, writing as late as 1927, says :

"With the decay of Buddhism in India in the seventh century A.D., the art appears to have declined, and for the exceptionally long period of nearly a thousand years (A.D. 700 to 1600) the actual examples of Indian paintings which have been handed down to us are few and far between. These examples consist of several paintings on palm-leaves of probably the twelfth century from Bengal; some Jain book illustrations of the fifteenth century; remains of Brahmanical frescoes at Ellora, which may be of the twelfth century or earlier, and a few other miscellaneous fragments of the art. Very little concrete evidence survives, therefore, to assist in forming any really definite conclusions with regard to the progress of this handicraft in medieval period. From the time the last painter at Ajanta threw down his brush in A.D. 650, until we come into contact with the art again as it was revived in the reign of the Mughal Emperor, Akbar, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, the story of painting in India resolves

itself very largely into one of inferences." (See page 42 of his *Indian Painting*).

Mr. Brown is perhaps not quite accurate in his statement. A broken chain in the history of painting in India is being slowly linked up through the systematic study of illustrated manuscripts, lacquered wooden book covers. Tibet and Nepal is slowly yielding valuable stores of lost treatises and it is not impossible that at a later date considerable addition to our knowledge of the history of art in India, with special emphasis on painting may be made from those sources.



Santanagopalam, Udayanapuram Temple

In India itself we have had no real research in this line, so far as the dark period is concerned. South India or Deccan, which was not overrun by the Muhammadans in the same ruthless barbarous way as Northern India should prove to be a particularly fruitful field for research. For example, in the Ettumanur Temple of Travancore, we find the *lekhyā* image of Nataraja, which, according to the late Dr. Ananda K. Coomaraswami, is "the oldest known example of Dravidian painting." Its date is supposed to be not later than the sixteenth century.

A small mandapam containing traces of murals in the Ajantan spirit was found a few years ago near Sittanavassal in Pudukottah State, now merged in the

Madras Presidency. Others are being brought to light elsewhere.

But the earliest relics of wall-painting of this kind that have hitherto been discovered in Southern India are in the small cave temple of Thirunandikara in South Travancore. The age of the temple is calculable from inscriptions in stone; and it is ascribed to the ninth century after Christ. Seven panels had been painted, but of these two had vanished. Of the other five panels traces remained only on the upper parts. These paintings must have made the mandapam of the small cave temple a gem of mural art eleven to twelve centuries ago, just when the great Ajanta era had ended. They probably mark the cross-over from the Ajantan Buddhist era in mural painting to the succeeding era of Kerala Hindu mural painting. The subjects treated are of Hindu mythology, e.g., of Ganesa, Siva and Parvati. But they are very much defaced.

Art in Kerala, as in the rest of India, has been mainly the expression of religious ideas and sentiments. The temples have been the centre of its origin and growth. Painting and sculpture are found in a highly developed state in most of the important temples and palaces of Travancore and Cochin. Kerala, the birth-place of Sri Sankaracharya, has ever been Hindu in religion; and it is no wonder that they are Hindu in subject. But in the pictorial art of Kerala there are traces of the influence of Buddhist painting that link the art of Kerala with that of Ajanta and Bagh.

Padmanabhapuram Palace, a former seat of Government of the Maharaja of Travancore, superseded over a century ago, is a veritable exhibition *in situ* of the major arts of architecture, sculpture, wood-carving and mural painting. Walls in Padmanabhapuram Palace and in the Mattancheri Palace in Cochin are richly decorated with paintings of high excellence. So are the temples at Vaikom and Udayanapuram. These, whatever they may have owed to traditional Buddhist technique, are entirely Hindu in subject; they date from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth.

We are publishing here photographs of some hitherto unpublished mural paintings.

At the first glance the art connoisseur from the north, will find the technique not in keeping with the ancient traditions to which he is accustomed. He will miss the slim youthful grace of the figures portrayed, the beautiful poise and the finely balanced composition in the groups, to which the artist of Ancient India was bound when depicting scenes in which gods and goddesses of the North were depicted. The serene calm of the "half-closed eye" is also absent. But once he gets over his bias he will observe that there is strength of live firmness of stroke and a decorative balance of a different kind in these murals. Their technique and finish are excellent. Their atmosphere is always that of sanctity; they are eloquent with spiritual inspiration and spiritual instruction. The makers of these superb wall pictures are unknown craftsmen who

must have inherited the technique and traditions of their art from generation to generation. Their skill is always remarkable, and sometimes so amazing in its deft assurance that it excites one's envy. The main secret of attractiveness of the murals, we think, lies in the vitality of their figures and in the variety of postures and gestures expressing exalted religious life. And we hope we are not wrong. Scholars from Bengal should visit these shrines and palaces and study first hand these superb wall-paintings. Our University

should grant stipends and other facilities; and the Governments of H. H. the Maharaja of Travancore and H. H. the Maharaja of Cochin should invite them and grant travel facilities. It is a happy sign of the times that the Travancore Government is trying to preserve them for future generations, and is having them copied by well-known artists and preserving the copies in the local Museum—Sri Chitralayam—for the edification of the masses and education of the art students.

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BRITAIN'S WATER SUPPLY

By BARBARA STUART

To supply seven and a half million people with pure water for drinking, washing, cooking, refrigeration, and a hundred other uses: to distribute an average daily supply for forty gallons (182 litres) to each of these millions of users: to transport this enormous volume of water over an area of roughly 537 square miles (1,383 square kilometres)—this is gigantic task for which the Metropolitan Water Board in London is alone responsible. Moreover, this service is provided at an average cost to each person of only two-pence-half-penny a ton!

Water is the most vital necessity of life: there is no substitute for it, and no living thing can be independent of it. It can either come as the bringer of health and prosperity, or it can carry contamination and disease over a large area. The responsibility of those who control the water supply of a large city is very great, more especially in war-time. The supply itself must be guaranteed and its quality safeguarded.

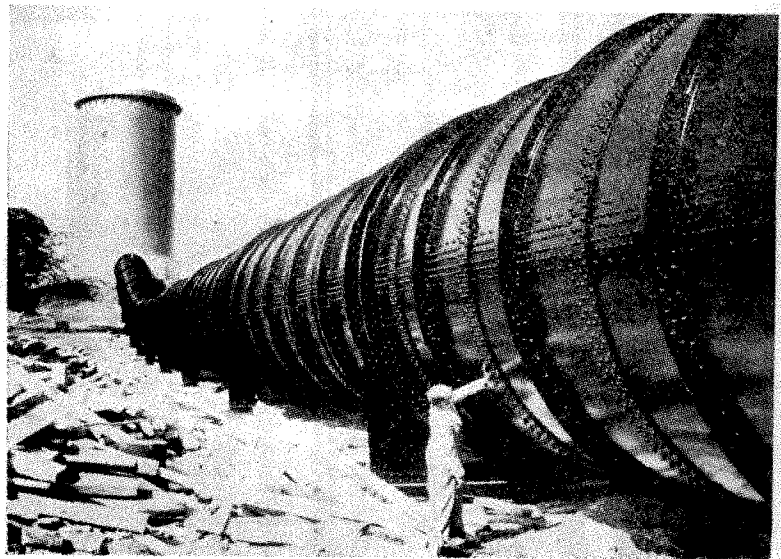
For forty-four years the great organisation of the Metropolitan Water Board has faithfully carried out both these duties, and the unfailing standard of its service may be judged by the excellent health enjoyed by London's citizens, and the fact that never once, during all the air-raid disasters of 1940-1941, has the city's water supply failed or suffered contamination.

London is, of course, fortunate in possessing splendid natural resources.

It is fed by two rivers, the Thames and the Lee,

and by fifty-five underground wells. From most of these wells, the water is of such purity that it can be used as it is, but for the others, and for all river-water, an elaborate system of water purification is carried out.

There are three processes. First, the water is pumped into huge artificially constructed reservoirs,



The huge steel pipe-line leading to the power station in Scotland, where one of the biggest hydro-electric schemes ever planted was completed recently

holding millions of gallons. The largest of them can hold sufficient water to supply the total needs of London for twenty-three days. In these reservoirs the water is left to stand, and after a certain time most impurities sink to the bottom and the water becomes clear and improved in quality. That is the first stage. After this it is filtered by special processes, then finally purification is completed by the addition of minute quantities of sterilising chemicals

The water is then distributed to the citizens of London by the Board's colossal pumping apparatus through 8,000 miles of water mains.

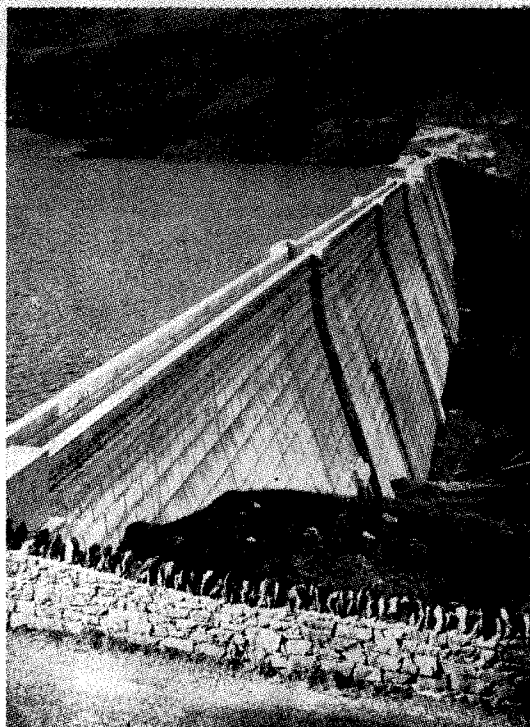
In addition to the requirements of individual users and communal needs, such as public swimming baths, vast quantities of water must be provided for industries, electrical companies and so on.

One of the most vital functions of the Metropolitan Water Board is that of water examination. This is carried out unceasingly by a special department of highly qualified scientists, under the direction of men world-famous as authorities on water purification.

The Water Board's splendid modern laboratories in London are unique in being the only single laboratory unit in the world which deals with such an enormous number of water tests and samples. It has also always been one of the pioneer centres for investigation of purification processes and research.

The work of these laboratories is divided into four sections, chemical, bacteriological, biological and administrative. Each section is a separate and complete unit, but perfect liaison exists between them.

The value of this department's work is always very high, but in wartime its benefit to the public is incalculable. It keeps an unceasing watch for the slightest sign of contamination of London's water, and



A big dam in Britain

briefly as follows: The present Board consists of sixty-six representatives elected by the various districts and boroughs within its statutory area. The administration is in the hands of a number of committees, which are reconstituted once a year, and which are responsible for the various departments working under them.

The monthly meetings of the Board are open to members of the public, and an annual report of its proceedings must be made to the Minister of Health, who in turn places this report before Parliament.

The Board employs 5,000 people and purchases huge quantities of coal, oil, cast-iron pipes and other materials. Its working area is divided for administrative purposes into districts, each of which is under the control of a District Engineer and his staff. He is responsible for distribution of water, repairs of mains, laying down of new pipes, etc.



Workmen taking levels in a new well recently sunk to supply the Colne Valley

may well be regarded as the guardian angel of London's health.

The constitution of this great organisation is

is under the control of a District Engineer and his staff. He is responsible for distribution of water, repairs of mains, laying down of new pipes, etc.



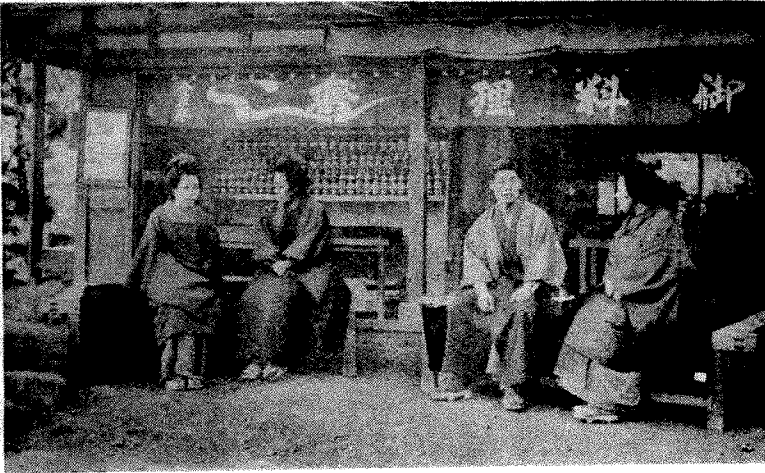
SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF JAPANESE LIFE

By SUNIL PROKASH SHOME

The rise of Japan as a Power, her victory over Russia in the battles of Mukden and Port Arthur, her rapid progress in civilisation, her defiance of the judicial settlement of the League of Nations regarding Manchuria, are among the events that caused profound

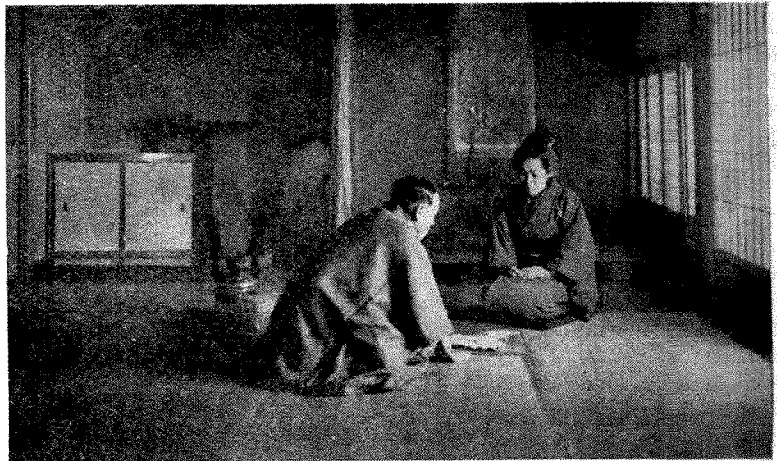
naval soldiers, her army and her air-forces were gallant dashing, without fear and scientifically trained.

Japan's enormous trade expansion into the British territories, India, Australia, Africa and the South Seas her competition with Europe and America in regard to manufactured goods, had been regarded by her foreign rivals as chief obstacles to their prosperity in the East. As it is, the Japanese movement had changed history. It had challenged and ended the whiteman's domination. It had reared a huge "No Trespassers" notice across Asia in the face of the whiteman's advance. The whiteman may still control the productive industries of the world, but the claim of Japan on behalf of Asia for equal rights with regard to trade and immigration has brought forth a mighty problem in connection with oriental humanity which is now being solved on a world scale by the United Nations Organization.



The future couple's first meeting to decide whether they are satisfied or not

surprise to the whole world. A little more than half a century ago Japan was simply a group of islands in the Far East and the inhabitants were known to be mythical and obscure people with constant shilly-shallying and fickleness as chief traits of their character. But these features of their character were being rubbed off gradually and before her surrender to the United States of America after the defeat of the Axis Powers in World War II Japan had created a name for herself which had attained an unusual importance among the powerful nations of the world and the history of her country was found to be replete with dazzling achievements almost in every department of human pursuit. Within only half a century she had admirably developed her physical resources, improved her manufacturing industries and as a military power she stood almost unrivalled in the East. Her naval organization was powerful and efficient, her administrative services were thorough and honest; the armament she controlled was of the latest and best pattern; and her

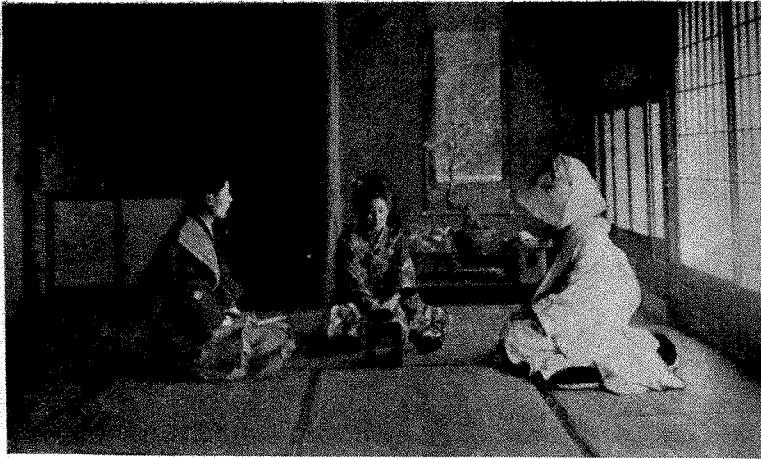


A betrothal present. It is a custom to exchange marriage presents when everything is favourably decided

The Japanese people are extremely conservative and generally do not like to go abroad to settle in foreign lands, because of the habit of seclusion fostered during the feudal age. When Korea came under Japan, many Japanese came to settle there, built homes and acquired extensive lands, but after a few years they dismantled their new homes and

came back to Japan. From statistics covering over a long period it is found that the number of Japanese in Korea is not more than seven per cent, including the soldiers and Government officers living temporarily there. The attempt to colonise Korea miserably failed.

influence on them than on the menfolk. No doubt, they advance the excuse of utility and efficiency in its favour, and maybe, there is some truth in it. Short-skirt may have its utility in factories and offices and I have seen girls taking to short-skirt in the office and changing it for Kimono while leaving after the day's work. Bobbed hair may have made the Japanese women get rid of the tedious and complicated business of making up their hair in the fashion they did before, but still one cannot overlook the growing tendency amongst modern girls to look smart in Western habits. One cannot but feel concerned to see hovering over Japan the chequered head of the hydra-headed serpent which the keen eyes of Carlyle discovered in modern civilisation. As it is today, the Japanese woman has not lost her oriental character, which is still evident in clear perspective in her courtesy, propriety and



Nuptial ceremony. Bride and bridegroom each drink *sake* (wine) nine times to fasten the ties of matrimony

Japan has taken much from the West but she has not effaced herself. She has shaped the West in her own moulds, but has not melted herself to the moulds of the West. Japanese people have taken up the European dress for the sake of efficiency and not for show. They did not show a bit of hesitation in discarding their national dress when they found it unsuitable to work in the factories and offices with the long-skirt Kimono which is like the flowing robes of a Roman senator of old. Similarly they do not cling to the vanity of the European dress when out of duty and as soon as they get home they wrap themselves up with their beloved Kimono in perfect comfort. The change of dress to the Japanese people is rather like the costumes of an actor to suit the part he may be playing. Even with trousers on they sit folding their legs on the mats, not worrying about the ironing of the trousers. While in a temple or shrine they discard the shoes outside and enter the temple barefooted, and do not stand outside to show more respect to the shoes than to the image of God inside. In a Japanese home one has to enter leaving the shoes outside and they do it without any idea of humiliation.

Women in Japan have not been slow in imitating the West. Rather ultra-modernism has had more

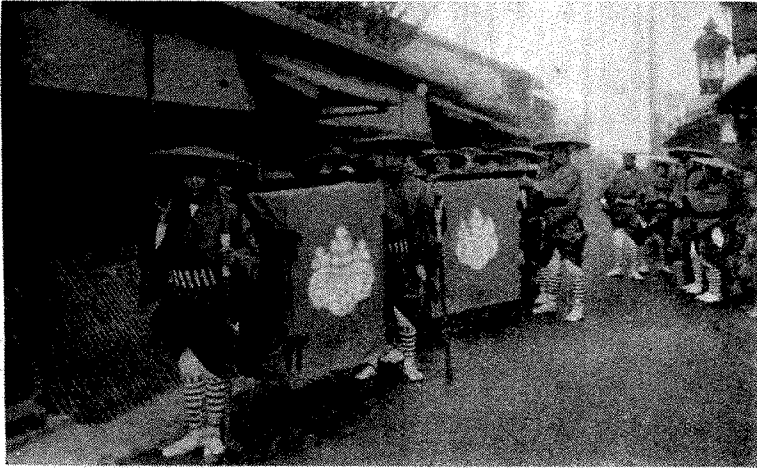


The bride is coming. The bride is taken to her husband's house followed by her relatives and friends in nuptial procession

in the earnestness of her dealings. She respects herself and as such she can respect the feelings of others. In dealing with others the Japanese people are very careful, very alert, lest they might offend others by any of their words or deeds. We do not know any other people in the world to be so much considerate as to others' feelings.

In a Japanese home there is no luxury of furniture. On the floors are usually spread mats prepared with a kind of soft grass about six feet in length and three feet in width and the floors are kept scrupulously clean. The rooms are constructed in conformity with

the dimensions of the mats: six-matted room, eight-matted room, and so on. A platform is built about three feet above the ground level and the mats are fixed on that platform. On these mats the Japanese place some cotton cushions and sit folding their legs, though the poorer classes use straw cushions too. There are no sofa, no couch, no suite, no bedstead.



Furniture and utensils belonging to the bride are removed to the bridegroom's house a day before marriage

They have a small lacquered table, not more than a foot high which they place in the centre of the room at dinner time, and remove to the lumber as soon as dining is finished. They spread and prepare their bed on the floor and the bed is folded and hidden during the day in a wall-almirah, a component portion of the room, but absolutely unnoticeable until the sliding doors are pushed open. Thus in day-time one cannot find any trace of beddings in their room and wonders if the Japanese go absolutely without the luxury of a bed.

The majority of the Japanese women are still very much under the sway of the traditional etiquette of old Japan, despite the Western dress they occasionally wear and other modern features of the present. Their modest gait, which is a habit inherited from their forbears through ages of life governed by strict rules of etiquette, also attracts the attention of strangers.

The rules of Japanese etiquette are indeed multitudinous and many women spend years in learning and practising them. But for practising purposes the average woman has only to master several main rules

to be observed in her ordinary every-day deportment. How to walk or how to kneel correctly forms the rudimentary knowledge of etiquette required of women of all classes. They are taught to stand erect on fully straightened legs and advance about only the foot's length at each step without bending their legs and without lifting their feet from the matted floor. Thus they almost slide along, the toes of their feet slightly raised as they move forward. Kneeling also involves a complicated process of placing the hands to right posture, keeping the upper part of her body erect with the weight supported on the heels of her upturned feet and slowly proceeding to bow her head down towards her hand.

Another elementary rule to be learnt in Japanese etiquette for women is how to open and shut sliding doors. In fact, every detail of Japanese etiquette for women has been as strictly prescribed as the rules of the Tea ceremony. One can at least say that there is propriety and grace in movement in this apparently mathematical process of etiquette.

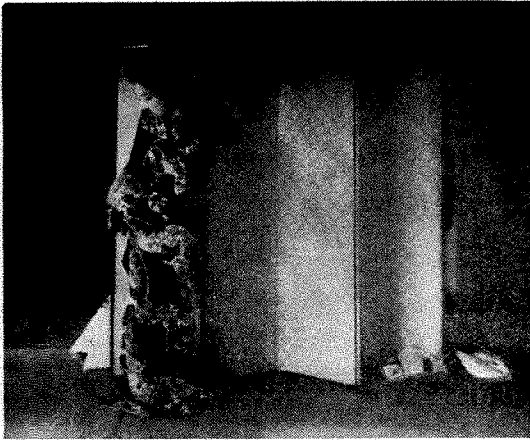


The bride performing a rite of drinking sake with her husband's parents to express the true heart of loving each other

All girls' high schools in Japan give courses in etiquette in regard to how to behave with a hostess or a guest at a formal dinner, how to fill the guest's rice-bowl and to wait while the bowl is being filled. A student has to learn the proper manner of holding dishes and using chop-sticks, has to practise salutations, learn how to kneel down on a cushion properly and learn each detail of Tea ceremony and flower arrangement.

Girls of middle-class families often accept service as maid-servants at a nominal salary, just to learn

house-keeping. The home of the average Japanese people is spared of the eternal seed of discord, namely a maid-servant. Not that the wife has no need of help; cooking, dish-washing and the general upkeep of Japanese home seem to make a slave of the wife. Here is a long day which begins at six, sometimes



After nuptial ceremony, the bride is going to bed with a sweet hope

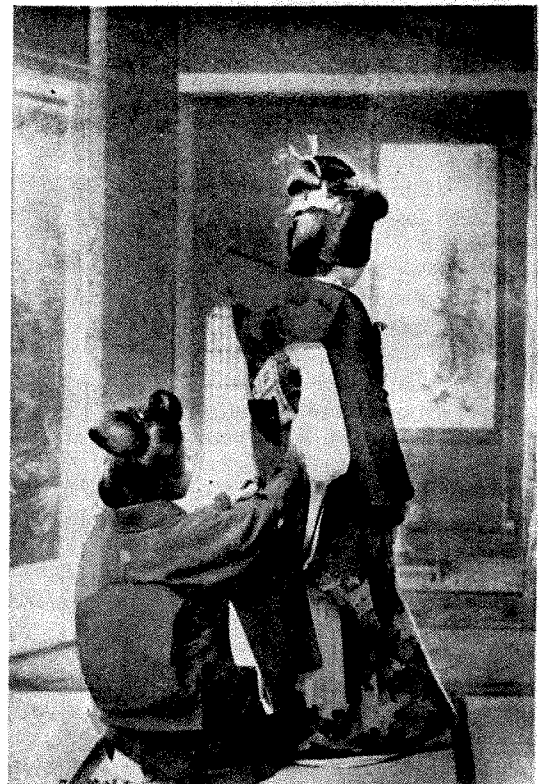
earlier and does not end until her whole household is safely tucked into bed. Rising at six in the morning year in and year out, she first prepares the morning meal, packs lunch for the children, if there are any, and sends them off to school. After seeing her husband off to work, she cleans the dishes and goes through each room with duster and broom. It is her particular pride to have the corridors in the house polished like sheets of glass. Luncheon is finished after which she has a few hours to herself. During this time she may sew, knit, darn, wash, or do any of the thousands of things which must be done. She may as well go out to make a few purchases or even visit friends, if time permits. In any event she is back home to prepare the evening meal and await her husband's return from work.

As a housewife the Japanese woman has no peer. She is all but the wage-earner and banker rolled into one and she discharges her duties with remarkable efficiency. And those who might think that the Japanese housewife is a wishy-washy sort of person ready to meet every whim of her husband or of any other member of the house, are sorely mistaken. She is queen of her household and though her throne-room may be the kitchen and her sceptre the lowly laddle, she rules with an iron hand. Domesticity is her characteristic. She is above all a good mother. Her life is one of continuous sacrifice of self. It is a vicarious death, since self-sacrifice means death for the sake of larger life. The typical Japanese woman of the present, as distinguished from the modern woman, is the product of the preceding ages. Woman being naturally

and instinctively more conservative than man, retains the vestiges of the past longer and more tenaciously than man does or can. A radical woman is considered to be an anomaly and an extreme radical a monstrosity.

Education in a woman is greatly appreciated, the diploma of a recognised school has become a necessary endowment of a bride. Just as in China there is a custom requiring a bride to take with her the scroll of a famous painting, so it is getting to be the fashion in Japan for a bride to take with her the diploma of a good school certifying her intellectual status.

The woman's movement is rapidly gaining ground against the hide-bound conservatism. Women social workers, literary lights, water-colour artists, scientists, etc., have begun to establish a high reputation in their professions, showing that the time is pregnant with possibilities for girls with education and aspiration to succeed in any walk of life. It is inevitable that this situation and the economic pressure have a direct or indirect influence upon the girls, urging them to make conscious efforts to find their way into the street and



The bride changing her wedding dress (*shiro-muku*) for another ceremonious dress

office-buildings in search of work. Today thousands of them are found in offices as desk-workers, in miscellaneous stores as sales-ladies, in buses and trams as conductresses, in hotels and restaurants as waitresses

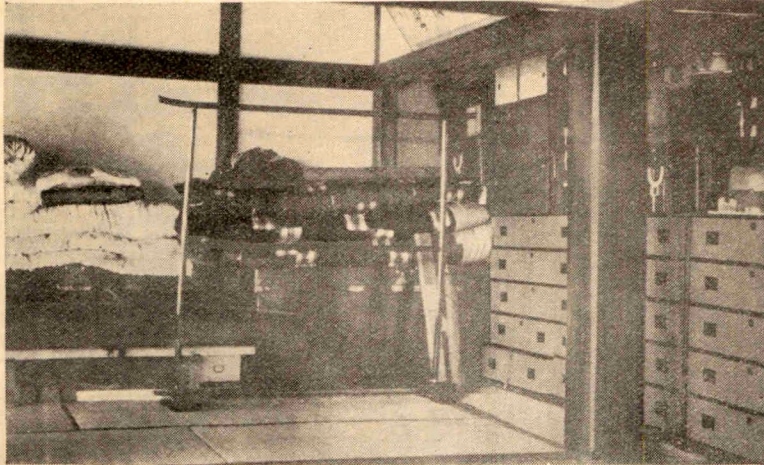
and what not. It has become practically impossible to find an establishment worthy of the name which is operated without girl employees.

Divorce is recognised in Japan but there is no separate Divorce Court. All matters of divorce, the recognition of the paternity of illegitimate children, etc., are handled by the ordinary law-courts. In consequence there are a very few women who dare to seek

expenses by working as newsboys or milk-distributors or taking up any available early morning work before attending school.

The Education Ministry is encouraging production of cultural films and educational talkies for the schools. As a result good educational films are being produced gradually. Screen performances generally continue for a week in each month. The programme usually consists of two-feature films and news-reels or cartoons. Recently many News Reel Theatres have been opened in large cities.

Last of all, let me point out that Japan's social life has been entirely transformed by World War II. To speak candidly, the Japanese were proof against democracy, but the last war has broken the hard crust of bigotry and has permeated Japanese life with the juice of democracy. Indeed, the word "democracy" has now become so popular that it has been Japanese and is being adopted into the large family of vernacular vocabulary. Some foreigners still look on Japan



Exhibition of the bride's dresses, furniture and other belongings

redress for domestic injustice because of their natural shyness and abhorrence of publicity of a scandal. The expenses involved and the troubles attended with the procedure at the ordinary law-court are also enough to discourage women from asserting their proper rights.

The modern education system of Japan dates from 1872 when primary education was made compulsory. The villages, towns, and cities are responsible for providing a sufficient number of schools to the State. The guardians of school-going-age children are required to send their wards to school unless they are physically or mentally defective. Every child as soon as he reaches six years of age is to commence education in some school on account of education being compulsory. No tuition fee is charged, but the pupils have to bear expenses for requisites, such as text-books, paper, pencils, etc., which do not amount to more than eight annas per month for the first three years. All poor pupils are not only exempted from these charges but are also provided with free lunch. The children, on the other hand, try to earn their own



The bride being assisted by a midwife in her first parturition

with a little suspicion, thinking that she is a dangerous, aggressive nation. But nothing is farther from the truth. Even under bureaucratic rule she was never a warlike nation. She fought the Russo-Japanese war for the defence of her country and her people. She was forced to fight in World War II. New Japan is a different country from what she used to be. If the Government in power is disposed to make war, the nation as a whole will not back

up the scheme, if it does not fall in with their wishes.

Hitherto Japan was in reality a land of nobles. The intelligent minority had been governing the

and support of the general masses. Such a change is a remarkable result of World War II and things keep on changing every day. More than two years of



Motherhood. The mother cherishing her baby



Bride's relatives visiting a shrine in order to supplicate divine blessings on her baby

uncultured majority. But the tables have been turned, and the power of the masses has come to be the central factor which sets in motion the whole national machinery. Nothing can be done without the consent

American occupation has changed the economic condition of Japan, but it is hoped that these changes will make us face a New Japan, where all communities shall live in perfect harmony.

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BEATING ABOUT THE BUSH

By J. C. KUMARAPPA

At long last the Government is awakened to the fact of inflation and the need to control it. They have called for opinions from groups of economists, government officials, selected industrialists and bankers, well-known labour leaders, etc. The summaries of these reports published by the government run into 30 foolscap sheets, and one who reads it gets an impression that though there is agreement in certain fundamentals, there is a good deal of special pleading in the remedies suggested. These "remedies" are very often merely their own schemes to better themselves

under the guise of public service. Practically the whole thought seems to centre round large-scale production and industries connected with them. There is little or nothing mentioned about the main source of production, namely, agriculture and village industries. Hence the schemes to increase production suggested in these reports are like playing Hamlet without the Prince of Denmark. The basis of their suggestions seems to be an infinite faith in law promulgated by the legislatures and not the human character. They remind one of King Canute commanding the waves away.

Great many statements are of the obvious, like "prices have to be reduced, currency has to be withdrawn," etc. The resultant action taken by the government to re-introduce controls shows that the government is oblivious of the lessons our past experience had to teach. With the lack of character, which is obvious in both the seller and the consumer, to introduce controls will be to repeat the past. The essential factors in control should be the administrative machinery and the sense of citizenship of the merchant. When these are absent, as it has abundantly been proved, to bring in controls will be like handing over a flaming torch to a little child who is playing in a room full of wooden furniture and cloth upholstery. The use of the torch needs certain discipline and self-control which can hardly be expected from a child and it is folly to place instruments of destruction in hands which cannot be trusted.

SURVEY

A rapid reading of these reports brings out certain common features.

Causes : Practically all are agreed that the present inflation is largely due to government budgetary deficits, its expansion of government departments, open market operations of the Reserve Bank of India and increase in note circulation. During the last one year the government expenses have gone up by nearly 60 crores. These are largely to be found in the Departments of Information and Broadcasting, External Affairs, Aviation and Road Building. Defence alone shows an increase of over 90 crores. The expansion in government departments, especially Foreign Affairs, seems to have no limit. The bankers state :

"The present situation has arisen because of shortage of the essential necessities of life accentuated by large-scale smuggling from India into Pakistan, lack of the sense of responsibility on the part of workers, redistribution of purchasing power in favour of the farmer and the factory worker and its spasmodic impact on the limited supply of goods. Government expenditure has, during a period of decreasing real national income, been increasing rapidly and important sources of income have been lost for sentimental reasons. The simultaneous rise of prices of goods and fall in the prices of equities indicate the complexity of situation and, relatively speaking, the subsidiary importance of monetary factors."

This quotation will itself show how ill-informed are even the bankers with regard to the purchasing power in the hands of the farmers. They state elsewhere, "Most of the surplus purchasing power is now in the hands of the farmers and workers." Again their lack of social sense is disclosed in their ignoring "prohibition" as an essential nation-building activity. They have no use for such "sentimental" reforms. More realistically Prof. Ranga states the causes of inflation as follows :

(i) The abnormal prices charged for manufactured and semi-manufactured goods.

(ii) The abnormal prices charged for services rendered by the commercial and professional section of the population.

(iii) Unlimited bank credit and consequent speculation.

(iv) Growing Note-circulation.

(v) Standstill production of all essential industrial activities.

We would add to the above list under sub-heading (ii) High salaries paid to Government servants. From all of this it would appear that the greatest culprit in causing inflation is the government itself, but in the remedies that they suggest they wish to ignore this fact. If these causes are granted the necessary remedies are obvious.

Remedy : Vigorous arguments have been advanced that government should curtail its expenses, fearless retrenchment should be carried out and drastic reduction in staff made by most of the groups. The industrialists have suggested that the government development expenditure should be largely on short-term schemes. This would imply that instead of going in for expenses of the astronomic category on developmental schemes, such as the Damodar Valley and Kosi control, they should rather go in for minor irrigation works and anti-erosion projects. It is also suggested that such postponable expenditures should not be spent. The economists suggest a surcharge on incomes over Rs. 5,000, an increase of 25 per cent on the business profits tax and the up-grading of the super-tax. They also suggest :

"Small-scale and cottage industries have a special role in the present emergency and should be fully developed with a view to mitigate the essential shortages."

They touch upon increasing agricultural production. Here we may add that such increase should be in foodstuffs and raw materials for prime necessities. Shri Jaiprakash Narain has also submitted a note. In it he suggests that

"Both import and export trade should be made State monopoly managed on commercial—not departmental—basis." . . . "Import of luxury goods including luxury cars and of unnecessary articles should be stopped."

He goes on to add :

"Agriculture should receive far more attention of the Centre than it is getting today ; village panchayats should be formed and through them a production drive should be launched. The production potential of villages should be assessed by them and their requirements in terms of manure, bullocks, tractors, other crushers, implements, wells, small irrigation schemes, charkhas, looms, oil crushers, dairy requirements, etc., should be determined, and met under Government initiative through co-operatives with a view to reducing the cost of production."

He also suggests that

"Import of foodgrains should be stopped or discouraged as far as possible."

Observations : Many state that there is a scarcity of consumer goods, but they forget that this is an all-world malady to which we are no exception. The improvement of the situation lies in producing consumer goods by methods which will bring in quick results. At the present time capital goods are not available, and therefore, even as a matter of exigency, we have to turn to cottage industries. Unfortunately a great many of those in charge cannot think in terms of organisations other than the mammoth ones. If, as a measure of dealing with inflation, light dawned on powers that be, and village and cottage industries are harnessed to meet this need, it will be a boon to the masses of the people in our country.

Some of the advisors counsel dropping of the prohibition scheme. This shows what values people place on building up a society. We cannot afford to ignore social values. In an emergency the need for it is all the greater. We can afford to do without great many things, but we cannot afford to send some of our fellow-beings into the gutters under the plea of monetary needs. Nation-building activities should be safeguarded from the financial enthusiasts.

We are surprised that even a leading labour leader should make the mis-statement that at the present time

"the rural indebtedness has been practically wiped out realising additional purchasing power to the rural population."

The labour leader forgets that whatever the increased agricultural prices may have meant to the few surplus producers, it has not brought relief to bulk of the agriculturists in the deficit economy. Though the agricultural prices had gone up, that of the manufactured articles also had risen and therefore the apparent advantage had proved to be more than a handicap.

The Financial Adviser Dr. P. J. Thomas while strongly recommending retrenchment in the government staff, curiously enough, equally strongly recommends an expansion of his own department. This appears to be the way most of the counsellors have been working. The industrialists take this opportunity to ask for safeguarding them with labour legislation. They want to introduce third-shifts, they plead for supplies of coal and raw materials. They expect to get special depreciation allowances and relief from income-tax. They wish, the government will not make any statements to shake confidence of the industrialists and want the government to re-enunciate their industrial policy. Thus all the counsellors seem to have gone to the government to plead their own case. The government itself seems to be obsessed with what Shri Jai Erakash Narain calls the Tennessy Valley Authority mentality, and are not willing to let go their grip of power which makes them jealous to expand their

departments and incur expenditures without counting the cost.

SUGGESTION

As we have already indicated, development of character and discipline is the first pre-requisite. In this the government itself should set the example and turning the search-light inwards should set its own house in order. Princely salaries to members of government, ministers of provinces and other high dignitaries should all be scaled down ruthlessly to be in consonance with the economic status of the common half-starved citizen. Unless it does this, it will have no grounds to ask others to help in its effort of setting up the economic structure of the country on a sound basis. The moral appeal given by an example is much greater than all the preaching from the house-tops. In regard to currency, the suggestions made of withdrawing the money in circulation by issuing Government paper, unless such funds were made available or earmarked for specific purposes, such as agricultural development, will be a danger if left in the hands of what has proved to be a spendthrift government. Here we may mention that notes in circulation have gone up several crores in the last few months. If our expenses are to be met by the printing press, no attempts at deflation will ever succeed. The sooner we bring the improvident government to base its currency on valuable securities, such as gold and silver bullion, the better it will be for the country. It will increase the credit-worthiness of the government.

As regards production, as we have repeatedly stated, we agree that village and cottage industries should be stepped up and agriculture should be made to produce all that we need in the form of prime necessities. Foreign trade should be restricted to surpluses only and the use of money should be confined to exchange of commodities to comparatively distant places, while local exchange should take place as far as possible through multi-purpose co-operative societies on the basis of barter. Agricultural prices themselves should be fixed not as a derivative from manufactured articles and indices worked up by a consideration of such prices, but they should be calculated independently on the basis of effort and emergency put into production of such commodities. Unless this is done the old slogan that "Agriculture does not pay" will assert itself.

Until our economic structure is firmly based on the activity of the common man in producing the needs of the general public, we shall always be in an unstable equilibrium like a cone balanced on its apex. It is time that the government took stock not only of the financial morals in which it finds itself, but the greater mess in which the country has been led by lack of a well-defined and well-thought-out economic policy.

INDIAN ART EXHIBITION AT DELHI

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

FORGOTTEN and neglected by Indians in the land of its birth for many centuries, defamed and derided by a group of English archaeologists of the Victorian Era, rediscovered by an Englishman in 1907, and still boycotted by most of the Universities of India and ignored by all classes of nationalist politicians, Indian Art, though it has now won a respectable place in the estimation of international understanding, has been a Cinderella of Indian culture, and an embarrassing item in all manner of educational planning. The Ministry of Education, therefore, deserves great credit and congratulation for its resolution to arrange for a comprehensive exhibition of a large number of carefully selected examples of Indian Art after it was shown in London a year ago, under the auspices of the Royal Academy. It was a very happy idea to repeat the London Show at the Government House at New Delhi. It is the finest and the most comprehensive exhibition of all phases of Indian Art (with the inevitable exception of the schools of architecture) which have ever been brought together and assembled under one roof, chronologically arranged, and presented with great showmanship and skill, the credit for which goes to several officers of the Archaeological Department particularly to Dr. N. P. Chakravarty, Dr. K. N. Puri and Dr. V. S. Agarwala, who have incessantly worked for several weeks, both before and during the currency of the Exhibition, to impress on an apathetic public the tremendous importance and significance of Indian Art in the history of Indian civilization. The Indian Press, generally apathetic and tardy in according any respectable place to news concerning Indian Art has proved in this instance to be of great assistance and generally sympathetic and has done its part fairly well in propagating the news regarding this Exhibition and its related activities, e.g., in the publication of summaries of fourteen lectures on various phases of Indian Art, delivered by competent experts from time to time. Many of the daily newspapers (particularly the *Hindusthan Times* and the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*) published comprehensive reviews of the Exhibition, accompanied by generous reproductions of outstanding masterpieces to attract the attention of the general public. At the outset, the visitors were not too many. Indian Art, owing to the utter neglect of schools and colleges, is, as a rule, an awkward subject even for educated Indians, to enable them to take any enthusiastic interest in this greatest heritage of Indian culture. Many of its strange forms, and non-representative anatomy and its religious conventions and symbolism—scare away even the most superstitious lovers of everything Indian. Yet owing to incessant propaganda and informative articles and illustrated publications expounding various phases of

Indian Art, for which the Editor of *The Modern Review* can well claim a great share of credit, a vague interest has been created in the back of the mind of a small circle of intelligent public, not necessarily very much advanced in education and expert knowledge an interest which helps to realise that Indian Art has in some mysterious way recorded the spiritual experiences of the best thinkers of India which cannot be gleaned from the pages of any phases of her literature or her philosophy but which can be visualized and tasted in the actual examples of the magnificent masterpieces of Indian Art in the illiterate forms of the visualizations. In the London Exhibition, held last year, 110,000 people visited the same, while in its Indian counterpart at New Delhi only 70,000 people visited the same up to the 10th December last. This seems to show that apathetic Britain showed more interest in Indian Art (whatever may have been her black records in the past) than Nationalist Indians in Free India. We have already referred to the disabilities that the average Indian suffers from by reason of the banal, anti-national education that has obscured his vision and handicapped his capacities to understand and appreciate the unique forms and the glorious spirituality of Indian Art. Two accidental and casual reasons have prevented many Indians from other parts of India from making this long journey to visualize this great panorama of Indian culture, so gloriously unfurled and attractively presented by the able officers of the archaeological department. The utter want of adequate living accommodation in hotels at Delhi and the usual congestion in railway trains have naturally discouraged even enthusiastic people from undertaking this long pilgrimage to this attractive shrine of Indian National Art. Frantic appeals have been made to the Ministry of Education to find accommodation for visitors from distant provinces. Another snag was the thoughtless and indiscreet programme of the Delhi Arts and Crafts Society which sponsored the Belgium Art Exhibition which appeared to be a "rival" show and certainly belittled the tremendous importance of the Government House Exhibition. Not only our educated and cultured men but the majority of the practising artists in India today and the various art societies in various cities in India (principally interested in exhibiting and selling modern works of Art) have not the necessary vision and the "trained eye" to evaluate the masterpieces of old Indian Art and in many cases, being afraid of a critical estimation of the modern products in comparison with the high altitude of the old masters, they prefer to ignore the lessons which the latter can offer and as a rule refuse to take the lessons. This tragedy can only be avoided by planting select masterpieces of Indian Art, not only in suitably plan-

ned National Galleries but right in the heart of Universities and educational institutions, such as we have in our Ashutosh Museum in the Calcutta University and the great historical museum in the St. Xavier's College, Bombay, planned and organised by Father Heras. It is to be hoped that this unique display of Indian masterpieces arranged at the Government House, New Delhi, has been visited by large crowds of politicians on their return journey from the Jaipur Congress and it is hoped that the stimulating effect of a visit has helped to rouse a little conscience for the greatness of Indian Art and the part it is destined to play in the regeneration of the Indian people and in the moral and spiritual rehabilitation of the Indian nation in its new era of Independence. It

is impossible to expect in the present apathy of the educated section of the Indian people and of the departments of education that any worthy record of this great Exhibition could be published in the forms of memorial volumes, such as the *Survey of Persian Art* (in seven volumes with 5000 illustrations) which was published by the Oxford University Press in the year 1938 to commemorate the great exhibition of Persian Art held in London. If our vociferous politicians, and "professional" nationalists and patriots have received any lesson from this unique display of Indian culture at Delhi, some of them may have visualized what India stands for and may have glimpsed the Real India, the Spiritual India, the India to live for, the India to die for.

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HOW THE FIRST SPLIT CAME IN THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
University of Lucknow

"Blow up, if everything else fails." That is said to have been the historic telegram which the Calcutta headquarters of the Congress Extremist Party sent to its delegates on their way to Surat on the eve of the twenty-third session of the Indian National Congress held in that city in 1907. The message heralded the most regrettable episode in the history of the Congress, the first parting of ways among the Congress leaders at Surat amidst scenes of tumultuous and unedifying violence and disorder. One can hardly realise today that the Congress was nearly doomed to death at this ill-fated session, but the Congress was fated not to die, and so, far from being its grave, Surat marked a new milestone in the evolution of India's national movement. At this great hour of the fulfilment of the Congress movement, the story of the fateful Surat imbroglio over which historians so far thought it best to throw a pall needs recapitulation only to bring home to the present-day reader its implications, no less than its momentous consequences to India's national struggle.

For a full understanding of the genesis of the Surat split, it is necessary to review the circumstances which brought a Left Wing into existence inside the Congress. The first few years of the Congress were uneventful, and its sessions were held in peace and amity. The Congress leaders were at first unanimous in their unswerving faith in British liberalism, and they gave expression to this year after year with a patience and moderation which might appear pathetic today. They proclaimed in no uncertain terms that they were loyal to the backbone, and that they harboured no notions of subverting the British power in India. This angelic patience was, however, slightly shaken when Charles Bradlaugh failed on behalf of

the Congress to secure in 1890 the Parliament's sanction to his proposed measure of liberal reforms for India. The Act of 1892 was a sham, both in form and in content, and it naturally failed to reinforce the waning confidence of some of the Congress leaders in the sense of British justice. And, so far as the other demands of the Congress were concerned, not even a formal notice was taken of any one of them by the Government. The Congress was officially referred to as a "microscopic minority." A feeling thus naturally grew up that Britain, despite her promises and assurances, was not really inclined to grant any substantial power to the Indian people.

The apathy and contempt with which the Government treated the Congress became more and more pronounced, and official spite could scarcely be concealed during the weak rule of Lord Elgin, when the bureaucracy openly showed its opposition to the slightest modification of its vested rights and privileges. When Lord Elgin was succeeded by Lord Curzon, the position of the Congress became all the more untenable, and Lord Curzon's reactionary policy drove discontent underground. The Calcutta Corporation Act, the Official Secrets Act, the Indian Universities Act, and last of all the Partition of Bengal came one after another as so many hammer-blows at the Congress, and the bulk of its younger adherents lost all faith in its present "Mendicant Policy."

The inevitable result of discontent inside the Congress was the division of the movement into two camps, the so-called Moderates and the so-called Extremists. This bifurcation could be felt for the first time at the Benares session of 1905, but it assumed the proportions of an open cleavage in the stormy Calcutta session of 1906, when a small body of these

Extremists finding themselves powerless against the majority walked out of the Pandal in a spirit of exasperation, and as a protest against the begging spirit of the Moderates. An open split was, however, temporarily averted by the tact and moderation of the President, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of India. Four important resolutions which marked the spirit of the times, and yet sought to restrict the Congress agitation within constitutional limits, were passed on self-government on the colonial lines, National education, Swadeshi and Boycott of foreign goods. Even the word *Swaraj* was for the first time used by the President in his address as a discreet concession to the extremist sentiment.

The Extremists, however, were not satisfied, and they continued all through 1907 a country-wide agitation against the present Congress policy from the press and the platform, and preached the "utter futility" of all co-operation with the British Government. The next Congress session was to have been held at Nagpur, but as there were some serious local disputes, the All-India Congress Committee decided to hold the session at Surat. In the month of November it was rumoured that the four new resolutions of the preceding session might be excluded in the Surat session. This rumour kept circulating till the 25th December when the Congress delegates were already assembled at Surat. This made the Extremists under the leadership of Mr. Tilak highly excited, and they prepared for a trial of strength. It was indeed true that many senior Moderate leaders regarded their position as somewhat compromised by these resolutions, and they also were waiting for an opportunity for having the goal and technique of the Congress movement revised.

The Bombay Moderates headed by Sir Pherozeshah Mehta had already succeeded in removing the items of Boycott and National Education from the programme of the Bombay Provincial Conference held at Surat in April last. The Extremists had therefore reason to suspect that the same thing might happen in the Congress session as well. The Reception Committee was composed mostly of Sir Pherozeshah's followers, and Mr. Gokhale, another Moderate stalwart, had no difficulty in persuading the Committee to nominate Dr. Rashbehari Ghosh, a Moderate again, to the office of the President, and reject the proposal for the nomination of Lala Lajpat Rai, an Extremist, on the ground that "we cannot afford to flout the Government at this stage, for the authorities would throttle our movement in no time." This was considered to be an insult to the Extremist section, and Dr. Ghosh is stated to have received numerous telegrams from different parts of the country asking him to relinquish the honour in favour of Lala Lajpat Rai. But, Dr. Ghosh was not allowed by the Moderates to retire, and Lala Lajpat Rai publicly declined the honour in order to get out of an extremely awkward situation for himself. Having secured a President of

their own choice, the Moderates had won the first round of the fight, and so the Extremists came to Surat in full strength ready for a final showdown.

For the first time in Congress history, the Extremists set up a separate camp of their own away from the main Congress camp where the Moderates congregated. Here the Extremist leaders like Tilak, Khaparde and Aurobindo Ghose daily harangued their followers about the suspicious moves of the Moderates, and thereby stirred up their feelings against the autocracy of the Moderate High Command. They became a pledge-bound party to vote against the Moderates in all matters of policy. The Moderates alleged that among the Extremist delegates were gymnastic teachers, athletes, and sturdy labourers from factories, who went about with heavy sticks. The Moderate high-brows evidently did not like the presence of uneducated and burly factory workers as fellow delegates. The Extremist delegates numbered over 500 while the total number of the delegates was about 1200. Thus, the Moderates had a substantial majority—a fact which further exasperated the Extremists.

If the Extremists were well organised, the Moderates were no less so. While the conduct of the Extremists was certainly impetuous, the attitude of the Moderates was equally provocative. If the Extremists had brought some people armed with *lathis*, the Reception Committee too imported Bokra Muslim *goondas* in and around the Pandal, and these, it may be added, were all armed with heavy sticks. The police also seems to have been long ready under requisition. Inflammatory leaflets in Gujarati asking the Gujarati people to teach a lesson to the leader from Maharashtra, Mr. Tilak, were widely distributed in the city, and even inside the Pandal. The connivance of the Moderates was not unjustly suspected.

The most objectionable thing which the Moderates did was the withholding of the draft resolutions from the Extremists till the actual session. No copy was given to the Extremists, even though a Bombay paper published the resolutions on the 26th. That showed that the withholding of a copy from Mr. Tilak could hardly have been unpremeditated. The draft resolutions were also so worded as to show that the Moderates wished to go back from the position taken in the Calcutta session. The contention of the Moderates that the changes were more verbal than real was unconvincing. A summary list which was alone published a few days before the session did not mention Self-Government, Boycott and National Education. The omission appeared to be significant. The Extremists took exception to another move on the part of the Moderates. A Draft Constitution of the Congress, prepared by Mr. Gokhale, and published a day or two earlier, showed that the Moderates were planning to oust all those from the Congress who did not see eye to eye with them in matters of policy. Even this Draft was allowed to reach Mr. Tilak only on the morning of 25th. The goal of the Congress

was stated therein: "The Indian National Congress has for its ultimate goal the attainment by India of self-government similar to that enjoyed by the other members of the British Empire." Mr. Tilak at once announced that the proposed constitution was a sinister attempt to tamper with the goal of self-government on the lines of self-governing colonies, as settled at Calcutta, and to shut out the Extremists from the Congress by making the acceptance of this new creed a condition of Congress membership.

On the 24th, the Extremists held a conference of their own under the presidentship of Mr. Aurobindo Ghose, and decided that their party should frustrate the imminent retrogression of the Congress by all constitutional means, even by opposing the election of the President, if necessary. On the morning of 26th, the Extremists led by Messrs. Tilak, Khaparde, and Aurobindo Ghose made the last attempt to obtain from the Moderates an assurance that the *status quo* would be maintained, but the attempt proved abortive. The response from Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea was non-committal, and Mr. Malvi, Chairman of the Reception Committee, managed to avoid all contacts with the Extremist deputationists. It was clear that the Moderates wanted no compromise, for they were confident of their majority. It looked as if a fight was inevitable, and the fight came the same afternoon when the twenty-third Congress session opened in the old historic French Garden of Surat.

The Pandal, with seating capacity for over 7,000, was packed when the proceedings commenced amidst a scene of excitement. The excitement grew when the President-elect, Dr. Ghosh, was welcomed with cheering, mingled with the shouts of "Shame" from the Extremist ranks. The address of Mr. Malvi, roused the fire of the Extremists who raised cries of "No, No," and frequently interrupted him, whenever they heard him talk about moderation. When Dewan Bahadur Ambalal proposed Dr. Ghosh as President, there were again cries of "No, No." And, when the old veteran of the Congress, Mr. Surendra Nath Banerjea, rose to second, hoisting became more intense. Mr. Banerjea's eloquence proved to be of no effect, and even though he made repeated attempts to raise his powerful voice, not a word could be audible above the noisy uproar. The Chairman had then to suspend the session for the day. It is strange that no reconciliation was seriously attempted after the adjournment, and when on the next morning Mr. Tilak sought an honourable compromise, the negotiations again proved abortive.

The Congress met again next day. But, before the proceedings commenced, Mr. Tilak sent a message to the Chairman asking for permission to move an adjournment after the election of the President was seconded, but received no reply even after repeated reminders. The refusal to take notice of Mr. Tilak's request was not only discourteous, but was also

unconstitutional. The adjournment motion could have been put before the house, and could also have been rejected by the majority. Even if the Chairman wanted to overrule the motion, he should have done so publicly. There was no need to sit tight over Mr. Tilak's request and ignore it without reason. After Mr. Banerjea had finished his speech without the least disturbance, Mr. Tilak who thought he was allotted a seat on the platform rose to go up the platform steps. He was held back by a volunteer, but he pushed his way up, and repeatedly insisted on his right of addressing the delegates. By this time there was a general disorder. Some of the Moderates wanted Mr. Tilak to be bodily removed, and the overzealous Secretary of the Committee actually touched Mr. Tilak's person to carry out the Chairman's order. If under these circumstances, Mr. Tilak was excited and he pushed the Secretary aside, his conduct, indiscreet as it was, was hardly unjustified. The provocation offered to him and his numerous admirers was no doubt very grave, and the subsequent disorder was due as much to the obstinate behaviour of the Moderates as to the defiance of the Extremists. During the confusion a shoe hurled on to the platform struck Sir Pheroza Shah on the side of the face after touching Mr. Banerjea, both of whom sat within a yard of Mr. Tilak. And, when chairs were thrown at the platform, some Extremists rushed to the rescue of Mr. Tilak. The confusion became still more serious, when sticks were brandished and hurled at the platform, and disorderly blows were exchanged. No one was, however, seriously hurt. The police promptly came in, made some arrests and cleared the Pandal. Thus ended under the most painful circumstances the twenty-third session of the Congress.

The heavy Maratha chappal which hit Sir Pheroza Shah and Mr. Banerjea was a symbol marking the unpleasant transition of Indian nationalism from a loyalist and upper-class agitation to an extremist, middle-class movement. Even in the unseemly rowdiness one can trace the birth-pangs of a new phase in Indian history—the dawn of a real nationalist movement and the rise of a revolutionary party outside the Congress. A yawning gulf separated the Moderates and the neo-nationalists whose paths lay wide apart. A split was bound to come, even if the Surat incident had not occurred. The split was narrowly averted at the Calcutta session, and it could not long have been postponed. The Anglo-Indian Press and the bureaucracy gloated over the seeming collapse of the Congress movement, and cited the Surat fiasco as a proof of the unfitness of Indians for self-government, conveniently ignoring the fact that worse incidents had been witnessed even in the British House of Commons.

THE INFLATION AND ITS CURE

By INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

THE ECONOMIC PERSPECTIVE

SINCE the partitioning of the country in August 15, 1947, India has faced some mighty problems, both political and economic, which have put enormous strain on the energy of her leaders and on her resources. In fact, there are few instances in history when a new State had to start its career against such heavy odds. The communal unrest in both the eastern and western frontiers of the country, the influx of countless destitute refugees from Western Pakistan into India, the Kashmir and the Hyderabad disputes—all combined to shake the very foundation of the newly-born State. Furthermore, the country presented certain disquieting features in the economic sphere, no less serious than the problems of her frontiers. There was the acute scarcity of foodgrains and essential commodities throughout the country; industrial production was steadily declining at a time when post-war re-conversion was essential; the transport situation was completely disorganised; the relationship between labour and capital was extremely unhappy and, above all, high prices of consumer goods meant untold misery to the poor millions in the country. In the context of all these problems, the Government found itself somewhat embarrassed, and planning for progress failed to receive the desired priority. Although events have started moving to a happy end in the political sphere, thanks to the success of the 'police action' in Hyderabad, the price situation has emerged once again as the most important aspect of the economic problem.

The present average index of wholesale prices in the country, as measured by the Economic Advisor's Index, indicates a rise of about 383 per cent over the 1939 level. Compared to last year, prices are now about 27 per cent higher on an average. The middle class cost of living index in Calcutta shows a rise of over 400 per cent in the price of food articles over the 1939 level, and the combined index (for food, fuel and lighting, clothing and miscellaneous articles) shows a rise of 330 per cent. The all-India cost of living index now stands at 263 per cent above the 1939 level, but the food articles are 396 per cent higher. The following table will indicate the extent of rapid rise in the price levels of commodities since 1939:

PRICE INDEX

(Base : year ended August, 1939=100)

Year	Agricultural commodities	Manufactured articles	General	All-India cost of living index
1944-45	265.4	258.3	244.2	236
1945-46	272.8	240.0	244.9	239
1946-47	313.8	259.1	275.4	252
1947-48	356.9	287.8	366.9	258
Latest available	396.6	348.0	383.7	263

It is clearly evident from the above table that commodity prices have reached their peak levels, and the purchasing power of money has declined to more than one-third its value in 1939. In other words, inflationary pressure has already gathered full momentum and the country's economic stability is virtually at a stake. The Government of India is, however, fully alive to the gravity of the situation and is active in devising ways and means to check the present inflation. The Government invited the opinion of the economists, the industrialists, the bankers, the socialist leaders and the labour leaders in devising the most effective remedial measures. Before discussing the proposed remedies, just announced by the Government, I would like to deal with the factors that have contributed to the present economic situation in the country, which in themselves indicate some of the broad remedial measures.

THE CONTRIBUTORY FACTORS TO INFLATION

Although there is some difference in the emphasis laid on the various factors, the main contributory causes may be briefly indicated as : (a) low production and unsatisfactory distribution, (b) currency inflation, (c) continuous deficit budgets of both the Central and Provincial Governments, (d) the policy of gradual decontrol introduced since the close of 1947, and (e) profiteering and uncontrolled speculation in commodities by traders.

Low production : Progressive deterioration in the production of essential commodities is certainly one of the important causes of the present crisis inasmuch as too much money was running after too few goods. Production has gone down by nearly 25 to 30 per cent as compared with the peak level reached during the war period. The fall in production has been the cumulative effect of the operation of several adverse factors, namely, shortage of capital goods, inadequacy and dislocation of the transport facilities, labour unrest, communal disturbances, and a general sense of frustration on the part of the industrialists. Perhaps, the transport bottle-neck, labour unrest and communal disturbances proved the worst handicaps to industrial production during 1946 and 1947. In 1946, the industry lost more than 12 million man-days due to labour disputes, while the figure rose to 17 million in 1947—a rise of over 30 per cent. Furthermore, the industrialists initiated in enjoying easy gains and abnormal profits during the war years, felt somewhat discouraged in accelerating their productive efforts in the face of high taxation and uncertainty about the industrial policy of the Government. The new policy announced in April, 1948, did not restore the desired confidence in the business community. It is probably wrong to suggest that disgruntled labour alone was responsible

for lowered production; the lack of progressive co-operation on the part of the industrialists was no less guilty.

The much needed recovery in production was also held up by unavailability of capital goods at reasonable prices from the Western countries. The acute scarcity of railway wagons completely disorganised the country's transport system resulting in the most unsatisfactory distribution of both industrial raw materials and consumer goods. This in turn led to wide speculation in commodities with the consequent fluctuation in prices. The entire machinery of business enterprise was thrown out of gear by the communal disturbances in the Punjab and Bengal, and business activity was virtually at a standstill in the main producing areas. Although there has been some improvement in production in a few directions since the beginning of this year, the present output still falls short of the existing productive capacity in the major industries. In the field of agriculture, the country yet faces a deficit of over two million tons of cereals, despite slight improvement in production recorded last year. With inelastic production and restricted inflow of goods from abroad, the gap between supply and demand has been covered by a sharp rise in prices. In the absence of complete figures for 1947-48, the following table will show the extent of decline in production during 1946-47 compared to 1945-46 :

Industrial Production in India

Commodities	1945-46	1946-47	Percentage fall in 1946-47
1. Cotton piecegoods (million yards)	4,676	3,863	17
2. Sugar* ('000 cwts.)	16,931	16,131	5
3. Cement ('000 tons)	2,146	2,017	6
4. Pig iron ('000 tons)	1,406	1,364	4
5. Finished steel ('000 tons)	1,338	1,169	13
6. Steel ingots ('000 tons)	1,300	1,199	8
7. Coal ('000 tons)	26,543	26,218	1
8. Paper ('000 cwts.)	1,682	1,431	15
9. Matches (million gross boxes)	20	16	20
Average fall—10			
10. Total of rice, wheat, jowar, bajra, maize, gram and barley** ('000 tons)	39,419	40,419	

* The total production of sugar during the crushing season, December, 1947 to April, 1948 amounted to 1,056,700 tons compared to 901,00 tons during the previous season.

** The total reported production of cereals during 1947-48 was estimated at 41,400,000 tons.

Since the third quarter of this year, the trend in production of certain essential commodities is again showing a decline. The total quantity of finished steel produced during the quarter July-September, 1948 amounted to 211,050 tons compared to 224,600 and 201,700 tons respectively during the first two quarters. The fall is attributed to a breakdown in the SCOB's sheet mill. The estimated production of steel this year is placed at 825,000 tons as against 868,580 tons in 1947. Due to unsatisfactory despatches and accumulation of large stocks at pitheads, the raising of coal dropped to 6.7 million tons during the third quarter compared to 8 million and 7.6 million tons respectively during the first two quarters. The production of cement declined to 356,000 tons in the third quarter as against 374,000 tons in the second quarter because of inadequate transport facilities. The paper industry has been affected by shortage of raw materials. The output was over 24,000 tons in the first quarter, while it declined to slightly under 24,000 tons in the second quarter and to 23,000 tons in the third quarter. The appreciable improvement in textile production recorded during the first two quarters has not been maintained during the quarter ended September, 1948. The downward course of the production curve, if unchecked, will handicap the operation of the anti-inflationary measures adopted by the Government.

Currency inflation : The phenomenal expansion of the currency during the war years has substantially contributed to the pressure of inflation in the country. In the entire period from 1939-40 to 1947-48, the production index in no year fell below its base value, but the price-level showed a continuous rise. This suggests that factors other than changes in the volume of production were also responsible for the rise in prices. India's total issue of notes increased from Rs. 196 crores in 1938-39 to Rs. 1,223 crores in 1946-47. The total note in circulation during June and July, 1948, amounted to Rs. 1,292 crores and Rs. 1,251 crores respectively. These additions to currency against sterling balances were undertaken to finance production of war materials in the country. Furthermore, renewed additions to currency were made as a result of the depletion of the Government balances accumulated during the war. In 1947-48, the price-level rose to over three times its base value in 1939, while the volume of currency and credit in that year amounted to nearly five times the quantity in the base year. Since September, 1947, and up to June, 1948, the total increase in note issue amounted to Rs. 140 crores, of which about Rs. 80 crores were issued during the first six months of 1948. The rate of expansion of the currency was far greater than the rate of increase in production with the consequent fall in the value of money.

Deficit budgets : The continued deficit expenditure on both capital and revenue accounts of the Central and Provincial Governments has also intensified the

present crisis. The current year's Central budget, showing a deficit of over two crores of rupees, is the tenth consecutive deficit budget. The large volume of public expenditure occasioned by refugee rehabilitation work, the Kashmir operations and the heavy imports of foodgrains from abroad, has added to the pressure of inflation. In the financial year 1947-48 the combined balances of the Governments of India and Pakistan with the Reserve Bank of India went down by about Rs. 118 crores as against Rs. 95 crores in 1946-47. The country has drawn heavily upon its reserves at a time when the combined revenues have declined from Rs. 336 crores in 1946-47 to Rs. 298 crores in 1947-48.

A study of the Provincial budgets also reveals large deficits: Madras has budgeted this year for a deficit of Rs. 5.62 crores; the United Provinces for Rs. 4.7 crores; Bombay for Rs. 2.64 crores; East Punjab for Rs. 6.69 crores; West Bengal for Rs. 0.78 crore; the Central Provinces and Berar for Rs. 0.45 crore; Assam for Rs. 1.49 crores and Orissa for Rs. 0.69 crore. The only province which expects a surplus is Bihar, the budget showing a surplus of about Rs. 1.48 crores.

Policy of decontrol: The relaxation of controls on production, movement and prices of essential food articles as well as cloth, introduced in November, 1947, under the revised policy of the Government, provided a powerful stimulus to commodity speculation and intensified the momentum gathered by the inflationary pressure. With the removal of controls on pulses, sugar and textiles, movements of commodities began to be directed to areas where prices were the highest. Previously, the controlled articles were moving according to some prescribed channels, but movements became irregular due to speculative activities of the traders. The country's transport system was further complicated in consequence. Contrary to expectations, the policy of gradual decontrol has resulted in a further sharp rise in the prices of all commodities and has aggravated the present crisis. Between November, 1947, and May, 1948, the general index of wholesale prices has shown an increase of about 21 per cent, semi-manufactures went up by 26 per cent, manufactures by 24 per cent, food articles by 21 per cent and industrial raw materials by 17 per cent. The rise in the price of cereals like wheat and rice ranged from 100 to 250 per cent over the controlled rates in certain deficit areas. Sugar prices recorded an increase of over 100 per cent immediately after decontrol in December, 1947, while the finer varieties of textiles advanced by about 200 to 250 per cent.

"The policy of gradual decontrol," says Sir C. D. Deshmukh, Governor of the Reserve Bank of India, "became the main factor affecting the course of events during the latter half of 1947."

The restrictive import policy of the Government, followed since the second half of 1947, with a view to conserving foreign exchange, further augmented the

scarcity of consumer goods and the upward trend in prices.

Profiteering and commodity speculation: Profiteering and unhealthy speculation in essential commodities by traders were probably most responsible for sustaining the inflationary pressure during all the time. Taking advantage of the existing scarcity of all essential commodities and the country's dislocated transport system, the traders indulged in the most unscrupulous ways of blackmarket operations. With enormous hoarded wealth and connivance of the corrupt Government officials, these traders ventured in wild speculation and succeeded in creating almost a paradise for blackmarketeers in the country. The anti-social activities of the traders have done more injury to the country's economy than any other single factor. The Government appeared somewhat helpless in dealing with these people, and all measures intended to counter their activities proved abortive. The partitioning of the country in August, 1947, offered another opportunity to them in creating an open field for smuggling over the border areas. There are possibly no correct ways of measuring the extent of widespread smuggling operations that went on in the eastern and western frontiers of the country. On a single item like the cotton textiles the traders derived more than 300 per cent margin of profits, and goods worth over Rs. 100 crores were smuggled out of India.

Blackmarkets and illicit traffic in commodities continued as regular features in the country's economy. It is probably true to say that far more trade operations materialised through irregular devices than recorded in the open market dealings. Large-scale hoarding, heavy smuggling and unscrupulous profiteering by traders led to severe disparity in the distribution of essential commodities in the country with the consequent violent fluctuation in prices.

THE PROPOSED REMEDIES

The Government of India has now announced the proposed remedies to fight the inflation. These, however, constitute only the immediate steps to improve the present situation, and the Government has under consideration certain other measures to be announced soon. It must be admitted that despite the complexity of the suggestions offered by various interests, the Government has followed a cautious policy in its choice of the measures; its policy is stated to be dictated by the following main considerations:

1. To keep the Government expenditure as low as possible consistent with efficiency, and to increase revenues by all available means;
2. To make a concerted effort immediately to ensure that there is no further rise in prices and the cost of living;
3. To secure, in the shortest possible time, a progressive reduction in prices to reasonable levels and the supply of an increasing volume of goods and services; and
4. To make every endeavour to curtail the purchasing power in the hands of the community and to prevent any further addition thereto.

The anti-inflationary measures proposed to be adopted by the Government may be briefly summarised as follows :

(A) *Incentives to Production :*

- (i) Liberalisation of depreciation allowances on plant and machinery for income-tax purposes ;
- (ii) Exempting new industrial undertakings from income-tax for a specified period ;
- (iii) Granting relief in respect of customs duty on imported raw materials and industrial plant and machinery ;
- (iv) To ensure uniformity of labour legislation throughout the country and to provide for review of awards in disputes by a statutory authority.

(B) *Financial Measures :*

- (i) Reduction in the budgetary gap between revenue and expenditure, and postponement of all unproductive expenditure ;
- (ii) Intensification of the campaign for small savings by encouraging investment in Postal Savings Bonds and National Savings Certificates and by issue of Treasury Deposit Receipts ;
- (iii) Limiting the payment of dividends in public companies to the average of two years ended March, 1948, or to 6 per cent on paid-up capital, whichever is higher ;
- (iv) Postponement of the repayment of Excess Profit Tax deposits and of refundable E.P.T. for a further period of three years, except for financing purchase of capital goods ;
- (v) The progress of the Estate Duty Bill, now before the Constituent Assembly (Legislative), will be expedited ;
- (vi) Regulating advances by banks to prevent speculation in commodities.

(C) *Measures to stabilise and to bring down prices :*

- (i) Re-imposition of controls on foodgrains and cloth, and reduction in the price of sugar ;
- (ii) Better distribution of certain essential commodities, such as cement, iron and steel, kerosine, etc. ;
- (iii) Liberalisation of the import policy to allow an increased flow of consumer goods.

The problem now facing the country is to bridge the existing wide gap between money and goods, and to bring down the prices of all essential commodities to reasonable levels. Some of the broad remedial measures to combat inflation are, in a way, suggested by the contributory factors themselves. Increased production of goods and services, reduction in the money in circulation, balancing of Government budgets, better distribution of essential commodities, and checking of profiteering and speculation—are remedies apparently indicated by the contributory causes. There is no single sovereign remedy for inflation, and the offensive must be directed from every front to regain the desired equilibrium in the country's economic life. It is now relevant to examine the adequacy of the proposed remedies as anti-inflationary measures.

Incentives to production : There is practically no difference of opinion on the issue that the volume of

production of goods and services in the country should be increased, not only as a step to counter the inflationary pressure but also as a regular programme of industrial recovery. Nevertheless, in the short run and particularly under the existing economic set-up of the country, production is bound to be inelastic. The country needs capital goods, industrial raw materials at economic prices, trained personnel, better transport facilities, and above all, a harmonious co-operation between labour and capital to achieve the desired recovery in production. The Government's decision to ensure uniformity of labour legislation throughout the country in referring disputes to adjudication and providing for review of awards by a statutory authority is certainly a welcome move in the right direction. Some of the incentives, such as liberalising the depreciation allowances on plants and machinery for income-tax purposes, exempting new industrial undertakings from income-tax for a specified period and granting of relief in respect of customs duty on imported raw materials and machinery, should go a long way in assuring the industrialists of a congenial environment to put forth their best efforts. In fact, these incentives should prove sufficient to remove the crisis of confidence and strengthen the morale of the business community. The measures previously initiated by the Government, such as the three-year industrial truce, the establishment of the Industrial Finance Corporation, the grant of tax concession in the budget for 1948-49 and the scheme of profit sharing recommended by the Committee appointed by the Government should also prove beneficial.

The complete and detailed plan of the Government to improve production is yet to be announced, but meanwhile, the suggestion offered by Sri Jai Prakash Narain, the Socialist leader, should merit serious consideration. As suggested by him, fixation of basic production quotas, industry-wise and unit-wise, and granting of production bonus to capital in the form of rebate on taxes for extra production may prove quite effective to enhance production. Better housing accommodation and supply of cheap rations to labour are most desired to keep labour contented and to increase its efficiency. Foreign private investment may also be encouraged to accelerate industrialisation. In order to relieve the existing scarcity of consumer goods and to open more avenues of regular employment to agricultural labour, the Government should revive and develop the cottage and medium-scale industries. It is, however, assuring that a few of these measures are under consideration by the Government. What is most needed at present is a new social outlook, a more enlightened realisation on the part of both the industrialists and the labourers of their obligation to extend their best productive efforts in the country's cause. The only objective relentlessly pursued by the industrialists has been the earning of maximum profit, and this motive force has probably created the worst cleavage between labour and capital.

The labourers must also feel that increase in real wages alone offers them the best benefit. After all, measures to improve production as a remedy for inflation cannot offer any immediate relief, as recovery in production involves a long-term process.

Financial measures: The Government's decision to enforce all economies in expenditure, consistent with the maintenance of efficient administration, and to postpone all unproductive expenditure is a move in the right direction. Besides providing for balanced budgets both in the Centre and in the Provinces, judicious economy will help in curtailing the excess purchasing power in the hands of the community. The Government aims to provide surplus budget next year. If this can really be achieved without recourse to increased taxation and indiscriminate reduction in development expenditure, the Government will have to its aid one of the most effective weapons to fight inflation. There is much of extravagance in the day-to-day administration, and the prevailing state of affairs in the various Government departments leaves much to be desired. Quick promotion, nepotism in appointments to senior services, creation of new posts to provide interested beneficiaries, fat allowances, too many committees, delegations and conferences should all be stopped to introduce the primary step in economy. The Provincial Governments have been warned that they could expect no financial assistance from the Centre to implement their plans for the abolition of zamindari or for prohibition. The Government has also decided to set up a Cabinet Committee to determine the relative priority of development schemes so that expenditure on non-productive schemes may be postponed or curtailed. This will certainly prevent further addition to the purchasing power, but it would be unwise to postpone the development projects without looking to their ultimate benefits. Any new project must necessarily take time to yield its fruits. The mere fact that its execution involves expenditure in wages, salaries and capital equipment should not justify its postponement. In a predominantly agricultural country like India agricultural development must proceed along with, if not precede, industrial recovery. Far-reaching agricultural improvements and tenancy reforms essential for industrial progress in the country, will be unduly hampered and delayed if proper discretion is not exercised in the revision of priorities to the various schemes.

In order to provide surplus budgets, the Provincial Governments have been advised to strengthen their finances by the levy of an agricultural income-tax where it is not yet levied. The progress of the Estate Duty Bill, the entire proceeds of which will be allotted to the Provinces, will be expedited in the Constituent Assembly. These new sources of revenue for the provinces do not constitute emergent measures to combat inflation, but merely satisfy their long-felt needs. The tax on agricultural income is already in force in some of the provinces, but the prospect of

deriving additional revenue from this source to meet the present crisis is limited. However, new avenues of income should always be tapped without seriously affecting the necessary inducement to greater productive efforts. Mere increase in the rates of taxes will bring no surplus revenue unless both the Central and Provincial Governments can rely on improved machinery of tax assessment and stringent collection of the arrears.

In order to stimulate small savings, the Government has decided to raise the maximum possible limit for investment in Postal Savings Bonds from Rs. 1,000 to Rs. 10,000 and in National Savings Certificates from Rs. 15,000 to Rs. 25,000. It has also been decided to issue Treasury Deposit Receipts on favourable terms for six, nine and twelve months to cater for institutional investors in search for short-term investments. As a step to withdraw surplus purchasing power in the hands of the community, these financial measures are not likely to produce any encouraging response. The first two methods have already been tried with no promising result; the probable efficacy of the third one is yet uncertain. With the existing inflationary prices, the capacity to save the low-income groups (with incomes ranging between Rs. 250/- to Rs. 300/- per month) is strictly limited. In fact, these people can hardly maintain a moderate standard of living, and the lure of interest or yield has no influence on this class of investors. What is really wanted is to usurp the hoarded wealth of the rich, but this objective cannot be attained by any voluntary savings scheme.

The other financial measure of limiting the payment of dividends in public companies to the average of two years ended March, 1948 or to 6 per cent on paid-up capital, can only prove a mild way of preventing further addition to the purchasing power. It cannot effectively check the profiteers or black-marketeers from deriving undue profits through illegal devices. The decision to postpone, for a further period of three years, refunding the E.P.T. and re-paying the E.P.T. deposits, except for financing purchase of capital equipment, is only continuing a policy already in force and cannot materially alter the present situation. This will, however, prevent embarrassing addition to purchasing power.

Measures to stabilise and to bring down prices: The Government's decision to re-impose controls on foodgrains and cloth is a vital step to counter-inflation. A fundamental necessity in the present situation is to stabilise and to effect a progressive reduction in the prices of essential commodities. Wider application of rationing and effective control over prices and distribution of the essentials of life appear the most sensible course in this respect. The assurance to bring about a reduction in the price of sugar and to ensure better distribution of kerosene, cement and iron and steel should have a salutary effect on foodgrains prices. It is yet unknown what further steps the Government will take to improve the existing

distribution of these commodities. There is also no mention of controlling the prices and distribution of pulses and edible oils. The most important aspect of control, however, is distribution. If regular supplies of controlled articles are not ensured, profiteering and black-market operations will persist as normal features. The existing procurement and distribution machinery of the Government should be completely purged of all undesirable elements before any benefit can be expected out of controls. From the unhappy experience gained during the previous regime of control it can be stated that without good administration, controls will inflict additional sufferings to the average people. It had been a common experience under rationing that only the inferior qualities of textiles and foodgrains, sometimes unsuitable for use and unfit for human consumption, were available through the regular channels of distribution, the better varieties being sold at higher prices in black-markets. Large-scale and indiscriminate adulteration of foodstuffs is also a common practice with the suppliers and handling agents. Unless the Government feels seriously about the attendant evils of control, and adopts the most effective methods of checking black-market operations, the mere fact of re-imposition of controls and rationing will have little anti-inflationary effect. Most stringent measures should be adopted to stop bribery and corruption among Government officials; only senior officials with reputation of honesty and efficiency should be entrusted with the duty of supervising the activities of the procurement and distribution agents.

In order to allow an increased flow of essential consumer goods from abroad, the Government has decided to liberalise the import policy. This will undoubtedly relieve the existing scarcity to a certain extent in so far as goods are available at reasonable prices. As a regular State policy, however, a planned programme is necessary to control the country's foreign trade in a wise manner. The administration of the country's export and import trade controls since the second half of 1947 exhibited certain glaring instances of corruption and inefficiency; some of the worst vices of bureaucracy were nakedly manifest. Countless formalities, avoidable delays in the issue and renewal of licences, irregular sanction of quotas to interested parties and, above all, a general spirit of discrimination—all characterised the affairs of administration. Instances of lapse of quotas against unutilised licences and open sale of permits and licences in the market were also numerous. These unsatisfactory state of affairs must be rectified before the country's

foreign trade can be put on a sound basis. As suggested by some members of the Constituent Assembly, the establishment of an Indian Commercial Corporation as a statutory body to handle the country's foreign trade, on the lines of the United Kingdom Commercial Corporation appears quite reasonable.

CONCLUSION

If any single measure can promote economic stability in the country, it is the most effective way of dealing with the profiteers and those corrupt officials actively co-operating with them. Until profiteering and speculation in essential commodities can be effectively checked, the various anti-inflationary measures proposed by the Government will not produce the desired result. The present crisis, particularly the price situation, is more a problem of equitable distribution than of increased production. What is most needed at present is to ensure better distribution of the available supply of consumer goods and industrial raw materials, and to check the anti-social activities of the traders. If easy commercial traffic can be maintained on the country's railways and on other means of transport, speculation in commodities and the consequent fluctuation in prices will be considerably reduced. Two fundamental steps, namely, a complete re-organisation of the transport system and checking of speculation in commodities appear most essential at present.

The Government's decision to regulate bank advances, in respect of which the Reserve Bank of India has been armed with wide powers by the Banking Ordinance, can prevent speculation only to a very limited extent. A greater degree of speculation is occasioned by black-market money, which moves independently of the facilities offered by bank credits. Unless the enormous amount of hoarded money belonging to the rich can be seized, profiteering, smuggling and speculation cannot be checked. Infliction of the most deterrent punishment to profiteers is a fundamental necessity in fighting inflation. Confiscation of property, cancellation of trade licence, long-term imprisonment and, above all, scandalising before the public—these weapons should all be applied against the enemies of the State. To quote Sir C. D. Deshmukh, "The country's central problem is essentially one of good administration and effective execution."*

* The views expressed in this article are those of the author, and do not reflect the opinion of the organisation with which he is associated.



THE RESERVE BANK OF INDIA AND AGRICULTURAL FINANCE

By PROF. G. P. GUPTA, M.COM.,
Commerce College, Wardha

A sound system of finance is indispensable for the agricultural reconstruction of India. The burden of agricultural debt should be reduced to the level which allows the cultivator to maintain an adequate standard of living and to enable him to raise adequate finance for agricultural production. In this connection it is necessary to emphasise the part which the Reserve Bank of India has been playing and ought to play in the future. Orthodox financial circles recognise that the central bank of a country should play a fundamental part in providing rural credit facilities. The International Committee of the League of Nations in its report to the Council on the work of the sixty-eighth session of the Committee entitled *Agricultural Credit* points out that there is room for improving the services rendered to agriculture by the central bank. The International Congress of Agriculture held at the Hague in June 1937 passed a resolution providing that the bank of issue should take into account the conditions of agricultural production and should grant special rates of interest and periods allowed for the discount of the funds subscribed by the cultivator. The assembly of International Commission of Agriculture of July, 1936, emphasised the part that banks of issue should play in providing agricultural credit facilities. Accordingly, central banks in other countries are providing special facilities for agricultural finance. The discount rate of the bank of issue for agricultural bills is lower than that for commercial bills and concession is also granted in respect of time and in re-discounting agricultural bills. Some central banks grant direct credit facilities to agriculturists; while in other cases special agricultural credit departments have been set up to advance funds on the security of produce and to promote primary production as in Australia and certain other countries.

The part which the Reserve Bank of India is playing in organising agricultural credit should be considered in the light of Indian conditions and also in the light of the operations of central banks in agricultural countries. The framers of the Reserve Bank of India Act intended that the Bank should play a special part in respect of agricultural finance. Hence the Agricultural Credit Department was added to the Bank. Its statutory functions are: (1) to study questions of agricultural credit and to give advice to institutions and organisations which want to consult it, (2) to co-ordinate its agricultural credit operations and relations with provincial co-operative banks and other banking organisations. Duty was laid on it to

submit a report before the 31st December, 1937, with proposals if it thought fit, for legislation on how to extend the provisions of the Act applying to scheduled banks to indigenous bankers and persons engaged in British India in banking business and to improve the machinery for dealing with agricultural finance. The department is, therefore, the agency for research work on agricultural finance and it has to give advice in this connection to persons and institutions as may seek it from the Bank. It is not directly entrusted with funds. Consequently it has its own limitations.

The department has collected a great deal of material pertaining to agricultural finance in India as well as abroad. It has issued four bulletins and two reports in which the special features of agricultural finance have been described. It has given suggestions in its reports for the regulation of money-lending and for the reorganisation of the co-operative movement so that it may play a proper part in supplying agricultural credit facilities to the agriculturists. It has laid emphasis on the starting of multi-purpose societies, and it published the review of the co-operative movement in the country in 1939-40. It has also issued circular from time to time in which it has embodied its proposals for improving agricultural finance. It has also collected material on Debt legislation in India and offered its advice on debt relief measures passed in the British Indian provinces and the states.

We may now refer to the efforts made by the Agricultural Credit Department in improving agricultural credit facilities. Firstly, it prepared a scheme in August, 1937, laying down concrete proposals which were based on the report of the Indian Central Banking Enquiry Committee to extend direct rediscounting facilities to the indigenous bankers. They were to confine their business to that defined by the Indian Companies Act. They were asked to maintain proper books of accounts and to get them inspected by the Reserve Bank. The Bank was also to have the right to regulate their banking business. During a period of five years from the date of their registration as private bankers on the Reserve Bank's books they could open an account with Bank. They were not to make compulsory deposits with the Reserve Bank unless their time and demand liabilities were five times or more in excess of their capital in business. Only those indigenous bankers could be placed on the approved list of the Reserve Bank which had a capital of at least 12 lakhs of rupees. This scheme was tentative for a period of five years. Such bankers were to get

direct rediscounting facilities from the Reserve Bank and the same remittance facilities as were enjoyed by the scheduled banks. The representatives of indigenous bankers agreed generally to give up speculative business, but they were not prepared to confine themselves to banking business only. They pointed out that Indian Companies Act simply gave a description of the business of joint stock banks and that description was not definition. In 1941, the Reserve Bank of India enquired of the Bombay Shroffs' Association as to how many members of the association would be prepared to accept a modified scheme based on agreed proposals to discard non-banking business within a period of time. It pointed out that a reasonable number of indigenous bankers should be willing to accept an agreed modified scheme. Then it would be prepared to agree to some sort of *via media* of modifying the original scheme provided a sufficient number of indigenous bankers were willing to segregate their banking from their non-banking business, if not immediately, at least within a definite period of time and be prepared to take immediate steps to that end. The Shroffs' Association suggested five years as the period for effecting legal segregation of banking and non-banking business for approved indigenous bankers and agreed that accounts should be published and open to depositors and to the Reserve Bank, but it could not give assurance regarding the exact number of indigenous bankers who could be willing to join the scheme, pointing out that it would be difficult for the shroffs to commit themselves in advance to anything. It was at the same time pointed out that the association could explain the scheme and bring in as many shroffs as possible to it.

The Reserve Bank refused to proceed with the scheme on two grounds: (1) The Reserve Bank wanted immediate segregation of banking from non-banking business, but the indigenous bankers wanted time to do so. (2) The Bank wanted a certain number of indigenous bankers to accept the scheme, but the shroffs were not prepared to commit themselves in this connection. According to the Reserve Bank, the new provision would remain a dead letter like Section 17 (4) (D) in the absence of conditions in which it could be applied.

Thus so far the indigenous banker has not been brought within the direct rediscounting facilities of the Reserve Bank of India and it is necessary that this should be done if facilities of agricultural finance are to be improved in our country.

We may now refer to another important effort made by the Reserve Bank in January 1938, for providing finance for marketing agricultural produce through the moneylender. The Bank offered to rediscount at concession rates through the scheduled banks the bills of approved moneylenders drawn for making advances to agriculturists against the security of produce, provided the benefit of the low rates was passed on to the agriculturists. The scheduled banks were to

charge a rate not exceeding 2 per cent over the Bank's discount rate and the moneylender was to pass on credit with a further margin of not more than 2 per cent, to the agriculturist. The rebate proposed was 1 per cent. The scheduled banks opposed it on the ground that they could not dictate the rate of interest to be charged by the moneylender to agriculturists against produce bills and that under conditions of keen competition there would be little scope for scheduled banks to rediscount such bills with the Reserve Bank.

Another effort was made to utilise the co-operative movement for supplying agricultural finance. Under the scheme contained in the Bank's circular of 14th May, 1938, a procedure was laid down to be followed by co-operative banks to get finance from the Reserve Bank of India. But only one provincial bank borrowed money under the scheme.

In 1942, the Bank prepared another scheme *vide* its circular of 2nd January, 1942. It offered to grant accommodation under Section 17(2) (b) and 17 (4) (c) for crop-marketing at a concession rate of 1 per cent below the Bank rate provided the concession was also given to the cultivator. The expectation was that the co-operative movement would utilise the scheme on a large-scale to the benefit of the cultivator. The expectation was not realised and only one provincial co-operative bank borrowed a small sum of money at 2 per cent and the ultimate borrower got finance at 5 per cent.

Accordingly, the Bank decided in November, 1944, to extend the scheme of rebate to cover bills and Promissory Notes drawn for financing seasonal operations also. The terms and conditions which were practically the same as in the circular of May 14, 1938, were also laid down. The amount of loans and advances taken advantage of by provincial co-operative banks is small as given below:

Year	Amount in lakhs of rupees		
1941-42	99.9
1942-43	295.25
1943-44	379.15

It may be pointed out at this stage that a special rebate of 1½ per cent was allowed to the U. P. Provincial Co-operative Bank up to the end of March, 1946. Section 17 (4) (D) of the Reserve Bank Act has practically remained inoperative so far, because it cannot be used without licensed warehouses. Accordingly, in November, 1944, the Bank circulated a draft bill for setting up licensed warehouses where agricultural produce will be graded and stored and regularly inspected. The warehouse will be under a licensed warehouseman who will keep the produce in his personal custody and take proper care of it against risks. The establishment of warehouses should prepare the way for the utilisation of the provisions of Section 17 (4) (D) of the Reserve Bank of India Act.

The above is an account of the efforts made by

the Reserve Bank of India to improve facilities for agricultural finance in our country. The indigenous banker has not yet been given direct rediscounting facilities. This should be done in the interest of improving agricultural credit. The demands of the co-operative movement should be satisfied and the co-operative movement should be reconstructed. A portion of the annual profits of the bank should be allocated for the development of the co-operative movement. The interpretation placed by the Reserve Bank of India upon Section 17 (4) (D) of the Act should be changed so that the bank should be able to advance funds against documents of title merely. The Reserve Bank should invest in debentures of the land mortgage banks. The agricultural credit department should be directly entrusted with funds on the model of the Rural Credit Department of the Commonwealth

Bank of Australia. A special machinery for the inspection of the moneylenders must be set up. The possibility of adding a long-term mortgage department of the Reserve Bank of India on the lines of the Australian Agricultural Mortgage Department of the Commonwealth Bank and of the long-term mortgage Department of the banks of Iceland and Costa Rica should also be considered. This department will be a help to land-mortgage banks. In this connection the working of the Australian model should be carefully studied. The Reserve Bank Act should also be amended to extend the period of rediscounting agricultural bills from nine months to at least twelve months.

A consideration of these suggestions is necessary in order that the Reserve Bank may be able to play a greater part in improving facilities for agricultural finance in our country.

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COMMENT AND CRITICISM

The Import and Export Policy of the Government

IN the financial and commercial field, one of India's major problems is how to meet an adverse balance of trade. The obvious and most healthy way is to increase exports—on traditional lines and, additionally, to develop new lines.

India's needs are many, chief among them being the demand for food and capital goods. Partition deprived this Dominion of varying quantities of the exportable surplus of a number of commodities, including raw jute from East Bengal and raw cotton from Sind. There has also been some loss in wool, hides and skins, salt, etc.

It may be argued that the situation could be met by economising on imports. Imports may be reduced either through replacement by home production or by reduction in consumption. But production of the major import—food—cannot effectively be increased, at least at its present level. Reduction in imports of raw materials, such as cotton and jute would adversely affect manufacture. Besides, there is need for capital equipment to execute India's post-war development plans. Moreover, in a State where the domestic economy is threatened by inflation, reduction of imports as such cannot be recommended. *The Modern Review*, in its September issue, emphasised that "it is no use, at this juncture, to shut our eyes to the fact that with the rocketing inflationary spiral in the country and starvation in consumer goods, there is an imperative necessity for importing large quantities of consumer goods." All these would suggest that import cannot be reduced, but may well have to be increased.

But if the quantities of imports cannot be reduced, it may at least be possible to secure them

at lower prices. That, however, is not likely. Even before partition there was an upward trend in import prices, and this could not be checked after partition. Prices of imports may be put at a "notional" level between 50 and 100 per cent above the pre-partition level according to the urgency of the demand for them. Prices of food imports may be even higher. The Hon'ble Mr. Neogy, addressing the Export Advisory Council in August, himself drew attention to this fact when he said :

"Generally speaking, however, import prices have in many cases risen more than export prices, with the result that the terms of trade have moved against India."

It seems, therefore, that there is no other way than that the demand for imports should be backed by the country's capacity to export. If India requires more imports to meet food and other shortages, she is also required to export more.

The situation has been further aggravated by the gradual depletion of our dollar resources. Figures for our export to sterling areas show a downward tendency ; and the latest position seems to be that the value of our imports exceeds that of our exports by roughly the same amount as can be met by drawing upon our sterling releases. If, therefore, there is no concerted effort for larger exports, it would be well-nigh impossible for India to maintain her trade balances. India is notorious for her unfavourable balances ; but the war placed her in a rather advantageous position. The temporary absence of competition from Japan and Germany has prepared the ground for the development of India's foreign trade.

If only she is alert enough to avail herself of the opportunity she could secure a position among the economically advanced countries of the world. The choice before India is, therefore, to export more or stagnate.

No one today subscribes to the Mercantilist theory of favourable balances of trade. Whenever a country speaks in terms of increasing exports, it is implied that she shall receive in return more imports. Before the last war India could afford to think in terms of rational self-sufficiency, although even then it was more a plausible phantasy than an actual possibility. The war and the post-war periods have shown to what extent we are dependent on foreign countries for our supplies of capital goods and food-grains. In order to secure these imports, which are so vitally necessary for our subsistence and economic development, we have to make strenuous efforts to export more.

It is easy to exaggerate the extent to which we can draw upon resources other than those accruing from our export trade to finance our growing import requirements. Releases from India's sterling balances are limited in amount and will not suffice to pay for our imports, even from countries in the sterling area, unless they are supplemented by fairly substantial exports to those countries. Further, only a small portion of the amounts released from the sterling balances is available for use in hard currency areas, and since India has a substantial adverse balance with such areas, every effort needs to be made to expand the export trade with them.

Scope for external borrowing is also limited. The International Monetary Fund can accommodate loans not exceeding 100 million dollars for each 12 period, whereas our requirements of hard currency for food imports only is of the order of 220 million dollars per year. As for the Export-Import Bank in America and the World Bank, loans are granted only against definite schemes of development. Even then, consistent with the basic requirements of economic development, attempts are being made for securing any assistance available from these and other external sources in order to relieve the strain on domestic resources.

An essential feature of the export drive is the need for diversification of exports and experiments on new lines. In this connection, the possibilities of developing

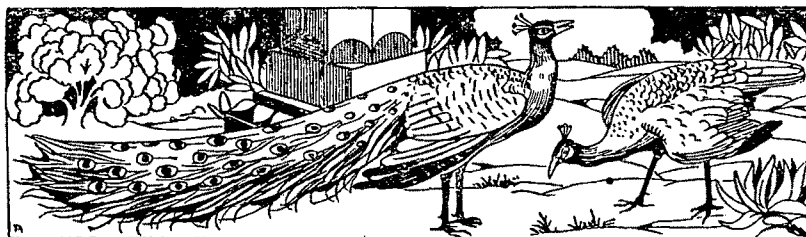
the export of articles, such as brassware, toys, etc., were mentioned by Mr. C. H. Bhabha in his address to the Export Advisory Council last year. In his speech this year, Mr. Neogy referred to the steps taken by Government to liberalise export of these commodities. True, most of these commodities are semi-luxury goods and have, accordingly, an elastic demand. But these are not the only commodities, nor even the principal ones, on which India's export drive depends.

The fact that these can earn a comparatively small amount of foreign exchange does not indicate ignorance of basic economics on the part of the Government's expert advisers. The fact that India did not ask for direct concessions in respect of these fancy goods and art-ware at the Geneva Conference shows that the advisers of the Government were aware of the elastic nature of their demand. But then, India has gained indirect concessions in respect of these, and in view of our interest in developing our export trade in such articles, these concessions may be of much value.

Tea is one of India's main exports; and undoubtedly foreigners still have some degree of control over the tea industry. It should be noted however, that the Government has already expressed in unequivocal terms—in the statement on Industrial Policy—that “as a rule the major interest in ownership and effective control should always be in Indian hands, but power will be taken to deal with exceptional cases in a manner calculated to serve the national interest.” Government are going as far as possible in this matter, but they consider that any immediate acceleration of the process of substitution may be fraught with danger to the industry itself.

With regard to an allied industry—Tea Chests—while there is an unofficial trade agreement between the U. K. and Finland, no restriction has been imposed by the Government of India on the importation of tea chests from Finland. Also the Government of Finland have never put any embargo on the export of tea chests to India. Besides, the Government of India has agreed to license imports of plywood sheets of some specific sizes direct from Finland in spite of the fact that imports of plywood sheets as such are prohibited. The Government are also considering the desirability of having direct trade relations with Finland.

PERTINAX



INDIA'S PUBLICITY ABROAD

By J. J. SINGH

AN article on "India's Publicity Abroad", I am afraid, would be covering a lot of territory with which I am not very familiar. So I will restrict myself to the question of India's publicity, past and present, in the United States. I will also refer to some of the misconceptions that seem to be prevalent these days in India.

I restrict myself to the United States, because I know something about this country, and because it is about the most important country in the world today. Until recently, our eyes were always turned toward Great Britain, but today it is more important that the aspirations of the Indian people be correctly understood by Americans than Englishmen, Russians, or any other people.

I assume that the British newspapers, even now, carry more news about India than American papers do. I read at least one London newspaper every day. It is worth-while reading London newspapers now because one can get them here the morning after they are published. I think America and Great Britain are the only two countries that carry frequent stories about India.

American newspapers, especially those having their own representatives in India, do give a fair amount of coverage to events in India.

I know that visiting Indians in this country are greatly disappointed and very much annoyed to see that so little about India appears in the American press. It is natural that they would feel that way. After all, many of them fly from India to New York in three or four days. Only four days earlier, they were reading practically nothing but Indian news in Indian newspapers. Then suddenly, they are transplanted into a country where India is rarely on the front page. Subconsciously they expect the *New York Times* to be like the *Hindustan Times* of New Delhi, or the *New York Herald Tribune* to be like the *Leader* of Allahabad. This is of course unreasonable. I think that careful analysis would show that India, on the whole, gets a fair break in American newspapers, magazines, radio and television.

There is one thing that critics of America must understand. It is that not India alone, but the whole world wants to be mentioned, talked about and written up in America. The Venezuelans, Greeks, Turks, Belgians, Chinese and the Indonesians want—and are entitled to—their share of attention. Everyone particularly wants his story to appear in the *New York press*, and more especially in the two leading morning newspapers, the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*. Now, how are these newspapers going to satisfy this world demand? All they can do is to print stories from all parts of the world on as fair a basis as possible. Of course, any newsworthy story which helps to sell the newspapers gets prece-

dence over anything else. That is true of the press all over the world.

I recall an incident, I think in 1942, some time after the arrest of the Indian leaders, when a real "Iron Curtain"—and perhaps the first "Iron Curtain"—was drawn between India and the United States of America, and when we, that is, my colleagues and I in the India League of America, somehow managed to get news from India which we tried to get published in this country. (Incidentally, the British Embassy and British Consulates in the United States which at that time were zealously engaged in carrying on anti-Indian propaganda and were trying to combat our efforts, used to be staggered at some of the news we got from India despite the strict censorship. Do you know how we secured some of this important news? We would get American soldiers to send us clippings and other material in their letters to this country. American soldiers' letters were handled by the American Army Post Office and were not subject to censorship by the British.)

Reverting back to the incident which I wanted to quote above, this is what happened. We had sent a news story, which we had managed to receive by these devious methods, to the *New York Times* and felt that the story was important and timely enough to be published. But the *New York Times* did not print it. Well, I was quite mad. I called up Arthur H. Sulzberger, the publisher of the *New York Times*, whom I had met several times before, to make an appointment for the intended protest. Mr. Sulzberger was out of town, but his secretary suggested that I see Mr. Nicholas Roosevelt, a distant relative of President Roosevelt who was then the administrative assistant to Mr. Sulzberger.

I saw Mr. Roosevelt the same afternoon. After he had heard my complaint, he said, "Mr. Singh, do you think we keep news about India out of our paper because we do not want to print India news? Do you think we are prejudiced against India? Do you think the British run this newspaper?" Then Mr. Roosevelt made most emphatic denials to all these questions and led me down to the Foreign Cable Desk where all foreign news is received. He asked the editor in charge to show us the cables that had been received that very morning, and how much of that material was being used. The editor of the Foreign Cable Desk showed us that more than half of the cabled material received was being thrown into the waste paper basket—this meant thousands and thousands of words.

Mr. Roosevelt looked at me and said, "Mr. Singh, ninety per cent of these cables are from our own correspondents, who are well paid and have liberal expense accounts, and the cable charges for all these stories were borne by us. These are not news agency

stories. We just cannot print all we get. There is a shortage of paper, as you know." Then Mr. Roosevelt added, "Now do you believe me when I say that there is no question of prejudice, there is no question of bias? It is just a question of not being able to use everything we receive."

I have had similar experiences with other publishers, and I, for one, am convinced that there is no bias, no prejudice, and no desire to kill Indian stories in most of the American press.

Recently, large numbers of visitors from India have said to me with great concern, "Mr. Singh, what is wrong with the American press? Why is the American press against India? Why are the American people against India? Why is the American Government against India?"

Let me categorically state that the American press is not against India, the American people are not against India, and the American Government is not against India.

Ever since the Kashmir question was brought before the United Nations, many editorials have been written in the Indian press, more or less suggesting that India was completely friendless in this wide world. Others have suggested that an Anglo-American bloc is being created to crush India economically, politically and otherwise. That is just bunk! I do not know of any Anglo-American bloc in this country which is out to crush India. And I make bold to state that if there were any such moves afoot in this country, my colleagues and I would know before either the Government of India or the Government of India's representatives in this country. This is a bold statement to make. But you should know that we are constantly in touch with all kinds of people and especially with people "behind the scenes." These people we have known for years and years. They are our friends. They trust us and we trust them. It is one thing to meet a person once, or twice, and shake hands—as a visitor or even an Ambassador does, and it is another thing to *know* a person. We *know* people in this country.

As a result of our knowledge, let me restate that the Government of the United States is not against India. The American press is not against India. And there is no Anglo-American bloc, as of today, working against India.

Though I do not wish to talk about the Kashmir dispute and the way it was handled before the Security Council, I do wish to state that even the members of the Security Council were not against India. It is true that they did not toe the line of the Indian delegation. But just because they did not get up, salute and shout *Jai Hind*, and accept the Indian delegation's position in toto, does this mean they were against India?

Let us not get panicky just because everybody does not agree with us all the time. Let us not begin to beat our breasts and start feeling that we have no

friends in the world. Let us not dream up this so-called Anglo-American alliance which is out to devour poor little India.

I cannot refrain from making another reference to the Kashmir question before the Security Council. I read in the Indian press, and I have heard from many visiting Indians, that the American and British delegations "ganged up" on the Indian delegation. That is not true. On many occasions, the American as well as the British delegations found fault with the Indian position. But any suggestion that it was a premeditated, Machiavellian scheme to beat India's case is just not correct. This is not the place to do so, but I can cite chapter and verse to prove my assertions.

Now with regard to India's publicity in this country. I think undue haste is being displayed. It seems to me that the people in India expect miracles to be performed just because we have been independent for about thirteen months.

India seems to expect that now that we have our own ambassador and embassy staffs, American newspapers and radio and television should talk about India all the time. That is ridiculous. Do not forget that there are about sixty ambassadors in Washington, representing different countries.

I think we should not show any immodest and undue haste in trying to publicize India in this country. I think we should go about it in a dignified and systematic manner.

It will take us years and years to undo about a hundred years of anti-Indian propaganda that had been carried on in this country by the British imperialists right up to the time when the Churchill Government was overthrown by the present British Labor Government.

There is no doubt in my mind that much misinformation has been spread by the British. Not yesterday, not ten or even twenty years ago, but perhaps fifty or sixty years ago, a smart Englishman, one with foresight, sitting in England said to himself that some day England will have to justify to an awakened world her subjugation of the people of India and her continued rule of them. And this Englishman set the machinery in motion. He started subtle propaganda against the people of India through means which, to an average reader, appeared to be ordinary, unbiased and factual newspaper reporting. As we all know, the British, through the Reuters News Agency, have had until recently, a strangle-hold on incoming and outgoing news in India. Therefore, it was within their power to send out exactly the kind of Indian news they wanted. They kept on, year in and year out, telling the world that there were different factions in India, that there were deep-rooted religious animosities, that there were the miserable Untouchables, that there were the Maharajahs with their fabulous wealth and scores of wives or concubines, that if the British were not there, the Hindus and Moslems would massacre each

other—and so on and so forth. The "misinformation", no doubt, was spread by the British.

However, some way should have been found to counteract this kind of vicious propaganda, but practically nothing was done. The fact is that Indian leaders are partly to be blamed for the ignorance of the Americans.

Let me give you a few facts and figures:

Before the Second World War, hardly any Indian businessmen, tourists, political leaders, or students, ever came to the United States. Few students came because they found living expenses too high. The tourists also found America a little too expensive and a little too far. Our political leaders considered it more essential to visit England to confer with important Britishers. The businessmen had more business relations with England than with the United States of America. Before the last war, England was the "Mecca" of Indians of all types, but unfortunately few came to this country. So, India's contacts with the United States were few and insignificant.

With regard to Indians living in the United States, at no time have there been more than 6,000. (The first "immigrant" came in 1899. Until 1907, there was very little immigration from India. In 1907, 1072 came in—most of them from Canada.) The figure today is in the vicinity of 4,000.

Almost 95 per cent of the 4,000 odd Indians are illiterate. There are about 3,000 on the Pacific Coast (2,000 Sikhs, 1,000 Moslems and Hindus), mostly farmers (some of them very well-to-do). Then we have about 500 in Greater New York, which includes Brooklyn and parts of New Jersey, most of whom work in factories, restaurants, or garages (large numbers of them are *lascars* who jumped ships). And there are about 300 in Detroit, Michigan, most of whom work in automobile factories. There are not more than 30 to 40 Indian businessmen in the whole of the United States. We have a few Swamis, and we used to have a few professional lecturers and writers. (Recently, several hundred Indian students and a score, or more, of businessmen have come.)

Everyone has to earn his living, which means that besides the professional lecturers and writers (I am referring to those who had to earn their living by writing and lecturing on India and who now have Government jobs) there are not many among us who can afford to devote time or energy toward educating the American public. There is not a single Indian who is a newspaper publisher, radio commentator, or columnist.

We were not eligible for citizenship until the passage in 1946 of the India Immigration and Naturalization Bill which was introduced and piloted to the statute books by the India League of America. Therefore, we did not have any voting power and so did not have any Congressmen, or Senators, whom we could approach for support of our cause.

In short, there are only a handful of Indians in this country, and they do not hold positions which enable them to make much of a dent on 140 million Americans.

In my humble opinion, the job of removing the misinformation and ignorance rightly belonged to the Government of India—as in the case of other countries, or to the Indian National Congress which was the chief spokesman for India's independence.

But the old "Government of India" was not the Government of the people of India. Quite the contrary. The then Government of India (in the past I have always referred to it as the "British" Government of India), spent its resources in carrying on anti-Indian propaganda.

And the Indian National Congress never considered it important to educate the American people—or anyone else outside India. As I understand it, the Indian National Congress, perhaps rightly, had always maintained that its energies should necessarily be concentrated in India because the freedom of India had to be won from within India and by the Indians, and not by the help of America, or any other foreign country.

As long as we did not do anything to keep the Americans informed about the true state of affairs in India, why should we get so angry and disturbed when we find them so ill-informed? We cannot have our cake and eat it too. India decided not to carry on any kind of political or educational propaganda outside India. If the results are not quite palatable, why blame the Americans or others?

If we had made any effort to "sell" our side of the story to the American people, and if they had decided to accept the British version and not ours, then we would have a just cause for complaint—but not when we did not think it worth our while, or important enough, to bother about what Americans thought.

But Americans must be blamed too. They must be blamed for having swallowed the British propaganda.

Because, as a great power and as leaders of the world, it was their duty to sift into the Indian situation. And as a people believing in the principles of democracy, however difficult and complicated the Indian problem might have appeared to them, they should not have neglected it.

Here are my conclusions:

A. The "misinformation" about India, the "ignorance" about India which has existed in the past and still exists, is very largely due to the past anti-Indian propaganda by the British.

B. The Indian leaders, preoccupied with the heroic fight against foreign rule, were unable to counteract this poisonous propaganda.

C. The nationals of India living in the United States were not by themselves strong enough to influence American opinion. Parenthetically, I may mention here that between 1942 and 1945 when our leaders were in jail and when the voice of India had

been throttled, a small band of Indians here, against great odds, kept the flag of India's freedom flying in this country.

D. Official anti-Indian propaganda by the British has been stopped in this country, though there are still personal prejudices against India among individual Britishers in the British Information Services, British Consulates and British Embassy. And when news of the disorders between Hindus and Moslems are reported in the press, they always say, "We told you so." But these people are not the "policy-makers." They express their views only in their individual capacity.

E. There are no Indians employed by the British Information Services, or any other British agencies in the United States. As a matter of fact, the British Information Services never had any Indian openly

employed by them. Yes, there were two, or three, who "operated" through the British Information Services, but they were never on its payroll.

F. The American people, the American press, the American Government, all of them are sincerely desirous of learning about India and understanding India.

G. Large numbers of American people have been disgusted with our communal riotings, but by and large, the American people feel that a too hasty judgment of free India should not be made.

H. The Government of India representatives in this country have a job to perform. The task is not easy. It will take time to make friends. Do not expect miracles. Slowly, and gradually, the star of India will shine in all its glory all over the world.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

INTRODUCTION TO ASSAM: By Dimbeswar Neog. Vora & Co. Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 226. Price Rs. 9-8.

This is an ambitious work claiming to give within the compass of 226 pages what the present Premier of Assam says in the course of his appreciative Preface, "the details of every phase of the activities of the people of Assam from the pre-historic times to the modern days." It is impossible to deny the author the qualities of enthusiasm and industry, for he has laid under contribution nearly all the sources (including standard works) bearing on his subject. But too often he contents himself with quoting long extracts from his authorities, thus giving his book almost the aspect of a compilation. Want of critical acumen is exhibited in the author's accepting as sober facts (with dates going back to 2500 B.C.) the stories of ancient kings mentioned in the Epics, the Puranas, and the Tantras; and even in Firishta's Persian History (pp. 16-17, 20-21, 142, 164-165, 168-170). Referring to Bhagadatta, one of the kings, thus raised from the legendary to the historical plane, the author writes (p. 175): "The whole of modern north Bengal, and possibly central Bengal also, was within his kingdom, and his dynasty ruled Bengal for nearly 2200 years, after which it passed to Noz Gouria, a Kayastha king whose descendants ruled for 250 years till Adisura became the ruler." Equally inexplicable is the date (circa 600 B.C.) assigned by the author to the Ramayana and the Mahabharata (pp. 9, 11). An undercurrent of chauvinism is exhibited in the author's

attempt to deal with such questions as the extent of Bhaskaravarman's authority over Bengal (p. 30), the conquest of Kamarupa by the Bengal kings Ramapala, Vijayasena and Lakshmanasena (pp. 56-58) and the descent of old Assamese from Magadhi Prakrit (p. 197). On the evidence of no surer data than inferences from passages in the Epics and the Kavyas, he claims to include Bhutan with parts of China and Bihar within the limits of pre-historic Pragjyotisha (pp. 12, 16). The author's system of transliteration of Sanskrit names is not only antiquated, but erratic. Misprints are numerous, some of the most glaring being "Sir Oralstyne" (p. 18), and "Silve Levy", the author of *Le Pal* (p. 36). Though there is a chronological table of the kings of Kamarupa and their contemporaries, the book is altogether lacking in maps, genealogical tables, bibliography and index.

U. N. GHOSHAL

INDIAN BUSINESS, Vol. I. (Aspects of Organisation and Finance): By Kasturchand Lalwani. Published by A. Mukherji and Co., Calcutta. Pp. xvi + 443 + xxvi. Price Rs. 10.

In this volume the author examines the different aspects of our Indian business organisation and finance. We have here a sufficiently detailed account of the different forms of our business organisation, home and foreign trade, as well as finance. The students as well as common readers will find the book really helpful. The author deserves encouragement in his study of the other aspects of our business.

MODERN ECONOMICS, Vol. I : By Rabindra-nath Chatterji. Published by H. Chatterji and Co. Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. ix + 254. Price Rs. 4-8.

The book is an attempt to provide a suitable text-book on Modern Economics for our B.A. and B.Com. students. This volume is confined to economic theory, and another volume is promised very soon, that will deal with money, banking, international trade and public finance. The author has amassed a vast amount of useful information regarding different topics and has condensed them sufficiently to find a place for each within the narrow space available in this volume. The result has been rather disappointing from the serious student's point of view. He will find it helpful as a help-book at the time of his examination : a convenient and condensed summary of topics usually asked in the B.A. examination is ready at his disposal. But he will not find it helpful or stimulating to understand or master handling the analytical tools the author so liberally acquaints him with. The tools are not presented to the reader in a way that enable him to acquire with it knowledge for himself or insight into the subject in which he is going to graduate. The book is not likely to guide him to independent thinking or develop his critical faculty. A student who has already learnt a thing will find in the book its condensed expression. He may well be tempted to cram things without understanding them. Shortly, the students will find in the book a convenient coach helping him to pass examination, but not a careful teacher guiding him to learn and understand economic theory. Evidently the learned author is highly competent to write a text-book on economic theory and we hope that in the next edition he will successfully transform it into one.

P. C. GHOSH

INDIAN HISTORICAL RECORDS COMMISSION, Vol. 23 (Proceedings of Meetings, Dec. 1946) : Published by the Manager of Publications, Delhi. Pp. 13 + 163 + 47.

Part II, pp. 1-74 only of this volume, interests the reviewer incorporating, as it does, as many as thirty-five articles beginning with the *Abolition of the titular dignity of the Carnatic Nawab* and ending in *Slavery in the north-east India* by Chowdhury Khan Amanatullah Ahmad. Of this bundle of papers, Prof. Askeri and Dr. A. Halim's, containing notices of *bayaz* and a newly-discovered farman, as also of G. N. Sharma's paper on *Amar Kavya Bansavali* and Khare's *On the Records of the Peshwas*, merit notice by their value and importance. Interest also attaches to Rao Bahadur M. V. Kive's article, in which he shows that the *Agra College*, which held a ceremony in 1940 to unveil the portrait of Gangadhar Shastri Patwardhan, the Baroda emissary murdered by Trimbakji Dangle in 1814, owes the benefaction not of this Baroda envoy but of another *Shastri* of the same name.

Dr. Qureshi refers to a parchment in which the Saint Ruknuddin is said to have made representation to Sultan Mahmud Begarha of Gujerat imploring the protection of the Girnar Muslims against the persecution of the *muqaddams* of the place. It is revealing no doubt, but the question would arise of its authenticity. A facsimile of the document ought to have been inserted in the proper place, and the volume should have ruthlessly excluded the papers that merely pad up. Economy is evident on the get-up, paper and print. May we suggest the publication of the research papers separately, instead of sandwiching them between descriptions of office files.

N. B. Roy

THE VISION OF INDIA : By Sisir Kumar Mitra. Published by the Culture Publishers, 63 College Street, Calcutta 12. Pp. 231. Price Rs. 3.

This book is a collection of separate articles contributed by the learned author in the *Advance*, *Shilpi*, *Advent* and *Sri Aurobindo Mandir Annual* from 1929 to 1946. They have been thoroughly revised and considerably rewritten in order to fit them in with the general plan of the book. It is stated in the Preface by the author that these articles were mainly inspired by the thought of Sri Aurobindo. The progress of man as envisaged in Sri Aurobindo's vision of the future is studied in the book under review from the standpoint of historical evolution. The book owes its title to the vision of the Sage of Pondicherry.

The book is divided into six chapters on the *Vision of India*, *Indian Unity*, *Akbar the Unifier*, *Vision of Ajanta*, *the New World of the Future* and *Integral Vision in History*. The author affirms that each chapter tends to focus the visions of Sri Aurobindo on a particular aspect of man's cultural evolution—the first on the spiritual adventure of India, the second and third on Unity, the fourth on Art, the fifth on a new world and the sixth on history and the record of the march of man towards his supreme goal.

In section V of the first chapter while dwelling on the pioneers of the modern age in India the thoughtful author makes this pertinent observation on Sri Ramakrishna and Swami Vivekananda : "Sri Ramakrishna's was a finger of light that pointed India onward on the age-old path of the Spirit, by which only, as he and his great disciple repeated time and again, could she arrive at the goal assigned to her by the Dispenser of her destiny . . . Sri Ramakrishna saw the oneness of the Divine and His creative force and called upon man to turn towards Her and live in Her. That is why Dakshineswar is the beginning of the Mother's work to which was given its first form by Vivekananda, that mighty apostle of resurgent India. It was here that the past spiritual experiences of India were relived and the initial lines of their application indicated, so that the country by following them might grow in readiness for the new age of the Spirit in the future when that work would be accomplished."

The first chapter is concluded with an outline of Sri Aurobindo's vision of the divine life for the new man. There the author avers that each school of Indian Thought has upheld an ideal which when practised transforms only a particular part of the human being—as mind in the case of the Vedantin, heart in that of the Vaishnava, and the higher vital and other life-parts of nature in that of the Tantrik ; but the entire being had never had the benefit of sublimation. The author further asserts that the new Truth which Sri Aurobindo teaches would bring about a total conversion of the whole being. Sri Aurobindo himself defines his Vision thus : "This illumination and change will take up and recreate the whole being ; mind, life and body ; it will be not only an inner experience of the Divinity but a remoulding of both the inner and outer existence by its Power." What Sri Aurobindo has brought for us we fail to appreciate with our little knowledge. Is it anything more than a sort of spiritual synthesis ?

SWAMI JAGADISWARANANDA

ALPONA : By Tapan Mohan Chatterji. With notes by Tarak Chandra Das. Published by Orient Longmans Ltd., Calcutta, Bombay and Madras. Price Rs. 3.

A type of domestic art in Bengal, *Alpona* decorative design, is associated with the semi-religious and

religious ceremonies in a Bengali household celebrated by women in particular. The play of feminine imagination in drawing various patterns of flowers and designs, and the devout observance of the semi-religious *Vratas* (ceremonies) tend to make the hearts of the young girls not only romantic and artistic but also graceful and devotional. The book takes note of a number of the popular *Vratas* and also of the various designs and patterns drawn by the girls in that connection. The illustrations of the book have been taken from the drawings by Abanindranath Tagore used in his own book in Bengali, *Bangalar Vrata*. Tastefully got-up and printed, this book will not fail to attract every art-lover of India and abroad.

A NATIONAL THEATRE FOR INDIA : By Prof. Baldoon Dhingra. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Price Rs. 2.

Prof. Dhingra's dissertation is based upon the assumption that expression of the national life and aspirations is largely dependent upon the establishment of the National Theatre. His reference to the Attic and Sanskrit dramas as reflecting the basic ideas about the life and ideals of the Greek and the Ancient Hindu is very apt. And, his reference to the National Theatre movement in the respective European countries is very engaging. But, Prof. Dhingra should in this connection endeavour to bridge up the gulf between the Sanskrit and the Bengali Theatres. The Bengali Theatre owes its origin absolutely to the Europeans in India. Why the theatrical art of Ancient India could not maintain itself? How many of the provinces of India possess permanent theatrical stages and considerable theatrical literature? Since Sanskrit was outmoded by Pali or Prakrit, the existing local languages gained in importance, and today, there are more than a hundred languages, both spoken and written, all over the country. The National Theatre movement should be preceded by a National Literature and Language. When India began to lose her linguistic unity, dance art, with *Abhinaya* (dramatic art), came into fashion. If the National Theatre is a necessity, the move must be prelude by the publication of an all-India magazine on 'Theatre Arts.' The different opinions expressed through the journal and the record of progress of the country towards the National Theatre ideal will alone tell when the foundation of the National Theatre should be laid.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

LABOUR (Report of the Sub-committee of the National Planning Committee): Published by Vora and Co., Publishers Ltd., Bombay. Pages 195. Price Rs. 6.

The present volume is the report of the Labour Sub-committee of which Shri N. M. Joshi and Shri V. R. Kalappa are chairman and secretary respectively. Shri K. T. Shah is the General Secretary and Editor of the National Planning Committee. The book contains a preface, an introduction and a draft charter of labour, all written by the Editor, Mr. K. T. Shah. Report of the Sub-committee, minutes of dissent from Messrs. S. D. Saklatwala, V. V. Giri, S. R. Bose, a note on labour problem by Dr. B. R. Seth, Resolutions of the N. P. C., Questionnaire and Summary of Developments (by K. T. Shah). Labour is an important aspect of our national life and in its utilization in right manner lies our economic salvation. But national life must be considered as a whole and not part by part and as such reports of all the sub-committees must be taken into consideration by the Central Planning

Committee (or rather the National Government) for implementation that will revolutionize our conditions of life for the better. Draft Charter outlines (a) Labour's place in production, (b) Return for work, (c) Amenities of work, (d) Discipline of workers, (e) Amenities of industrial employment, (f) Housing and transport, (g) Workers' health and social security, (h) Education and training, (i) Workers' organisations and other allied subjects. The Sub-committee's report recommends in regard to hours of work, child labour, health and safety, creches, minimum wage, labour in plantation, seamen, dock workers, building workers, domestic servants, shop assistants, housing, holidays with pay, workmen's compensation, maternity benefit, social insurance, education (technical and general), trade unions, trade disputes, statistics, labour inspection and legislation and finally workers' voice or control in management.

This volume will be a helpful study for the students of economics as well as for the workers in the field of labour.

GUIDE TO PRECIS WRITING AND DRAFTING : By L. M. Mitra. Prabartak Publishers, 61, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta. Pages 263. Price Rs. 4-8.

Since we reviewed this book in September, 1945 issue of this journal, the bulk of the book has been considerably increased by additional exercises. The departmental candidates of the various Accounts offices of the Government of India will find this book very suitable for their purpose and we are sure this revised edition will retain its popularity among those for whom it is meant.

A. B. DUTTA

BENGALI

KALIKATA SAMSKRITA COLLEGE ITI-HASA (History of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta), Part I, 1824-1858 : By Brajendra Nath Bandyopadhyaya. Published by the Government of West Bengal. Price Rs. 2.

This small Bengali booklet of 90 pages is the first of a series designed to commemorate the 125th anniversary of the foundation of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta which falls on the first day of January next (1949). It deals with the history of the college from its foundation in 1824 up to 1858 when Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, of blessed memory, resigned his office as Principal of the College. The present Principal of the College has given evidence of good sense and wisdom, unhappily very rare in this country, by selecting Brajendra Babu to write out this part of the history. Indeed no better choice could have been made. By his life-long labour in studying the documents of the 19th century, Brajendra Babu has collected a vast amount of very valuable materials for the Cultural History of Bengal for which the country owes him a deep debt of gratitude. In this small book he has brought together a mass of interesting data on the early history of the college, the most important part of which is a detailed account of its teachers and organization. He has thus resuscitated the memory of a band of learned scholars, mostly forgotten, who laid the foundations of the future greatness of the college.

The short but well-documented account of Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar's period of Principalship is full of interest. It shows what the college was before his time and how he remodelled it according to a plan which may still give food for thought to the educationists of this country. The full text of his report, dated

16th December 1850, printed on pp. 72-83, should be read again in the context of the present set-up of the country, and I believe it will help us a great deal in solving many of the educational problems that face us today. Though written about a century ago, it commends a course of study which would harmoniously combine the traditional learning of the past with a knowledge of the progressive arts and science of the West, acquired through the medium of the Vernacular *viz.*, Bengali. If the spirit of this recommendation were followed in the evolution of our educational system, much of the present evils might have been removed. As it is, we can yet study it to our great advantage along with the very interesting controversy between Pandit Iswar Chandra and Dr. J. R. Ballantyne, Principal, Sanskrit College, Benares. As we close this interesting booklet we seem to see before us the image of Vidyasagar, great alike in his gigantic intellect, catholicity of views and far-sighted vision of the future greatness of the country. We commend this small book to every one who wishes to know something of our past education and its progress in future.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

BHARATER MUKTI SANDHANI: By Jogesh Chandra Bagal. Bharati Book Stall, Ramanath Mazumdar Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 2-8.

After two hundred years of subjugation India has, today, attained her political freedom. The Indian National Congress which is mainly responsible for the liberation of thirty crores of people from foreign yoke was founded during the later part of the 19th century, *i.e.*, in the year 1885. It should not, however, be forgotten that from the very beginning of the nineteenth century political consciousness grew amongst the intelligentsia of Bengal who were fortunate enough to have great personalities like Rammohun Roy and Dwarkanath Tagore in the forefront. Following the footsteps of Rammohun, Dwarkanath worked wholeheartedly for the all-round emancipation of our motherland. From the third decade of the nineteenth century the official and non-official Europeans unitedly began to exploit and persecute our innocent countrymen. This inhuman treatment of the ruling race was an eye-opener to man like Harischandra Mukherjee who lived and died for the cause of the oppressed subjects of this country. Rajnarain Bose, the grand old man of Bengal, first told us that the lack of self-confidence was the cause of all our miseries which will never end unless we become self-reliant. It was he who first propagated the ideals of Indian nationalism. Naba Gopal Mitra tried to give Rajnarain's ideas and ideals of nationalism a definite and concrete shape by organizing the Hindu or the Chaitra Mela. Inspired by burning patriotism Sisir Kumar Ghosh started the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*. Surendranath Banerjee's voice, imbued with emotional patriotic feeling, thundered throughout the length and breadth of this vast country. The biographical sketches and many-sided activities of these and some other nation-builders (*e.g.*, Ramlochan and Ram Gopal Ghosh) of India have been included in Mr. Bagal's present work which is the outcome of laborious research work. There is a tendency, today, even amongst the top-ranking political leaders of India to belittle Bengal. But Mr. Bagal's *Bharater Mukti Sandhani* will convince the reader that in India, Bengal of the nineteenth century was the pioneer province in all the progressive movements. What she sowed a century ago, Free India is reaping today.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

HINDI

DHARMA-JYOTI: By Jagat Narain. Published by Anand Publishing House, Theosophical Society, Benares. Pp. 343. Price Rs. 3.

This is the second edition of the book which, when it first appeared some years ago, met with a very favourable—and richly-deserved too—reception as being a highly useful, simply-written, non-sectarian exposition of the fundamental tenets and traditions of the Hindu faith. The author's intimate acquaintance with the philosophy of Theosophy has given him a truly scientific standpoint, and that has stood him in good stead, indeed. It is a timely publication. For, the cancer of communalism, which is eating into the vitals of India, could be remedied only with the aid of such interpretations. *Dharma-jyoti* will go a long way, in creating an atmosphere of appreciative understanding, and, therefore, of tonicsome tolerance in our educational institutions.

MAHAVIRA VARDHAMANA: By Jagdish-chandra Jain. Published by Visva-Vani Press, Allahabad. Pp. 68. Price Re. 1-4.

An authentic account of the life and teachings of the illustrious founder of the Jain faith. It is free from the exaggerations and imaginations of the blind follower. Its style has both the severity and heart-warming humanity of the Jain monk. Many will hail it as an excellent handbook in the ethics and essentials of Jainism.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **MALARIA:** By Vithaldas Magm Lal Kathari. Published by the Gujarat Vidyapitha, Ahmedabad. 1946. Paper cover. Pp. 42. Price seven annas.

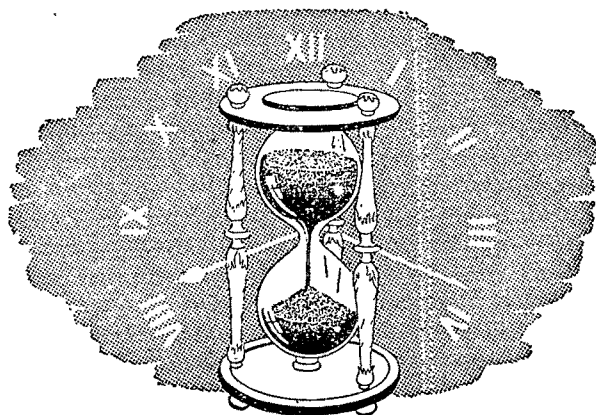
(2) **ADHUNIK BHARAT:** Translated by Fandurang Ganesh Deshpande. Published as above. 1946. Thick card-board. Pp. 608. Price Rs. 6.

Malaria is the scourge of India; it is a fell disease to which both the rich and the poor succumb. It is very necessary that every one should know its causes and remedy. All that is known on the subject is made available to the ordinary reader in non-technical and easy language, so as to let him know how he can prevent its attack and if he has fallen a victim to it then check it and drive it away. Dr. Manibhai's preface has put the whole question in a nutshell. The second book, a *Modern Bharat*, is a translation of Professor Javdekar's well-known work in Marathi. It is a scholarly treatise, and traces the rise of the British power after the decline and fall of the Mogul Empire and the disappearance of Maratha rule. Events are set down here, viewed from our own point of view and not through the coloured spectacles of chronicles and histories written by aliens and Englishmen. They are thus presented in their true perspective. The current political movements, their origin, strength and present state are analysed and given their proper place. Mr. Javdekar has suffered detention and knows where the shoe pinches. The translator is a practised hand and has given a correct version of this important book.

K. A. J.

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1949

In a matter of days, we shall welcome in a New Year, with a cherished hope that 1949 will bring greater prosperity and happiness to all throughout the land. To friends and dealers, Favre-Leuba extend their greetings for the New Year, with a joyous note that already a choice selection of the finest Swiss watches and timepieces are arriving daily.



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INDIAN PERIODICALS



Man of the Month

The New Review observes :

November was a Nehru month : Panditji's birthday celebrations, his epoch-making speech at the Paris Conference of the U.N.O., his London meetings with the Commonwealth's Prime Ministers focussed attention on our Premier who is progressively dominating Indian affairs and commanding the world's respect. His realism is in striking contrast with the occasional unrealism of Gandhiji, his emotional and humane gifts attract a warmer sympathy than his master's asceticism, and his adaptability to men and times is more effective than Bapuji's timelessness.

Pandit Nehru's speech in Paris had the virginal candour of a reborn nation for countries devastated by war, mutual fear and distrust, and paralysed in recurring imbroglios. In the gold-and-rose-coloured hall of the Palais de Chaillot, with a quiet voice and flood-lit gestures, he recalled the leading principle that not only objectives but also means and methods must be ethically good. With the impassioned insistence of one who had stood away from international conflict, he cautioned the big powers against hatred and violence.

"Out of hatred and violence you will not build peace. It is a contradiction in terms. We have got into a cycle of hatred and violence and the most brilliant debate will not get you out of it unless you find other ways and means. If you continue in this cycle, the result will not only be tremendous devastation all over the world, but also non-achievement by any power or group of powers of its objectives. It is difficult to get hatred, prejudice and fear out of our minds. Nevertheless unless we do so, we shall never succeed."

Without moralising about heart-conversion and soul-force, he abruptly sought to shake his audience out of its present obsessions by enlarging its horizon. He reminded the world-assembly of the world's real dimensions :

"You will not solve your problems by thinking that the problems of the world are mainly European. There are vast tracts of Asia which may not in the past have taken much part in world-affairs, but they are awake, their people are moving and they have no intention whatever of being ignored or passed by. Today Asia counts in world affairs and tomorrow it will count much more.

"The age of colonialism is dead and gone, and those who suffered from colonialism and imperialism are bound to help all countries up to self-government. Racism is intolerable and no part of the world is going to tolerate it unless there is superior force for a while . . . I wonder if it would be possible for the Assembly to take a holiday from political problems and settle down to economic problems like food supplies for the needy parts of the world."

Panditji ended with a renewed plea for mutual trust and universal concord. The speech was warmly applauded, it was declared 'impressive', 'arresting'; and the next day the Assembly went on with its sorry

agenda : Palestine, Greek frontier, atom control, etc. Not even the most brilliant speech got them out of it !

Commonwealth

The same Review observes :

The London Conference between the Premiers of the former British Commonwealth of Nations was a social gathering of political leaders, a round of high teas and higher talks. The Conference was no parliament, no Cabinet, just a friendly *conversazione* of people who sought mutual acquaintance and were prepared to stay together on friendly terms. They might even found a fraternity or a sorority, but that might be discussed later on ; for the present no promise, no compromise was made ; nothing was to spoil the convivial amity. Even Eire, who stood aloof and had gone back to its isolation of centuries ago, gathered an informal meeting of her own, and announced that when she would sever all legal links with the Commonwealth, she would weave bonds of friendship with all.

Panditji listened quietly, memorised all the proposals, sayings and suggestions and brought them back to the Congress party, to the Cabinet, and to the Consimby. He had committed the country to no scheme whatever. India would first be declared 'a sovereign democratic republic,' but sovereignty and independence did not imply isolation ; the problems of her relations to Commonwealth countries would in time be tackled and solved by the Consimby which alone was competent in the matter. "Our being a republic has nothing or little to do with what relations we should have with other countries, notably with the U. K. and other Commonwealth countries. That is a question which has to be determined by his House and none else, independently of what our Constitution is going to be."

As Panditji had cautioned the U. N. Assembly to rise above their big quarrels, he chided the members of the Consimby who had fallen from the 1947 spirit into partisan local squabbles about relatively unimportant matters.

Helen Keller : The Unconquerable

The following article by Carol Hughes is reprinted in *The National Christian Council Review* from the May, 1947 number of *Coronet* :

It was no namby-pamby who was chosen universally as one of the twelve great women leaders of the past 100 years, who inspired the *New York Times* to couple her name with Thomas A. Edison in its evaluation of great outstanding Americans. It was a warrior of some mettle who received this accolade from Mark Twain : "The two most interesting characters of the 19th century are Napoleon and Helen Keller."

Helen Keller was born a normal child in Tusculumbia, Alabama, on June 27, 1880. Both her mother

and father were related to illustrious families, but like most Southerners of the time they were land poor. Her father, Captain Keller, was a newspaper editor who dabbled in politics. As the first child of the family, the bright and pretty Helen came, saw and conquered. She was the spoiled spitfire of a very happy couple.

Then one night, tragedy struck—a mysterious fever at the age of 19 months, described as “acute congestion of the stomach and brain.” No hope was held for recovery. All night long the battle for her life went on, and into days and nights that followed while the fever held its grip. Then one morning the disease left as mysteriously as it had come. She lay calm, white and seemingly conscious. But when the parents held out a doll, no hand reached for it.

Her gray-blue eyes looked up but showed no signs of recognition. When they spoke to her, she did not reply. Then the doctor said gently: “She is alive, and that is all. She can neither see you, hear you nor speak to you.”

The weeks that followed were filled with horror for the Kellers. Their daughter, according to the belief of the times, was a complete idiot. A hopelessness descended on the house and its shuttered windows. But then, one day, little Helen proceeded to get out of bed. And things began to happen. She wanted to run, to laugh, and to play. She would only stumble and fall. She wanted to shriek and laugh and be with other children. She could not utter a sound. All her emotions lay heavy and cold, locked inside her.

She became a little hellion, this girl who had been a vivacious, ughing, happy child. Now, with only primitive reflexes left, she had no outlet for mirth or anger—except violence. When she was pleased she would smile and giggle. When she was angry she would kick and scratch. Moody, idle, intelligent, the uneasy silence that cloaked her became almost unbearable. In her book, she says: “I felt as if invisible hands were holding me and I made frantic efforts to escape.”

Her mother and father could not, would not, put her in an institution. In desperate hope Captain Keller journeyed to Washington to see Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, who had been doing some work for the deaf. Dr. Bell, quickly interested in Helen's case, wrote to the Perkins Institute for the Blind in Boston and asked them to send a special teacher. Thus, Anne Mansfield Sullivan arrived at the Keller home on the day “the little hellcat” was seven years old.

A person blessed by divine touch, Anne Sullivan was well-equipped to deal with the tantrums, the cunning and the intelligence of Helen. Orphaned as a child, she had been brought up in an almshouse until, blinded herself, she had been sent to Perkins. After several years an operation was performed and she regained her sight. “It was as if a Master Mind had planned the whole thing,” she once said, “because I knew so well the terror that infested the mind of Helen Keller.”

Anne agreed to take over the education of a child who could only be taught by touch, taste and smell—certainly a doubtful career for a lovely girl of 20. Her only guidance was a “loving heart, the personal experience of blindness and a firm belief in a child” who was about as approachable as a rattlesnake. What was to become a friendship that lifted two people to a pinnacle of world respect started out as a pitched battle between two strong wills. Mutinous and misguided, Helen was accustomed to having her own way: she decided to get rid of this new hindrance. “Teacher” thought otherwise.

Each gauged the other's strength by manoeuvring. Even getting Helen to do the simplest things, such as

combing her hair, was a struggle. When Teacher tried discipline, Helen rebelled. One day she locked her mother in the pantry, then laughed as her mother pounded on the door. She tormented Negro children on the plantation by tearing off their clothes. She upset her baby sister's cradle, and was not even concerned as to whether the infant had been injured.

“I suppose I will have many battles with this little woman,” Anne wrote to a friend, “until I can teach her two things—obedience and love.”

After countless sporadic storms, Anne begged the Kellers to let her take Helen and live apart in a cottage on the property, for she knew that discipline was impossible in the parents' presence. Reluctantly they agreed. From that day on things were different. “My heart is singing,” Anne wrote after a few months. “The little savage has learned her first lesson in obedience and finds the yoke not too hard.”

The first lesson began with a doll. Anne gave the doll to Helen and then spelled d-o-l-l in the manual alphabet in the child's hand. This simple word took two days to learn. But the infinite patience of Anne Sullivan continued.

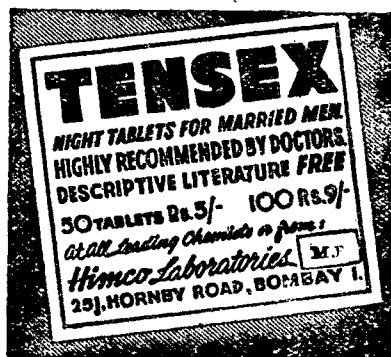
The second great step in Helen's education came about by accident. All morning, Teacher had been trying to get her to understand the difference between a mug and the milk in the mug. Discouraged, she took Helen for a walk, during which they passed a well where water was being pumped. She put Helen's hand under the water and then tried to impart the connection between the feel of the water and the texture of milk.

Suddenly Helen received the intuitive flash. A thrill ran through her. Later she wrote of the incident: “a misty consciousness as of something long forgotten came over me; and the mystery of language was revealed. The word w-a-t-e-r startled my soul and it awoke. . . .”

That night for the first time Helen crawled into bed with Teacher and put her arms around her neck. The little savage had been tamed at last.

Having emerged from her dark cell, Helen was like a healthy little animal. With a heart on fire, a brain possessed, a soul haunted by a strange impelling something that would not let it rest, she wanted to learn everything—and at once. In a fever of excitement she explored everything, asking Teacher so rapidly for explanations that it was difficult to keep pace with her learning. The world was suddenly so vast, so terrific, so beautiful that she wanted to catch up with it fast.

Anne Sullivan spelled out for her: “The best and most beautiful things in the world which cannot be



seen or even touched, but just felt in the heart." These words have lived with Helen Keller ever since, and have enlivened her world.

In March, 1890, Helen and Miss Sullivan went to Boston and entered the Horace Mann School for the Deaf. The School had agreed to work with the girl's voice and see if she could learn to speak. After several lessons she was able to pronounce haltingly but triumphantly: "I am not dumb now."

They knew then that they could teach her to speak, but she must accept the discouraging reality that her voice could never sound normal. Today her voice is low-pitched and somewhat difficult to understand, but with people who know her well she converses with ease.

By the time she was ten years old, Helen, had become a national figure. The Perkins Institute published a report of her progress and the press descended. While the publicity was distasteful to modest Anne Sullivan, she knew it would be useful to Helen, for it introduced them to a coterie of outstanding people and devoted friends who meant a lot to them later on when the financial situation became acute.

Everybody wanted to see Helen. President Cleveland received them at the White House; the Rev. Phillip Brooks undertook to enlighten Helen on religious matters. She exchanged letters with Oliver Wendell Holmes and John Greenleaf Whittier. William James called on her at Perkins Institute, and her oldest and best friend, Dr. Alexander Graham Bell, took her to "see" Niagara Falls.

Later when she went to New York to study at Wright-Humason School, her social contacts included almost all of *Who's Who in America*. Witty, bright, argumentative, rebellious and very much alive, she enchanted such notables as John D. Rockefeller, William Dean Howells, Woodrow Wilson and Henry van Dyke. Harsen Rhoades and H. H. Rogers raised money for her education. She met Mark Twain, and the moment they clasped hands she felt they were to be friends for life. And they were—until his death.

Since the age of eight, Helen had resolved to go to college, and now her restless intellect reached out beyond ordinary things. She longed to know mathematics, science and the politics of our country. Having at her disposal the best intellects of America, she drained them dry of knowledge. And in return, her once-diseased body and mind gave stimulus to lordly souls. Andrew Carnegie said to her: "There was a time when I would have no time for you. But look what you have taught me!"

When she broke through the stern serenity of Radcliffe College and "made them take her by passing entrance examinations," she met her severest test. For both Helen and Teacher, the college presented a struggle, the most difficult obstacle being lack of time and books. Everything had to be put into Braille for Helen, or translated hour after hour into her hand. She could not hear or see lecturers; she could not read their books. She wrote of Miss Sullivan's agility: "Her words rush through my hands like hounds in pursuit of a hare."

She read Braille until her finger-tips bled. She worked in an atmosphere of grim determination and excitement. Long after normal bodies and minds were asleep, little Helen, who needed no lights for her work, was rushing through Braille. Sometimes she never went to bed, but directly to class; yet at times discouragement bore down until her mind almost cracked.

A few instructors finally sensed her fine mind, and Charles Townsend Copeland inspired her to write an autobiography. "You have something to say," he told

her, "and your own way of saying it." She decided to start right away, to provide funds for her expensive education, for she did not like being dependent on anyone. Between the book and her college work she almost had a breakdown.

In 1904, Helen Keller was graduated from Radcliffe "cum laude." The college paid no attention—but the world did. She was the first blind deaf-mute in his ory to receive an academic degree. She had not only earned it, in the face of antagonism, but she had earned it with honours. From that day onward, the tide turned for all the handicapped people of the world. The will, the strength, the fighting courage of Helen Keller had lifted the spirits of millions of unfortunates doomed to despair.

Even though Helen had won her first major victory, there was still the problem of earning a living. What could she do? Striving to make herself independent, she was constantly warding off the sympathy of curiosity and proffered sums of money. But if appeals for help came in, she gave whatever she had.

When she won the Annual Achievement Award of \$5,000 from *Pictorial Review*, she gave it to an agency for the Blind. When Andrew Carnegie offered her an annuity, she refused, preferring to be on her own. He let the offer stand "on probation." It stood a long time before Helen Keller accepted it—and never for herself.

In her efforts to earn a living, she had tried farming, writing, lecturing, vaudeville and the movies. By the time she had finished college, she had earned enough from writing to buy a little farm. Meanwhile John Macy, a young man from Harvard, had been hired to type her manuscripts and translate books in Braille. She, Macy (who later married Anne Sullivan) and Teacher bought another farm in Wrentham, Massachusetts, and moved in. But since they knew little about farming, the project failed.

It was while at Wrentham, however, that Helen began her efforts to help the blind on a full-time scale. It was there she made her important contribution to the prevention of blindness in children by fighting the taboos that cloaked venereal disease. Today a solution of silver nitrate or some other preparation is used against the germ that may attack the eyes of children at birth.

It was inevitable that Helen Keller and Hollywood should mix. Movies were young in those days, and grasping for ideas. They hit upon Helen Keller as a means of bringing "a message of hope to a war-weary world." She went into movies as full of bounce as a rubber ball. Moreover, she thought the film might save Mrs. Macy from financial difficulties, for Teacher's health was failing and Helen felt responsible for her.

But when the picture finally opened, the cries drew a kindly veil across it. Helen was delivered financially by accepting Carnegie's offer, which would help to take care of Teacher. And when Teacher had recovered from the rigors of motion-picture making, the two were invited into vaudeville.

At first it seemed strange to appear on the Orpheum Circuit with trained seals and acrobats, but the act was kept dignified and Helen Keller swept the country with her charm, her excitement, her obvious love of the theatre. Even the question period never stumped her. She always had a witty response.

Her first lecture in Montclair, New Jersey, however, so unnerved Helen that she ran from the stage. But her later lectures were a great success, and she and Anne toured the country, until at last faithful Teacher collapsed in a hotel room and Helen was helpless. John Macy had gone away and both women

knew he would not be back. Anne Sullivan Macy was losing her eyesight again, and there was no one as yet to take her place with Helen.

By now Helen Keller had become more of an institution than a woman. She was asked to speak before meetings and legislatures, to serve on commissions, to write articles, to raise funds, to travel abroad and interest European countries in the cause of blindness. Her mail was an engulfing torrent, sometimes mounting to thousands of letters a week; she was a clearing house for all information concerning the blind. All of this had become much too much for Teacher and Helen.

Shortly after Teacher's collapse, Helen bought a home in Forest Hills, New York, and sought someone to help with the multitude of details. It was then that Polly Thomson arrived on the scene. Before Miss Thomson came, everyone said: "What will Helen do when Mrs. Macy has gone?" After she arrived people were soon saying: "What would the two of them do without Miss Thomson?"

She started as secretary, remained to become counsellor, adviser, friend and companion. With the passing of Anne Sullivan Macy, she was more than ready to step in as full-time secretary and companion.

The death of Teacher was a blow to Helen Keller. Shortly after Anne's death she wrote: "I lived too long with Teacher's scintillating personality to be content with ordinary folk. I shall look about despite myself for the sparkle with which she charmed the dullest person into a new appreciation of beauty, justice and human rights. My fingers will cry out for her descriptive touches, her exquisite tenderness, her bright summaries of conversation and books. But I shall go on with my work because I know Teacher would have said I should."

Helen has gone on. Incessantly active, she has earned a handsome living with her prolific writing on a thousand subjects. When the American Foundation for the Blind was set up in 1923, she became a staff member and has since become one of its most valuable assets. In the past two years she has visited hundreds of veterans' hospitals. When one hardboiled sergeant heard she was coming, he exclaimed: "Why she must be 100 years old!" When she left he said: "I thought I was handicapped until I met her. Why, I'm only blind!"

Today, at 66, Helen Keller shows no signs of exhaustion. Physically, the most striking thing about her is her animation. She is fair-complexioned; her blue-gray eyes are alive and active, with none of the

fixed stare usually associated with the blind. Infinitely feminine, she is always well-groomed and delights in a shopping spree. Her hats are as gay as Hedda Hooper's.

In conversation or argument, she has a thousand expressions. Her quiet talk is of ordinary things—her garden flowers, the feel of air and sun. Her expressions are truly colourful: gray is "a soft shawl around the shoulders"; blue is "the wide sweep of the sky" red is "warmth, courage and companionship." George Bernard Shaw told her: "If only all Americans could see as well as you do."

When Arcan Ridge, her home in Westport, Connecticut, burned to the ground last November while Helen Keller was in Europe, her large and cherished collection of books in Braille was destroyed. Upon hearing the news, the people of England presented her with a complete set of Shakespeare in Braille. With Polly Thompson and a small household staff, Miss Keller is now living temporarily in a Westport house loaned her by friends.

In "listening" to people talk, Helen Keller places her thumb on the speaker's throat the first two fingers on the lips and the third finger on the base of the nose. If they "don't get embarrassed," she can hear everything they say. Meanwhile, Polly Thomson is translating the entire conversation into Miss Keller's hand so swiftly and accurately that nothing is missed.

Sensitive to the moods of friends, Helen Keller can tell by the way their hands touch hers just how they are feeling. She scoffs at the idea of a sixth sense, or at the suggestion that her powers of touch or smell are more acute than others just because she is blind and deaf. "I have been pinched, pricked, squeezed, buzzed, everything but vivisection," she laughs, "and I still come out just normal."

Helen Keller's spirit abounds with the joy of living. Inevitably she must have spells of depression, but she never permits them to go beyond her own borders. "I seldom think about my limitations," she says, "but sometimes there is just a touch of yearning, vague like the swift perfume of a flower."

A friend has paid her the tribute accepted generally: "Hers is a soul that accepts whatever conditions come to it—a great and dearly loved human being."

Weather at Command

Great benefits will accrue to mankind if an easy method of causing clouds to shed rain could be discovered. *Science and Culture* makes the following observations:

Weather is so important for mankind that control of it by artificial methods has been a cherished dream since times immemorial. But the earliest methods were those of magic, and were mere charlatanism. The growth of meteorological knowledge during the past and present centuries did not afford prospects of any practical solution, because the fundamental knowledge of the process of condensation of water vapour into drops that form clouds, and difference between rain-bearing and non-rain-bearing clouds was lacking. It has taken a long time to get to this knowledge, but even now all the physical processes are not clearly understood. But on the basis of the little fundamental knowledge that has already been available, experiments on artificial rain-making have been started in U.S.A. and Australia, with a large amount of success



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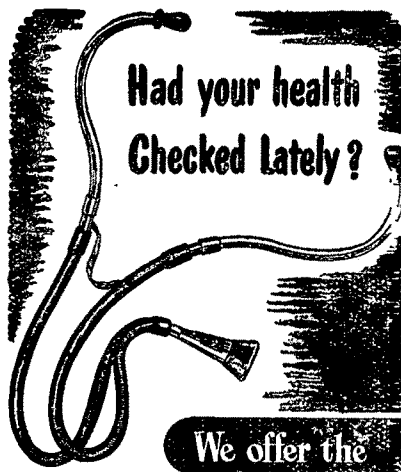
if the reports in the daily papers are correct. At any rate these two countries have taken to the experiments with a good deal of earnestness, and we learn from newspaper reports that the Army and Navy in the U.S.A. have jointly sponsored a scheme called 'Project Cirrus' for carrying out extensive experiments on artificial rain-making and allied problems and nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ million dollars were appropriated for this purpose in 1947-48. The results of these experiments will be awaited with success, unless the news is declared a prospective war-contraband.

It has been found, in Australia and Chile (South America), and in the deserts of Rajputana in our own country, that very often heavy clouds pass for days together without shedding any rain, and there is no precipitation until some heavy obstruction like a mountain range was encountered by the clouds. Such places are therefore unproductive deserts, whereas mountainous regions which obstruct the passage of clouds get too much water, which produces floods lower below, and most of the water gets lost either by evaporation, or by percolation. Sometimes there may be cloud-bursts in the wake of cyclones, causing flood and damage. Clouds and fogs are the same things, and in high latitudes, fogs are very often a nuisance and may hinder traffic, and cause extensive damage to crops. During the war, meteorological conditions have very frequently proved to be of very decisive importance and it is on record that during the last world war, some airports in Europe were so frequently enveloped in deep fogs, that they proved useless for the landing and taking off of aeroplanes and enormous amounts of money were spent in expelling the fog, by covering the ground with a network of perforated tubing through which petrol was allowed to gush out, burn, and expel the fog. The results obtained were extremely meagre in proportion to the expenditure. It is now claimed that incomparably better success can be achieved by seeding the tops of clouds and fogs with a few pounds of finely powdered dry ice (soiled CO_2) or fine dust of silver iodide.

These reports have produced a certain amount of flutter in our own country, for the daily papers published a report some days ago, that a conference of hydrological engineers assembled at Simla some time ago, and accepted a resolution that rain-making experiments should be started in India as well.

Formation of clouds, and precipitation of rain are extremely complex processes, and in spite of the great strides made, all the mechanisms are not yet clear. Particularly competent scientific authorities are not yet agreed that Bergeron's theory of formation of rain-drops which forms the basis of all rain-making experiments in the U.S.A. and Australia also hold for tropical countries like India. Hence it is unsafe to rush to the conclusion that if a few pounds of powdered dry ice, or silver iodide be sprinkled by means of aeroplanes on the top of any cloud, it will be precipitated as rain.

Even in the U.S.A., and Australia, only certain definite types of clouds are selected for experimentation by previous radar studies of clouds and the experiments are naturally controlled by trained physicists. We are of the opinion that a large number of laboratory experiments, and field tests by competent physicists and meteorologists must first be carried out before the actual rain-making experiments can be undertaken by trained engineers of the Army, Navy and the Air.



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Berdyaev's Critique of Communism

Matthew Spinka writes in *The International Review of Missions*, July, 1948 :

Nicolas Berdyaev, whose death in March of this year brought to a close the distinguished career of an outstanding representative of the Russian religious renaissance, began his spiritual pilgrimage as a Marxian. Nevertheless, even during that period of his life he was a 'revisionist' Marxist, attempting to integrate idealistic humanism into his earnest concern for social justice. But the inner contradictions between Marxist anti-personalism and the Kantian idealistic dictum that human personality is an end in itself and never a means to an end, resisted all attempts at harmonization. Finally, having confronted himself with the choice between the two alternatives, he chose idealistic personalism, which led him to Christianity. Under astonishingly varied influences (among which Dostoevsky's conception of Christianity as spiritual freedom, a voluntary choice of God's will instead of human self-assertion, made perhaps the most decisive impression), Berdyaev developed a religious philosophy of personalism which placed him among the leading modern Russian thinkers of that orientation.

The radical change of his views which led to his break with Marx, that 'social teacher of my youth and now my fell enemy,' as he expressed it in the dedication of one of his books, and his alienation from his Marxian fellow-revolutionaries, do not imply a total repudiation of Marx's analysis of the ills of the bourgeois, capitalistic society. In fact, he continued to look upon Marx as a social scientist who had rightly and correctly diagnosed the pathological condition of society, although he had prescribed the wrong remedy for it. 'Marx is strong as a social pathologist; his entire sociology is social pathology. But he has no social physiology at all.'

Throughout his life, Berdyaev stoutly upheld the thesis that modern society is sick, and generally approximated the Marxism diagnosis as to the external, secondary causes of the ills afflicting it: but he sharply and completely differed from Marx in recognizing the primary causes of both capitalism and communism as spiritual rather than economic.

Essentially, the problem of social reform, of a just social order, is religious; it concerns the basic, inmost motivations, the sources of human action. Mere external, economic revolutions, the change in methods of industrial production, are not enough. The only adequate revolution is one which transforms the selfish motivation of both capitalism and communism into a higher, theanthropic category. Accordingly, Berdyaev repudiates the basic Marxian principle that the economic element is the primary ground of all social and cultural, as well as spiritual, life. It is characteristic for Marxism that religious confessions, philosophical ideas, moral systems, artistic creations, are regarded as illusions, the self-deceptions of consciousness. But this is false; the spiritual entities have an existence of their own. 'In the last analysis,' Berdyaev

writes, 'Marxism is a lie, because God exists; that is, there exists a supreme power and the source of all power; there exists a spiritual, and not only an economic, power.' The attainment of economic well-being is not the highest goal of human life; the supreme aim of man, his divinely-intended destiny, is the realization of a spiritually transformed personality. This concept is not to be confused with mere democratic atomistic individualism, or personal autarky. Individualism is a naturalistic, biological category; but personalism is of the spiritual order. Mature personality represents the supremacy of the image of God, of the divine intention for the individual man, over his purely physical nature: it is an organic unity of the body, soul and spirit, but with the spirit in command of the harmonious whole. From this point of view, both the bourgeois and the Marxian philosophies must be judged as anti-personalistic, as denying the existence of human personality, and as looking upon it as a mere epiphenomenon. Accordingly, Marxism subordinates the individual to the impersonal mass, to the mysterious economic force in history which moulds human society. It is this double attitude of Berdyaev toward communism—his acceptance of its 'truth,' but his categorical rejection of its 'Lie' as well—which characterizes his lifelong concern with this subject.

First of all, then, Berdyaev agreed with Marx that capitalism itself gave rise to communism as a reaction against its own excesses and justice. Accordingly to negate or change the result, one must remove the cause. This concept follows the familiar Hegelian dialectical pattern which affirms that a given thesis generates, out of itself, by way of inner differentiation or contradiction, its own antithesis. Marx himself formulated this doctrine of the class struggle in accordance with this pattern, although he abandoned Hegel's lead when he postulated the classless society as the final synthesis, as the *terminus ad quem* instead of seeing in it the starting point of another thesis-antithesis series. As for Berdyaev, he taught that the capitalistic era was but one, perhaps the last, of the series of self-assertions of the Renaissance man, in this instance in the economic realm. The whole era of the Renaissance which is apparently coming to its end in our own time, because it has exhausted its creative impulse, is characterized chiefly by the self-assertion of the modern man, by modern titanism. At first, this self-assertion took the form of an astonishing outburst of artistic creativity; later it assumed the religious form of the Protestant Reformation: this was succeeded by the rationalistic-empirical philosophical expression of the same spirit in the Cartesian-Lockean forms; and finally, it assumed the economic form of capitalism, with its bourgeois culture and its antithesis, and perhaps nemesis, communism. The unrestrained character of Renaissance self-affirmation is particularly well discernible in the Lockean concept of democracy in which the economic element predominates: for the chief function of government, according to Locke, is the defence of private property. Accordingly, in capitalism, man's economic activity is conceived as an unrestricted competitive 'free enterprise', a struggle in which any governmental interference with natural economic 'law' is regarded as unjustifiable. That

government is the best which governs the least. Presumably, 'all have equal opportunity' in the bourgeois society, and at least the outcome is determined by the 'scientific' law of the 'survival of the fittest.'

Since the assertion of the 'equal opportunity' theory, which the system allegedly affords to all, has proved a hollow and cynical mockery, and the normal result has consistently favoured the minority which has secured control over economic resources and over the mechanized methods of mass production it is no wonder that the 'proletariat' thus brought into existence has reacted violently against the system which has condemned them to what seems to be a hopeless and unequal economic struggle. Marx did not invent the 'class struggle,' he only described what he found already in existence, diagnosed it and provided a theory of revolutionary struggle which was to eliminate class struggle and realize a classless society. Proletariat was the messianic class which was to bring about the secularized version of the Kingdom of God.

But Marx's supposedly scientific theory of 'dialectical materialism' denied the spiritual nature of human personality—although illogically it presupposed a spiritual factor in human history—and thus contributed greatly to the *debacle* of Renaissance humanism.

In Berdyaev's judgment, Nietzsche and Marx are the two thinkers chiefly responsible for the anti-humanist and anti-personalist character of the latest phase of our era.

Of these two, he ranks Nietzsche as definitely on a higher level, and regards him as the culminating point of those historical and cultural tendencies which have brought about the loss of faith in man as a concomitant to the loss of faith in God. For if God does not exist—and for Nietzsche the Great Pan was dead—if man is not created in the image of God, thus possessing a spiritual as well as a biological nature, then the Christian ethical system loses all cogency and truth. Then, indeed, 'all things are permitted', as Dostoevsky's Ivan Karamazov concluded. There is neither good nor evil. The amorality of a Razkolnikov of Dostoevsky's *Crime and Punishment* is a logical attribute of the Nietzschean 'superman.' Thus the Nietzschean repudiation of 'the hard-man' for a fabled, non-existent superman, possessing Dionysian qualities of lust for life, will-to-power, ruthless destruction of everything weak and degenerate, is in reality the logical, reasoned consequence of Nietzsche's anti-personalist, dehumanizing anthropology. For one who does not believe in God cannot believe in man. With Nietzsche, both the Renaissance secularist humanism and the Christian belief in the divine image in man are repudiated.

What Nietzsche accomplished in regard to the individual, Marx achieved by subordinating human personality to the impersonal economic forces in nature and history, even though he contradicted the logical consequences of materialism by introducing into it his 'dialectical' modifications. For materialism alone would be the worst kind of dead-weight philosophy for any revolutionary movement. A revolutionary must have freedom to change the existing conditions, to change the world. Accordingly, the proletariat must be able to play a free, creative role in order to bring about a new society. But even so, the spiritual element in history is ascribed to the social collective dominated by the small group of leaders, rather than to the personal or individual units in society. Berdyaev concluded that the two modern giants, Nietzsche and Marx, 'have, with the precision of genius, defined the

two forms of self-negation, of self-destruction of humanism. Nietzsche shows us humanism destroying and denying itself individually; Marx collectively. . . . In Nietzsche's teaching the superman replaces the lost God In the same way it (humanism) perishes in the superhuman collectivism of Marx."

Being essentially at one in spirit, namely, bourgeois, both capitalism and communism aim at a high material standard of living (whether or not they attain it), but differ in the ways of securing it. The former trusts in the techniques of individual initiative and enterprise, the latter in abolishing all use of private capital for the 'exploitation' of other men. Neither of these 'classical' definitions of the rival economic systems is at present actually operative in the full sense of the term. This applies particularly to communism (in the Marxian sense of that word) as practised in the Soviet Union, where the prevailing economy in reality is that of state capitalism: the state, as the sole owner of the means of production, employs the nation as a whole in its enterprises, and pays them highly diversified wages; but by selling them back the products at a very high profit, it practises the same kind of 'exploitation' which it denounces in capitalistic countries. (Not to mention the role played in the economy by forced labour, which is reported to be shockingly extensive.) On the other hand, as Berdyaev wrote, 'capitalism itself long ago ceased to be individualistic and became collectivized' Accordingly, it is chiefly in theory rather than in actual practice on the economic level that the two systems actually differ. Of course, it still makes a great deal of difference who makes the profit!

Since both systems strive for the realization of the bourgeois ideal of life, they share in common the repudiation of the spiritual goals of life. The poor man, envying the rich and desiring to overthrow capitalism only to seize for himself its unjust privileges, embodies no reforming spirit or force. In this sense, the proletariat is no 'messianic' class. No juster or better social order can be built by men of this kind.

And finally, Berdyaev sees a grave danger in the ever-increasing mechanization of life, consequent upon the reign of technology which we witness today.

'The chief cosmic force which is now at work to change the whole face of the earth and dehumanize and depersonalize man is not capitalism as an economic system, but techniques, the wonder of the age.' The working man is becoming so conditioned, mechanized

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by the machine he serves, that his whole mental life assumes the appearance of mental reflexes, of an animated robot. The whole culture becomes permeated by mechanistic patterns. There is a transition from the organic to an organized type of life. But mankind can no longer return to the pre-industrial age. There is only one way open—and that is forward. But unless mankind recovers the creative sources of the spirit by overcoming the depersonalizing tendencies of a mechanistic, technological age, man's spiritual nature may suffer serious, perhaps irreparable, damage.

For himself, Berdyaev advocates 'personal socialism,' which combines the concern for social justice with equal emphasis upon personal and political freedom. That political or economic system is the best which produces the highest personal values.

'For the economic order is for man's benefit, not man for the benefit of the economic order.' 'Man is, above all, a spiritual, not a political being, and his absolute and unalienable rights are rooted in the spiritual, and not in the changeable, impermanent, transient, civic-political world.' 'For the Christian conscience the turning of a man into a thing, of his labour into a commodity . . . should not be allowed.' He concedes the existence of class struggle, but holds that it can be overcome only in Christianity, by the transformation of human motivation. 'The true Church of Christ, which is not corrupted by worldly interests, knows no classes. When a man enters the Church and seeks salvation and spiritual nurture therein, he ceases to be well-born or a plebeian, a bourgeois or a proletarian.' This is looking at the Church as it should be, not as it always is. Nevertheless Berdyaev rightly holds that without the dynamic which only Christ imparts, the evils of the world cannot be eliminated. At the secular level, only palliative, alleviating measures are possible.

Despite Berdyaev's theoretical analysis and critique of the present society—both capitalistic and communistic—one is still left with a sense that he has not sufficiently worked out a concrete plan of procedure, or a blue-print which could be followed in the building of a Christian social order. But this is, perhaps, not the task for any one man, but for many Christians of many talents, working in the social, economic, political and industrial fields. It is glory enough for one consecrated human being to have seen, as clearly as Berdyaev had, what the goal of any worth-while civilization must be, and to have put first things first.

India and the Kashmir Issue

GOVERNMENT'S SECURITY HELD THREATENED BY
POLICY OF PAKISTAN

To the Editor of *The New York Times*,

Recent dispatches published in *The Times* confirm my information that the Government of Pakistan has been seeking the support of the Anglo-American Powers and the United Nations to make a success of its aggression against India in Kashmir. Pakistan apparently did not have much difficulty in convincing British experts and their American disciples that Pakistan, as a member of the Pan-Islamist bloc of Powers, would be an asset to Anglo-American Powers now opposing Soviet expansion in Asia.

It is well-known in informed quarters that direct and indirect pressure from London and Washington was brought upon the Government of India for settling the Kashmir question in favor of Pakistan by partitioning Kashmir. Mr. Nehru could not accept such a solution, because he has learned that partition of a land means future trouble of greater magnitude. Also Nehru realized that the people of India and even his Congress Party would reject such a proposition.

In India today the feeling against Pakistan has been intensified because of Pakistan's efforts to promote a Pan-Islamist, anti-Indian political party in India, its role in the recent Hyderabad revolt against the rightful authority of the Indian Government. This anti-Indian policy has been fostered and perfected by a large and powerful section of Britishers now in the employ of the Pakistan Government.

The people of India believe that it is in order to curry favor with Pakistan and to embarrass India that the Security Council retains the Hyderabad issue on the agenda. For the issue is a dead one.

India's conciliatory attitude—Mahatma Gandhi's magnanimous attitude toward Pakistan which caused his assassination by a Hindu, Mr. Nehru's well-known pro-Islamist and anti-Jewish attitude in connection with the Palestine issue—have been mistakenly interpreted by many to mean that India is too weak to fight and pursues a "policy of peace at any price." India is most anxious to promote peace all over the world. However, from what has happened to the Hyderabad issue, it should be clear to all that India will not sacrifice her national security to please Anglo-American Powers. In fact, India has learned from the Palestine situation that, under the present world conditions, to command international respect and to protect her national interests, she must not entirely depend upon U. N.'s impartiality, but must crush the invaders and disturbers of national security by her own might.

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Today India is still on the defensive against Pakistan's invasion of Kashmir. But if it be forced on her, she will be compelled to take such measures as may be needed to drive Pakistan invaders from the Indian soil.

If the Anglo-American Powers value India's friendship, they should not, by supplying arms and ammunitions directly and indirectly and also by extending economic aid, encourage Pakistan's aggressive policy toward India. The U. N. supported by Anglo-American Powers, should demand now that Pakistani forces evacuate Kashmir within a definite and reasonable time on the same principle as they condemn Yugoslavia, Bulgaria and Albania for aiding the Greek guerrillas.

If the Anglo-American Powers and the U. N. continue to follow an anti-Indian policy on the Kashmir question, purely on the ground that Pakistan's military value, in case of a conflict with Soviet Russia, will be greater than that of India, then Indian suspicion and distrust of the Anglo-American Powers and the U. N. will grow. There will be less possibility of Indian co-operation with the Anglo-American Powers in world politics, a situation which would definitely weaken the position of Anglo-American Powers in Asia.

TARAKNATH DAS

—The New York Times, Nov. 24, 1948

Employment in the USSR

Laying stress on the dignity of labour in the USSR and showing how employment is guaranteed to every citizen of the USSR, Konstantin Sevrikov writes as follows:

For many centuries the workers have been fighting for the right to work, i.e., the right to guaranteed employment.

The first to bring the struggle for the right to work to a victorious conclusion was the proletariat of Russia. The victory of the Great October Socialist Revolution furnished the basis for guaranteed employment to every able-bodied Soviet citizen. The right to work is a law in the Soviet Union. According to Article 118 of the Constitution of the USSR, "Citizens of the USSR have the right to work, that is, the right to guaranteed employment and payment for their work in accordance with its quantity and quality. . . ."

This right is guaranteed to every citizen, regardless of his social origin and standing, race and nationality, and sex. Every Soviet citizen is able at any time to secure employment corresponding to his abilities, knowledge and skill. Every working man and woman are paid for their work in accordance with its *quantity and quality*. In other words, the principle of Socialism, *from each according to his ability, to each according to his work*, has been fully carried into life in the USSR. The Soviet state secures to all its citizens employment, i.e., a constant and reliable source of the means of existence.

The formal right to work exists in many other countries, but it is absolutely worthless, as it is not backed by definite material guarantees on the part of the state. *The real right to work cannot exist in countries subject to periodically recurring crises and unemployment.* According to data published recently by the statistical office of the U. S. Department of Commerce, there are 2,400,000 unemployed in the U.S.A., but according to the "Economic Notes", the number of jobless in the U.S.A. is 7,250,000. According to Italian sources, Italy has 2,300,000 unemployed.

The Soviet Constitution does not merely proclaim the right to work, but secures this right by material guarantees. The provision in the aforementioned Article 118 of the Constitution specifies that "the right to work is ensured

by the socialist organization of the national economy, the steady growth of the productive forces of Soviet society, the elimination of the possibility of economic crises, and the abolition of unemployment."

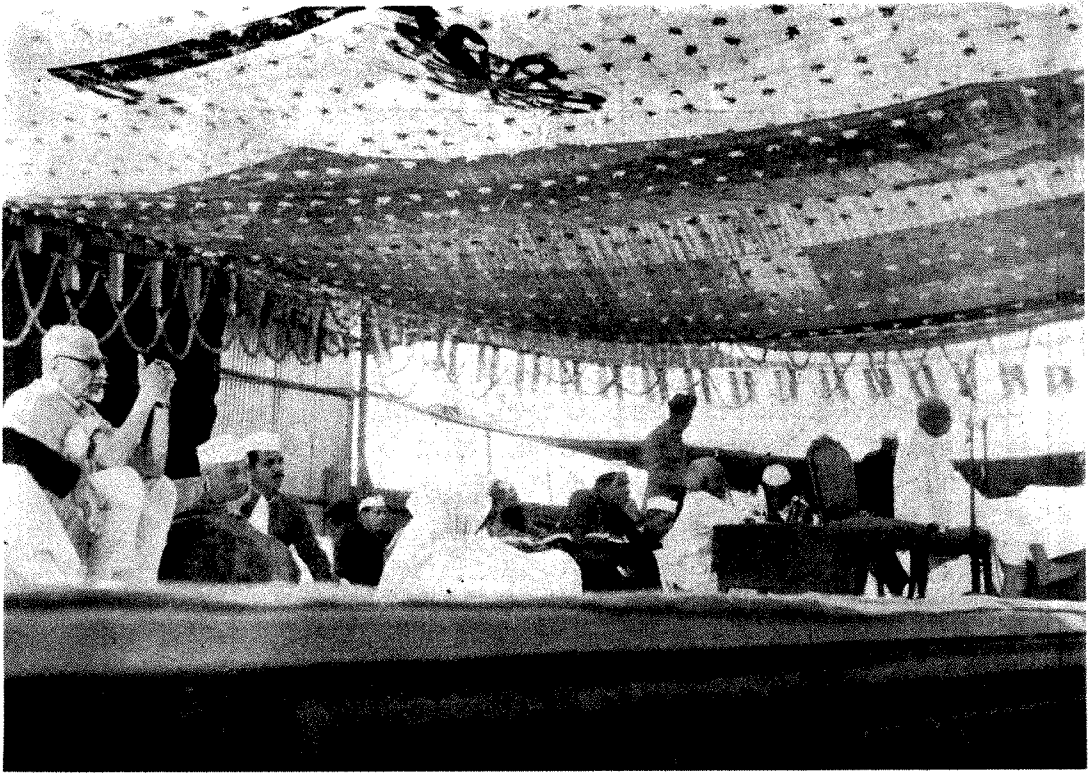
The economic life of the USSR is determined and directed by the state national-economic plan. The planned system of economy, based on public, *socialist* ownership of the means of production, ensures the rapid and uninterrupted progress of industry and agriculture, the steady and rapid growth of the productive forces of Soviet society. All the branches of national economy in the USSR are developing on the basis of enlarged socialist reproduction. The socialist organization of national economy has enabled the USSR to eliminate the age-old backwardness of pre-revolutionary Russia in a short space of time and to develop into a leading industrial power.

The damage caused by the enemy in the last war to the national economy of the USSR is estimated to be 679,000 million rubles. Despite these colossal losses, the Soviet people were able to muster adequate strength to undertake, yet before the end of the war, the restoration of the factories and mills, ores and coal mines, railways and waterways, collective and state farms in the districts cleared of the enemy. Only a few months went by after the war, when the new five-year plan (1946-1950) became effective in the USSR. This plan provides for the complete restoration of the war-ravaged areas, recovery of the pre-war level of industrial and agricultural production with a view to surpassing this level to a considerable extent. It is planned to restore and put into operation within five years 5,900 big industrial enterprises, to double Soviet machine building output, to bring up agricultural production in 1950 to a level more than double the volume achieved under the First Five-Year Plan (1928-1932).

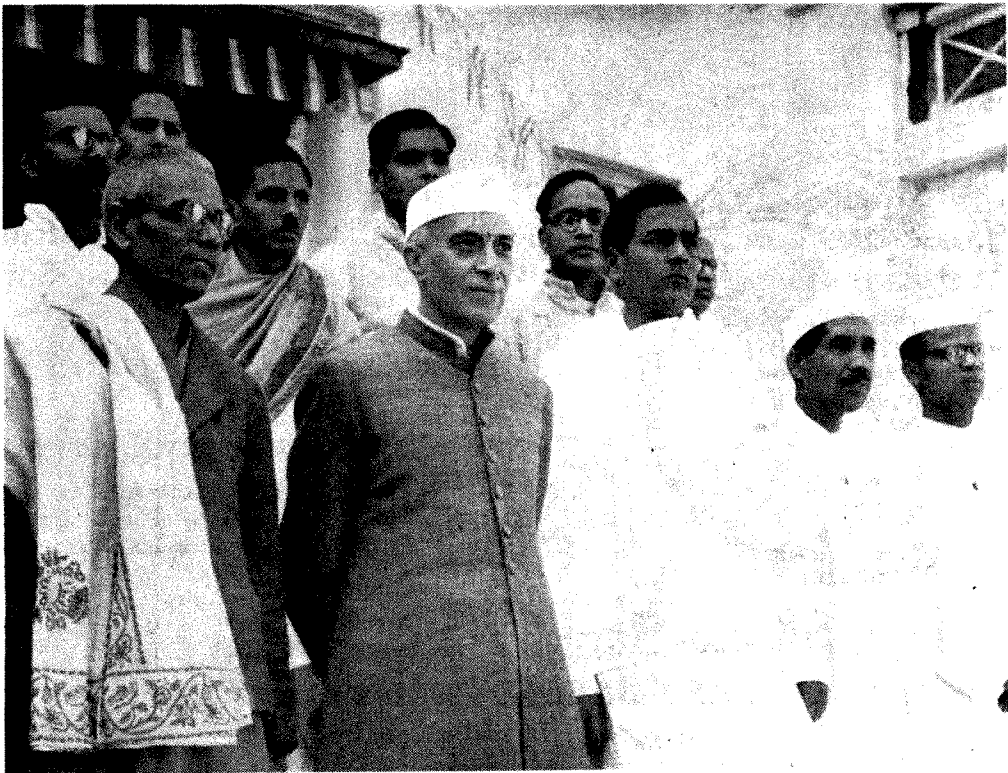
Data available on the post-war development of national economy in the USSR indicates that the current five-year plan will not only be fulfilled, but surpassed. The plan for the first two years has been fulfilled in full by Soviet industry. During the first quarter of last year the Soviet Union regained the average level of industrial production of the pre-war year of 1940 and the pre-war grain yield. One thousand nine hundred big industrial enterprises were built and put into operation during the first two years of work under the plan. Last year the Soviet country garnered as much grain as in the best pre-war years.

The Soviet Union is advancing its economy with seven-league strides and raising the living standard of its population, at a time when in the capitalist countries the economic situation is deteriorating, inflation is deepening, wages are being forced down, unemployment is growing and the living standard of the working people is declining. A serious problem facing the U.S.A., for example, is the decline in the general level of industrial production after the war. Compared with the 1939 figure, the production index in the U.S.A. rose to 219 in 1943, but in 1945 it was dropped to 186, with a further decline to 156 in 1946.

Unemployment does not exist in the Soviet Union. Its very possibility is ruled out by the planned and uninterrupted development of Soviet national economy. Unlike the situation in the U.S.A., Great Britain, France and other capitalist countries, where permanent armies of unemployed have been in existence for many decades—with the exception of the war periods—the number of gainfully occupied workers has been steadily growing in the Soviet Union. In 13 years before the war, the number of factory and office workers in the Soviet Union rose by more than 20 million. The number of people employed in the national economy of the USSR increased by 3 million in 1946, by a further 1,200,000 in 1947; and the increase in the first quarter of 1948 over the first quarter of 1947 was 2 million. All the demobilized soldiers are secured employment in the USSR. —Tass-News Agency of the USSR



The Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Deputy Prime Minister of India, addressing the meeting of the Subjects Committee of the Congress, on December 16, 1948, at Gandhinagar, Jaipur



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru photographed with Swami Ramananda Tirtha, President, (left), and other office-bearers of the Hyderabad State Congress



TUNE OF THE DEPARTING DAY

By Priyaprasad Gupta

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NOTES

January 30 Comes Again!

Twelve months have passed since the Father of the Nation and the Architect of India's freedom lay stricken down by hands of a fanatical reactionary. This day renews the sorrow and despair that invaded hundreds of million souls as the news came over the ether of this cowardly deed. This day the mind is impelled to take a survey of the events which in course of about 30 years transformed the habits of thought and life in India, imparting to these a dynamic force that has forced British imperialism to let go its stranglehold over the State in India. The grandeur and dignity of theme has put it on the world stage, and leaders of thought in India and outside have been coming to increasingly interpret Gandhiji's life as recalling that of the founders of religions, ancient and modern.

In every age and clime when the forces of evil gain ascendancy over human affairs, when men and women find it difficult to live in dignity, when material conditions of life deteriorate, the final result is creation of discontent and frustrations. And the minds of men and women instinctively turn to the depths of their own consciousness; and out of their *tapasya*—concentration of desire which creates destiny—emerges a power that gives colour to whole system of thought and action. When Gandhiji came into the leadership of the country, our people were in the trough of such a crisis.

The "revolutionary-terrorist" movement (1900-14) had failed; the attempt during the first great war of the 20th century to exploit Britain's adversity as an opportunity to wrest India's freedom from her had as dismal a sequel. The slogan of the "self-determination" of people raised by the Allied and Associated Powers pitted against Germany and her allies was dropped by

Britain as soon as the war ended. The Monagu declaration of August, 1917, did not work well. Lloyd George's war against Turkey's integrity inflamed Muslim feeling in India and led to an union with Indian nationalists. British die-hards who came out on the top with inflated ideas of the power of the mailed fist replied with the horrible massacre at Jallianwalla Bagh in Amritsar.

At this stage Gandhiji came into Indian politics and was put at its head without his asking for it or wishing it. And for 28 years did the people put their trust in him to get them out of the valley of slavery. And this small man required of them not any organized physical force to beat down British domination on its knees. He prescribed for them the organization of their moral resources, of their capacity to suffer and evoked out of their suffering a weapon sharper and stronger than those forged by States and potentates. He taught a new morality which insisted on means being as pure as the ends are noble. The entire failure of brute force to evolve permanent solutions out of the world's discontents and injustices had been demonstrated by the 1914-18 war and its consequences. And Gandhiji's experiment in India was a challenge thrown in the face of the prevalent unmanly and inhuman force.

Through success and failure, more of failure than of success, Gandhiji held fast to the truth and the way of life which his nature and nurture in the atmosphere of modern life blazed out for him. To the mass of his own people his message of recall to the simplicities of human existence had an appeal that was more felt than understood in all its implication. The educated Indian, brought up in other ways of life and thought, could but make half-hearted attempts to give concrete shape to it in their institutions. The majority of them joined Gandhiji with minds undecided; the

call of the *Charka* and of Non-violence demanded of them such a reversal of values, such a shattering of their life-patterns, that very few were found on the ultimate test to stand it.

All the same, the Gandhian era did evolve an intrepidity and courage in us that shook the British regime to its foundations, the consequences of which finally materialized on August 15, 1947. He lived for five and a half months after the change. But the tidal wave of brutality that had engulfed the country from August 16, 1946, appeared to take the joy of living from him. The world saw his agony but could offer no salve to it, because it had never understood the inner truth of his message—of spiritual healing to effect permanent cure of its distempers and maladies. With this failure writ large on our response to Gandhiji's unspoken challenge, there has always been an impalpable influence that helped us retain some semblance of balance and equanimity in our relation with the alien State. Gandhiji was the fashioner of this quality in us. By the standard set by him we judge ourselves, and the world judges us. And as long as it abides with us, however dimly, there is hope for our people. With this faith, they have been striving to reach the goal indicated by him and given shape by his life. He told us, "My life is my message." May it be given unto us to remember it for all time.

Public memory is proverbially short, and the memory of men, placed on high, still more short—and elastic. But today the thinking public is slowly realizing the catastrophic nature of the loss caused by the passing of the Mahatma. For truly he was the sole representative of the suffering masses. He constituted the High Tribunal before which any man, any group could ask for justice or compensation, without fear that any bias or prejudice or immoral motive would vitiate the judgment. Where is his representative today, equally easy of approach, patient of hearing and the personification of Truth in judgment?

He was the main link between the Congress and the People. And despite all protestations to the contrary, all speeches, statements and directives of the so-called representatives of the people, it is plain to the eye of the discerning that the Congress is drifting on to the rocks now that that chain is broken. For today there is no one, not a single person, in a position of power or a pedestal of public esteem *who can lay claim to the fact that he represents all the people of India*. Who is there today, amongst those who have taken unto themselves the right to speak on behalf of all India, who can say without travesty of Truth—the Gandhian Truth—that he is free from racial bias and party prejudices and that he possesses the same transparently clear and unsullied sincerity in all actions and pronouncements as did the Master?

There is no point in indulging in recriminations on this day, nor is today any occasion to lift the voice in a jeremiad. But for the good of the Nation and of the world, let those, who were put in high places

through the hand of our beloved Father of the Nation, search their souls deeply today and see whether they have followed the path indicated by him, in accordance with the Gandhian concept of Truth.

"Netaji"

On the 23rd January, 1949, people all over India celebrated the 53rd birthday of an uncompromising fighter for human dignity who was born in a Bengali middle class family, habituated to a soft and easy accommodation to alien ways imposed on their country. An interpreter of "Netaji's" life and time will be required to explain the evolution in his character, from softness to "grimness," from the lover of speculative thought and religious exercises to the hero of a fight against one of the greatest imperialisms of all time. And he would not be far out if he said that "Netaji" was the product of the combined forces of awakening represented by Swami Vivekananda, by Khudiram Bose and Prafulla Chandra Chaki. The qualities of self-forgetful devotion that had characterized the generation to which these men belonged were gathered onto a focus in "Netaji." The portent and promise that he symbolized were the expressions of more than half-a-century of developments that dared challenge the pretensions of alien values of life.

Subhas Chandra was eight years old when the Swadeshi and anti-Partition movements initiated by Bengal burst over the country. This appeared to have had no influence on his family. And till he joined the Presidency College of Calcutta and even when he came into contact with a "revolutionary" group, there were no indications that he felt the shame and ignominy of political serfdom. His *forte* appeared to have been nursing the sick and helping the poor in the traditional way; he developed a fascination for the Sannyasa life—renunciation of the world and the flesh—traditional way of reaching the highest development of human personality in India. In the pursuit of such an ideal he vanished from his home when he was barely about 17. He returned from his wanderings over the sacred places of northern India, as if nothing notable had happened. His parents treated this episode with like unconcern. Did they realize that something out of the ordinary had taken shape and form in their household?

At this age, we find him a dreamer of dreams that had little relation to "politics," or the harsh realities of life. The assault on Prof. Oaten in which he got entangled was the first sign that he could not take lying down an insult to India's values of life and honour. It demonstrated, moreover, the growth out of introversion (Subhas Chandra's own word) into leadership of youth. A period of training in the Calcutta University Training Corps fell naturally into this development. There were, however, any number of young Indians who have had this training. But only one "Netaji" emerged out of them.

We come to 1920 when he resigned from the

Indian Civil Service and under Gandhiji's advice "re-reported" himself to C. R. Das in whom he found the long sought for "leader." In spite of disbelief in the principles and practices of Gandhiji, he and his "leader" threw themselves heart and soul into giving shape to these. The mass response evoked by Gandhiji must have been an attraction. But when the Non-cooperation Movement fizzled out, we find Subhas Chandra as a leader of the "revolutionary-terrorist" group. Thence ensued a struggle with the embattled might of the British Empire, a fight with the conscientious opposition of the greatest political leader of the people of India during the modern age. There could be no reconciliation. Subhas Chandra Bose ultimately fled the country to fulfil his destiny. For four years he remained a wanderer over the face of two continents. Thereafter his life became a living, blazing symbol of high audacity, of superb improvisation, of conversion of dust into men and women, and rousing amongst them the conscious purpose of liberating their country from alien rule.

And the "Netaji" stood before us as the token of India's political ambition, the flaming sword of its realization. His enterprise in Arakan, in Manipur, in Kohima ended in disaster and failure. But it was more a failure on India's part. The success of the enterprise depended on the simultaneous attack on British imperialism—an explosion in India coinciding with attack from outside under the leadership of an Indian. The outburst took place in 1942, and exhausted its force before the year was out, the attack by the Azad Hind Fauj came in 1944 while India was found prostrate from her wounds. This frustration was cruel. But a miracle happened amongst our people—the miracle of the recovery of the human spirit, a miracle of the renewal of the fight against the alien State which reached its ultimate goal on August 15, 1947.

The reality has fallen short of the ideals incarnated in "Netaji's" life. A struggle to realize these may lie ahead. May January 23, 1949, indicate a re-dedication to the cause which Subhas Chandra Bose wove into the texture of his whole being!

"Cease Fire" in Kashmir and After

The conflicting interpretations put by India and "Pakistan" on the U.N.O. Commission's proposals that led to the "Cease Fire" order in Kashmir on the first day of 1949 have again caused a political disturbance. We are not sorry that this shock should have been imparted. It will help to eliminate the wooliness that has settled in the Foreign Office of the Indian Union under our idealistic Prime Minister. The occasion of this new disagreement arose out of the publication in India of "a summarized version" of certain points of negotiation carried on by Pandit Nehru with Dr. Lozano between September and December, 1948; this version had been sent out from New York. The Government of India felt it necessary to publish the full text with a view to avoid

doubts and misapprehensions. This appeared in the Indian Press on the 16th January, 1949, containing what has been called "aides memoire" discussed between Pandit Nehru and Dr. Lozano on the 21st and 22nd December last. We felt instantly that the "Pakistan" reaction to it will be coming soon. An Indian News Agency sent out from Lahore on January 15 last an indication of it, and the Calcutta British daily featured it in thick types as follows:

It is reliably understood that the text of the documents pertaining to the discussions between the Government of India and Dr. Lozano, released in Delhi today, was not communicated to the Pakistan Government before it accepted the Commission's plebiscite proposals. The Pakistan Government accepted these proposals on the basis of the clarifications given to it by the Commission.

The Pakistan Government is expected to release shortly the clarifications given to it, along with the relevant correspondence.

And on the 17th January appeared "Pakistan's" interpretations and clarifications. We publish below relevant portions of the Indian version and of the reply to it.

"H.E. Dr. Lozano, accompanied by his Alternate, Mr. Samper, and H.E. Mr. Colban, Personal Representative of the Secretary-General of the U.N., met the Prime Minister yesterday. Sri Gopalaswami Ayyangar and Sri G. S. Bajpai were also present.

The discussions of the Commission's plebiscite proposals fell into two parts, (1) General and (2) Particular, in reference to individual clauses.

POINTS MADE BY PANDIT NEHRU

The Prime Minister drew attention to Pakistan's repeated acts of aggression against India. In spite of the presence of Pakistan troops in Jammu and Kashmir, which are Indian territory now, and the offensive action of Pakistan troops, the Government of India had accepted the Commission's Resolution of Aug. 13. Pakistan had not accepted that Resolution. In Paragraph 143 of its Report, the Commission has referred to its conference with the Prime Minister on the conditions attached by the Government of Pakistan to its acceptance of the Resolution of Aug. 13. As stated in paragraph 144 of the Report, the Prime Minister had informed the Commission that he stood on his original premises that the Pakistan forces must be withdrawn from the State before the Government of India could consider any further steps. This had specific reference to an amplification of Part III of the Resolution of Aug. 13.

Nevertheless, the Government of India had agreed to informal conversations in Paris, which had resulted in the formulation of the proposals now put forward by the Commission. The Government of India naturally wondered how far this process of rejection of proposals (put forward by the Commission) by Pakistan and the adoption of a responsive attitude on the part of the Government of India towards the Commission's proposals, could continue. The Commission must realize that there

were limits to the forbearance and spirit of conciliation of the Government of India.

AUGUST 13 RESOLUTION

The Prime Minister emphasized (1) that, if the Government of India were to accept the Commission's plebiscite proposals, no action could be taken in regard to them until Parts I and II of the Commission's Resolution of Aug. 13 had been fully implemented;

(2) that in the event of Pakistan not accepting these proposals or, having accepted them, not implementing Parts I and II of the Resolution of Aug. 13, the Government of India's acceptance of them should not be regarded as in any way binding upon them;

(3) Part III of the Commission's Resolution of Aug. 13 provided "that the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir shall be determined in accordance with the will of the people, and to that end, upon acceptance of the truce agreement, both Governments agree to enter into consultations with the Commission to determine fair and equitable conditions whereby such free expression will be assured."

The present proposals appeared to limit the method of ascertaining the will of the people regarding the future status of the State of Jammu and Kashmir to a plebiscite. While the Government of India adhered to their position in regard to a plebiscite they had pointed out that, in view of the difficulties of holding a plebiscite in present conditions in Kashmir, other methods of ascertaining the wish of the people should also be explored.

The Commission had itself recognized the difficulties of carrying out a plebiscite in Kashmir. The Government of India feel that the exploration of other methods should not be ruled out.

(4) B.1 Preamble: The phrase "the Governments of India and Pakistan simultaneously accept" is incorrect in that either Government may not accept the principles supplementary to the Resolution of Aug. 13. Even if both Governments accept them, the acceptance cannot be simultaneous. The wording should be changed accordingly.

E. 3 (B). The question was raised whether the form of words employed was intended to give to the Plebiscite Administrator powers of interference in the administration of the State, e.g., by "direction and supervision of the State forces and police," mentioned in paragraph B. 8 of the Security Council's Resolution of April 21, 1948.

Dr. Lozano said this was not the intention of the Commission and the words quoted above had been deliberately omitted.

His functions and powers would be limited to ensuring that the plebiscite was free and impartial.

B. 4 (B). The Prime Minister drew attention to the fact that the Azad Kashmir forces, which had been armed and equipped by Pakistan and were under the operational command of the Pakistan Army, ran into tens of thousands. Their presence in the territories referred to in A. 3 of Part II of the Resolution of Aug 13, even after demobilization, would be a constant threat of the territory under

the control of Indian and State forces, a deterrent to the return of many refugees, and an obstacle to the free expression of opinion regarding the future status of the State by those who might be opposed to the accession of the State to Pakistan.

Dr. Lozano pointed out that it was the Commission's intention that there should be large-scale disarmament of those forces, though it would not be possible to require withdrawal from these territories, of genuine inhabitants of these areas.

B. 6 (A). Dr. Lozano agreed that it was not the Commission's intention that the Pakistan commission should operate outside Pakistan. Thus, the Pakistan commission would not operate in the territory referred to in A. 3 of part II of the Resolution of August 13.

The Prime Minister then raised the question of the "free return" to the State of all citizens who had left it on account of disturbances. He said the entry of persons claiming to be citizens into the State would have to be most carefully checked.

Dr. Lozano said the Commission fully realized the necessity of an accurate and effective check but had not gone into details. Possibly those returning to the State could be stopped and examined at the frontier.

The Prime Minister pointed out that, considering the length of the frontier and the ease with which people could slip across the border over mountain tracks, a check on the frontier would be neither easy nor effective except by the deployment of large forces.

Apart from the problem of entry, there is the even more important problem of the rehabilitation and protection of those who have left the State on account of recent disturbances. Homes have been destroyed; property has been lost; there has been wholesale dispossession of persons from the land that they used to cultivate.

B. 6 (B). It is assumed that the Government of Jammu and Kashmir will decide whether or not a person entered the State for a lawful purpose.

B. 7 (B). India is a Secular State; the U.N. also is a secular organization. Pakistan aims at being a theocratic State. An appeal to religious fanaticism could not be regarded as legitimate political activity.

Dr. Lozano agreed that any political activity which might tend to disturb law and order could not be regarded as legitimate. The same test would apply to freedom of Press and of speech.

As regards the freedom of lawful entry and exit, this must obviously be governed by B. 6 of the proposals. It is assumed that in the territory under their control entry and exit will be regulated by rules framed for the purpose by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir with due regard to the security of the State and the maintenance of law and order.

Dr. Lozano said that a system of permits would probably be necessary.

With due regard to the security of the State, the Government of India wish to emphasize the supreme importance which they attach to adequate provision for the security of the State in all contingencies.

Dr. Lozano and Mr. Colban met the Prime Minister at 11 a.m. on December 22.

Dr. Lozano said that the *aide-memoire* of the conference which took place on Monday, December 20, was a correct account of the proceedings. He suggested, however that the phrase "large-scale disarming" of the Azad Kashmir forces, used in the portion of the *aide-memoire* dealing with B. 4 (B) of the Commission's Plebiscite Proposals did not, perhaps, represent the Commission's intention. What the Commission had in mind was the disbanding of these forces; disarming, it was assumed, would follow.

The Prime Minister pointed out that disbandment was not the same thing as disarming. Pakistan had raised something like 35 battalions of 28,000 to 30,000 men who now formed part of the Azad Kashmir forces. The presence of such a large number of armed people, even if the regular formations were disbanded, would not be conducive to ensuring either the security of that part of Jammu and Kashmir which is under the control of Indian and State forces or the security of those inhabitants of the territories referred to in A. 3 of Part II of the Resolution of August 13, who did not fully subscribe to or share the political views of pro-Pakistan elements.

Moreover, the question of the re-entry into these territories of State citizens who had left it on account of the present conflict had to be kept in mind. With such a large number of members of the Azad Kashmir forces under arms, former inhabitants of these territories who held different political views would not dare to re-enter and, therefore, would be debarred from participation in a 'free and impartial' plebiscite.

In view of this explanation, Dr. Lozano agreed that the phrase "large-scale disarming" should be regarded as correctly interpreting the Commission's intention.

... under the Commission's proposals, the Governments of India and Jammu and Kashmir assumed a great many responsibilities while Pakistan had to do practically nothing. The Governments of India and Jammu and Kashmir could not, in fairness, be expected to discharge any of their responsibilities regarding the plebiscite until there was satisfactory evidence that Pakistan was carrying out its obligations under Part II of the Resolution of August 13.

B. 9. as at present worded could be interpreted to mean that consultations with the Plebiscite Administrator should start immediately on the signature of the truce. This clearly was not feasible.

Dr. Lozano and Mr. Colban pointed out that, when the paragraph in question was drafted, all these considerations were not present to the mind of the Commission. The Commission, according to Dr. Lozano, had assumed that, since the Prime Minister of India had informed the Commission, two days after it had placed before him the conditions attached by the Government of Pakistan to their acceptance of the Resolution of August 13, that he stood on his original premises that Pakistan forces must be withdrawn from the State before the Govern-

ment of India could consider any further steps, action in relation to B. 9 would be feasible only after satisfactory progress had been made with the implementation of Part II of the Resolution of August 13.

Mr. Colban and he agreed that the consultations envisaged in B. 9 could take place only after the Commission was satisfied that satisfactory progress had been made with the implementation of Part II of the Resolution, i.e., after hostile tribesmen, Pakistan forces and Pakistan nationals who had entered Jammu and Kashmir for the purpose of fighting had withdrawn from State territory.

Dr. Lozano said that this was the interpretation of B. 9 which they would present to the Pakistan Government in Karachi.

The Prime Minister pointed out that, if Pakistan accepted the present proposals and carried out its obligations under Part II of the Resolution of August 13 promptly, he saw no reason why the appointment should take much time. What he wished to emphasize was that there would be nothing which the Plebiscite Administrator could usefully do in India until progress had been made with the implementation of Part II of the resolution as now explained by Dr. Lozano and Mr. Colban.

As regards alternative methods of ascertaining the wish of the people regarding the future status of Jammu and Kashmir, Dr. Lozano said that the statement in Para 3 of the *aide-memoire* dated December 21, 1948, was substantially similar to his own record. . . .

"PAKISTANI" INTERPRETATIONS

'On the sixth of January 1949 the United Nations Commission for India and Pakistan released to the Press the text of a resolution adopted by the Commission on January 5, containing the principles of a settlement of the Kashmir dispute agreed upon by the Government of India and Pakistan. This was the result of discussions and correspondence extending over several months. The first phase of these negotiations ended on September 5 when the Commission released its resolution of 13th August and all the correspondence in connection therewith which had passed between the Commission and the Governments of India and Pakistan. Apparently, the commission did not consider it advisable to release the subsequent correspondence along with its resolution of January 5, in pursuance of the Commission's request the Pakistan Government also refrained from releasing any part of that correspondence. In view, however, of the premature publication of certain notes of discussions between Dr. Lozano and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru between December 20 and 22 in the *Hindu* of Madras dated January 13, and the subsequent release of these documents by the Government of India, the Government of Pakistan is constrained to release the text of the Commission's proposal of December 11, the clarifications given by Dr. Lozano to the Pakistan Government and the Pakistan Government's letter of December 25 accepting the Commission's proposals as explained and elucidated by Mr. Lozano.

'Since the release of the Commission's resolution of

January 5, a number of statements have appeared in the Press with regard to the aims and intentions of the Commission, and the basis on which an agreement had been arrived at with regard to the Kashmir dispute between the Governments of India and Pakistan. It might, therefore, be helpful to analyse the documents in the light of the clarifications and elucidations given by the Commission to the Pakistan Government.

It will be observed that the Commission's resolution of January 5, 1949, is supplementary to its resolution of 13th August, 1948. Taken together, these resolutions contemplate three distinct stages in the solution of the Kashmir problem, though action on all of them might, to some extent, proceed simultaneously. The first stage relates to the cease-fire and is governed by part XI of the Commission's resolution of 13th August. The second stage relates to the negotiations of details of a truce agreement, the principles of which are set out in part II of the resolution of 13th August. The third stage relates to the holding of a free and impartial plebiscite to determine whether the State of Jammu and Kashmir should accede to India or to Pakistan. The basic principles with regard to the plebiscite are set out in the Commission's resolution of January 5, 1949.

The first part of the settlement brought about by the Commission is already in the process of implementation. By mutual agreement, the Governments of Pakistan and India issued cease-fire orders to their respective high commands to take effect from January 1, 1949. . . . The Commission's military adviser has arrived in the Indo-Pakistan sub-continent, and it is understood that he will soon have the assistance of a large number of United Nations military observers in the discharge of his duties in connection with the cease-fire arrangements.

The truce agreement provides for the following:

(1) Withdrawal from the State of all Pakistan troops and of the bulk of the Indian Army. In its letter of 27th August, 1948, to the Government of Pakistan, the Commission explained that 'synchronization of the withdrawal of the armed forces of the two Governments will be arranged between the respective high commands and the Commission.' The Pakistan representatives were also informed that the number of Indian troops to be retained during the truce period in the areas now occupied by the Indian Army will be the minimum required for the maintenance of internal security, and law and orders.

(2) The Commission further explained in its letter of 19th September, 1948, 'that the area in the occupation of forces under the overall control of the Pakistan High Command would remain in the occupation of the Azad Kashmir forces.' The Commission stated categorically that its resolution of 13th August does not contemplate the disarmament or disbanding of the Azad Kashmir forces.'

(3) The Pakistan Government undertook to use its best endeavour to secure the withdrawal from the state of tribesmen and Pakistan nationals not normally resident therein who had entered the State for the purpose of fighting.

(4) Pending a final solution, the territory evacuated by the Pakistan troops would be administered by the 'local authorities' under the surveillance of the Commission. It was explained by the Commission that the term 'local authorities' meant the 'Azad Kashmir Government', although the Commission could not and did not accord recognition to that Government. It was further explained that 'surveillance' did not mean actual control or supervision, and that the Commission's sole aim would be to ensure that the 'local authorities' did not violate the cease fire and truce agreements. The Commission also explained that it did not contemplate surveillance of the Gilgit administration which was temporarily in charge of a political agent of the Pakistan Government. The Commission also made it clear that the Maharaj's Government would not, under any circumstances, be permitted to interfere with or to send any military or civil officials to the territory under the control of the 'local authorities.'

(5) The Government of India undertook to ensure that the Government of the State of Jammu and Kashmir would take all measures within their power to make it publicly known that peace, law and order would be safeguarded, and that all human and political rights would be guaranteed. The Commission expected that similar action would be taken by the 'local authorities' in the areas evacuated by Pakistan troops.

(6) The third part of the agreement relates to the holding of a plebiscite.

Dr. Lozano has explained that while the Government of India and Pakistan would be consulted with regard to the selection of the plebiscite administrator, the final decision would rest with the Secretary General of the United Nations acting in agreement with the Commission. He also explained that the expression 'the plebiscite administrator will be formally appointed to office by the Government of Jammu and Kashmir', does not mean that he will be an employee of the Government of Jammu and Kashmir, or subject to its control, the plebiscite administrator would, in fact, be a person of high international standing and commanding general confidence.

(III) The plebiscite administrator shall derive from the State of Jammu and Kashmir the powers he considers necessary for organising and conducting 'the plebiscite, and for ensuring the freedom and impartiality of the plebiscite.'

(V) When the Commission is satisfied that parts I and II of its resolution of 13th August have been implemented, and peaceful conditions have been restored in the State, the Commission and the plebiscite administrator will determine in consultation with the Government of India and the 'local authorities' in the areas evacuated by the Pakistan army, the final disposal of Indian and State armed forces on the one hand and of the Azad Kashmir forces on the other, 'with due regard to the security of the State and the freedom of the plebiscite', Dr. Lozano informed the Pakistan Government that it is the intention of the Commission to ensure, in due course, a large-scale reduction and disarmament of the armed forces on both sides of the cease-fire line, and that the

exact scope of this reduction and disarmament would be determined by the Commission and the plebiscite administrator in consultation with the authorities concerned.

(VI) All citizens of the State who have left it on account of the disturbances will be free to return to the State and to exercise their rights as such citizens. The United Nations Commission contemplates the establishment of two Commissions, one operating in India and the other in Pakistan to assist the return to the State of the refugees.

(VII) 'All persons (other than citizens of the State) who on or since 15th August, 1947 have entered it for other than lawful purposes shall be required to leave the State'. Dr. Lozano informed the Pakistan Government that 'the object of this provision is to ensure the withdrawal of elements which have endangered or might endanger the maintenance of peace and order, and of refugees and the nationals of India and Pakistan who have entered the State since 15th August, 1947, otherwise than for lawful purpose.

(VIII) There shall be complete freedom of legitimate political activity throughout the State including freedom of the Press, speech and assembly and freedom of travel in the State and freedom of lawful entry and exit, release of political prisoners, adequate protection of minorities, etc. These conditions have to be ensured by all authorities within the State of Jammu and Kashmir in collaboration with the plebiscite administrator.

(8) The above sets out in brief the basis on which the Pakistan Government has accepted and is implementing the Commission's resolutions of 13th August, 1948 and 15th January, 1949. The Pakistan Government wishes to emphasise that it is not bound by any explanations or clarifications which are contrary to the express provisions of the Commission's resolution of 13th August, 1948 and 5th January, 1949 or to the clarifications given by the Commission to the Pakistan Government."

We are devoting so much of our limited space to the problems relating to the Kashmir affair because we recognize the force of the argument that whether or not India can develop into a secular State in the modern sense of the world will be finally decided by its ultimate solution. "Pakistanis" will try their best and worst to inflame Muslim feeling in the State and outside to influence votes on their side. The lessons of the Referendum in Sylhet should warn the Nehru Government of the tactics that the "Pakistanis" are likely to adopt and follow. Weeks before the plebiscite they will try to flock into the territory from outside, to set up blockades of areas from where possible opponents of the "Pakistan" idea may go and record their votes against it and to create such a turmoil in the areas with the help and connivance of local sympathisers that peace-loving people will prefer keeping in-doors. That was what happened in Sylhet though a

Congress Ministry was in charge. We saw it accepting defeat at the hands of hooligans; in certain instances Assamese-speaking ministers and presiding officers of polling booths co-operated insidiously with the hooligans so that they may get rid of the Bengalees of Sylhet,

As we have said, the lessons of the Sylhet Referendum, of connivance and betrayal, should warn the Nehru Government.

In the Kashmir affair, the "Pakistanis" appear to be building up their hopes on the ability of the "Azad Kashmir Government" military formations to terrify the voters and drive them to do their will. Pundit Nehru's *aide-memoire* show that his Government is conscious of the over-all difficulties; but the tactics we have indicated above will prove more important when the real test comes. Special steps will be required to guard against these. Everything should not be left to the U. N. O. Commission and its Plebiscite Administrator.

Kashmir Plebiscite

The following letter, published in the *Times*, London, on the question of the coming Kashmir plebiscite, deserves special attention in India, as the writer is probably Olaf Caroe, a member of the old die-hard "steel-frame" administration, that fought for decades openly against Indian Independence in the old days, and is now carrying on a guerilla campaign in the political sphere to the same purpose :

Sir,—Some details are needed of the administrative plan, and franchise, on which India and Pakistan will work the plebiscite on the destination of Kashmir, to be held under United Nations auspices. A plebiscite proceeds from voting registers, the preparation of which, even in a country accustomed to democratic processes, is a lengthy and complex administrative task. In the North-East Frontier Province, the substantial issue whether that province should adhere to India or to Pakistan was submitted to the voices of the people in the Referendum of July, 1947, and without loss of time, mainly because we worked on the existing electoral registers. Even so there were objections, for the registers were five years old and the franchise was far from being full adult franchise. But speed was then the watchword and the process was carried through in a province used to elections, enjoying a geared administration, and with a strong impartial army to hold the ring. Revision of registers even there would have occupied the best part of a year.

In Kashmir, it is true, there were elections to the old Legislative Assembly on a franchise so narrow that the relatively wealthy minority enjoyed a disproportionate voting strength. Since then Kashmir has been devastated by war, mass migration, and slaughter. Entirely new registers will be necessary and their preparation may be expected to employ an efficient staff, working in ordered conditions, for a year in the valley and perhaps two years or more in the remote glens. And what is to be the franchise? It is to be decided whether it should be full adult franchise, or, if not on what basis of restriction, property or literacy; and, in either case, whether women are to vote.

Yours faithfully,
O. K. CAROE

Indonesia's Fight for Freedom

A conference was held at New Delhi on and from January 20 to 23rd, 1949, of representatives of certain Governments of Asia and of the South Pacific region. Dutch imperialism was put on the dock, and even the representatives of Australia were, we are glad to notice, constrained to endorse the opinion that "the Dutch military action launched on the 18th December, 1948, constitutes a flagrant breach of the charter of the United Nations Organization and defiance of the efforts of the Security Council and of its Good Offices Committee to bring about a peaceful settlement." The conference has made certain recommendations that represent the minimum requirements of the situation. The participating countries were Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Ceylon, Egypt, Ethiopia, India, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Yemen, Nepal, New Zealand, Siam and Turkey were represented by "observers".

We will watch with a certain amount of eagerness the reaction of the Security Council to the demands made in the resolutions passed at the Conference and sent by its Chairman, India's Prime Minister, to the President of the Security Council, United Nations Headquarters, Lake Success, New York, U.S.A. The Delhi Conference also shared this feeling. At the end of the last paragraph (8) of the letter addressed to the Security Council occur words that are significant in this connection. Pandit Nehru writes: "The Conference has asked me to point out with respect that effective action by the Council to bring this situation to an end is overdue. The Conference earnestly hopes that such action will not be further delayed. . . ."

Sharing this hope, we would however like to indicate the reason which has enabled the Dutch to draw upon the support of Anglo-American Big Business—the basic cause of the Security Council's dilatory tactics. The Good Offices Committee present in Indonesia to watch over matters has been disabled by the Dutch with this support. The main inspiration of Anglo-American sympathy for the Dutch lies in profits. The facts described below will explain the whole situation. Indonesia, one of the richest areas in the world, provides 92 per cent of the world's pepper; 91 per cent of the world's cinchona; 80 per cent of the world's bauxite; 77 per cent of the world's kapok; 19 per cent of the world's tea; 29 per cent of the world's cocoa; 20 per cent of the world's tin; 2.5 per cent of the world's oil, not to mention moderate quantities of gold and silver. Of the agricultural exports, 69.3 per cent is produced on exclusively Dutch-owned farms, only 30.7 per cent on native-owned farms. In 1938, 99.4 per cent of the exported sugar and 81.9 per cent tea was grown on Dutch-owned plantations. In the exploitation of Indonesia's labour power and natural resources Anglo-American finance-capital is the senior partner; Holland, a country of 12,500 square miles with a population of 80 lakhs (8 millions) superintends mainly as an working partner, operations in Indonesia, an

empire of about 78,000 square miles with a population of about 7 crores (70 millions). If we keep this fact in mind, developments in Indonesia will not cause surprise.

The American reaction to the Inter-Asiatic Conference is a matter of speculation. In this connection the article by the famous columnist Walter Lippman in *The Herald Tribune* of January 10, is significant. We append relevant passages below:

"In trying to decide what we should do we must begin, I think, by recognizing that we cannot shape and direct the course of events in Asia. We may be able to exert a useful influence in maintaining friendly relations between the Western democracies and the emerging peoples of Asia.

Even that will be difficult to do. But if we try to do more than that, or something quite different—as for example to support puppet governments against the rising tide of nationalism and social revolution—we shall almost certainly fail and lose what influence we might otherwise have.

Among our allies who were conceded the right to take over after the Japanese defeat, the Chinese under Chiang Kai-shek, the French and the Dutch had been too gravely weakened by the war to take over successfully. They have not been able to pacify the territory they lost to Japan.

Not only were they weak in material power, they were without real moral authority. Chiang Kai-shek's government, though it has received far greater help from the United States than the Chinese Communists have received from Russia, has collapsed. It has not collapsed because it was beaten in battle, but because it has lost the support of the Chinese people. In Indonesia and in Indo-China the Japanese destroyed, probably forever, the prestige of Western empire. Though the Japanese were in the end defeated by the Americans, they had proved that an Asiatic nation could defeat the European empires in the Orient. Their slogan of "Asia for Asiatics" continues to work, despite the surrender on the battleship Missouri.

Where, then, shall we look for allies, now that Nationalist China, the Netherlands and France are so manifestly unable to play the role in Asia which we had supposed they would play? That, it seems to me, is the fundamental problem which has to be solved in order to form an American policy in Asia.

My own view is that the right direction was indicated by Mr. Attlee when he took the bold and far-reaching decision to treat India and Pakistan as leading members of what is now no longer the British Commonwealth but simply the Commonwealth. I am told that at the conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers in London last summer Nehru, who is certainly the greatest figure in Asia, suggested that in the future India might become the intermediary between Asia and the West. We would be well advised, I think, to enter into intimate consultation with Nehru about our whole course in China and in Indonesia. In doing that we should find

ourselves in harmony with the Australians, who are surely among our dependable friends, as well as with Mr. Attlee and the wisest makers of modern British policy.

This is not only the most promising way of approaching the tremendous convulsion in Asia. It is also the most truly American way. For our position in Asia rests on a great tradition, unique in modern history. We have been, and still are, the only world power which has refused to become the imperial ruler of subject peoples.

That reputation originated in the fact that we are ourselves a colonial people that won its independence. It has been confirmed by our long support of Chinese independence, by our history in the Philippines and in Cuba. Our most precious asset in Asia is our ability to persuade the people of Asia that there is a nation in the Western World, more powerful than the Soviet Union, which sympathizes with their struggle for independence, and has no wish to exploit it.

Our friends in Western Europe should try to understand why we can not, and must not be maneuvered, why we dare not drift, into general opposition to the movements for independence in Asia. They should tell their propagandists to stop smearing these movements. They should try to realize how disastrous it would be to them, and to the cause of Western civilization, if ever it could be said that the Western Union for the defense of freedom in Europe was in Asia a syndicate for the preservation of decadent empires."

Congress Working Committee

The following names of the members of the Congress Working Committee for 1949 have been announced by the Congress President :

1. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,
2. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel,
3. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad,
4. Rafi Ahmed Kidwai,
5. Shri Jagjivan Ram,
6. Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant,
7. Sardar Pratap Singh Kairon,
8. Dr. Rajendra Prasad,
9. Dr. Prafulla Chandra Ghosh,
10. Shri Sankar Rao Deo,
11. Sreemati Sucheta Kripalani,
12. Shri Kala Venkata Rao,
13. Shri S. K. Patil,
14. Shri N. G. Ranga,
15. Shri Kamaraja Nadar,
16. Shri Nijalingappa,
17. Shri Deveswar Sarmia,
18. Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt,
19. Shri Ram Sahay.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel will be the Treasurer and Shri Shankar Rao Deo and Kala Venkata Rao will be the General Secretaries.

This is the first expanded Committee under the new Congress Constitution which provides for a Working Committee of 20 members. Two from the old list, namely, Shri Balwant Mehta and Acharya Jugal

Kishore have been left out and seven new names have been added. The new Committee gives a greater representation to the Indian States. Eight Ministers, five Central and three Provincial, have been included in the Committee. The General Secretary, who is a Minister in the Madras Cabinet, has however signified his intention to resign from the Ministry. This would bring down the number of Ministers to seven, but even this figure exceeds one-third of twenty which is the total strength of the Committee. The Congress Constitution lays down that the number of Minister-members in the Committee should not exceed one-third of the total.

The Congress President's Directive

The Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, in a directive issued for the guidance of Congress men, says:

"No Congressman—more especially the members of the elective bodies—should interest himself in recommending candidates for offices, for securing permits for export or import or for obtaining licences for shops for themselves and their friends and that none should approach the authorities—particularly the executive, including judicial and police—in respect of civil or criminal matters pending before them.

It has come to the knowledge of Congress Committees that not seldom is a place on transportation committees, cloth licensing boards and allied bodies abused so as to secure privileges and profits for the members or their friends. This must be scrupulously avoided as otherwise the only alternative would be to ask Congressmen not to serve on such committees.

There are universal complaints about bribery and blackmarketing. Wherever possible, Congressmen should put forth earnest efforts to bring the culprits to book. But their endeavours in this direction would be successful only in the measure in which their own conduct is above board. Oftentimes you come across the very persons, who have complained against the prevalence of the two vices, falling victims to temptations themselves either in connection with bribery or with purchase of articles in blackmarket from a fountain pen to a motor car. Everyone knows that these things are wrong, but under the stress of temptation, he succumbs. It is, therefore, necessary for police to be alert so that a pious resolve once made may operate as a deterrent against deviation from the straight path.

An organised attempt is necessary to check the growing tendency to profit by the influence that the Congressmen undoubtedly can exercise over officers and Ministers. It is earnestly pleaded that the Ministers themselves and their Secretariat should set their faces against such inroads on their own authority and jurisdiction and whenever transgression of healthy rules of non-interference occurs, they may be good enough to direct the attention of the Provincial Congress Committees to such lapses.

It may be noticed that while the Congress, in spite of its varied composition, was functioning as a compact and closely knit body during the period of the struggle.

the attainment of independence has been followed by appearance of parties or factions amongst Congressmen themselves and that, on matters small and big, rival groups approach Ministers and officers and cause embarrassment to them by making conflicting recommendations. This naturally leads to a reflection of such schisms in the administration itself or even amongst Ministers to such trivial matters as permission to erect a cinema, licences for business and so on. Congressmen would be helping amity no less than purity by abstaining from such activities.

It is widely noticed that with the formation of Ministries, the unity of the Congress organisation and its harmony have been disturbed and those who have been left out of ministries have formed themselves into opposite groups in the organisation. This is reflected in the working of the legislature party itself. Responsible Government abroad is based on long-standing traditions which have trained the party in power to respect the opposition and *vice versa*.

While this is so it is all the more incumbent on the Congress Party to present a consolidated front instead of weakening Government by internal divisions. It may be noticed that, in the formation of groups distinction of caste and community sometimes play a determining part. The time has come when such distinctions should be no longer allowed to complicate and even injure the purity of the organisation and the integrity of the nation. If, therefore, the unity of the Congress and its efficiency should be restored, the immediate need would be for the group in the Congress to close up their ranks and stand jointly with the Ministry for a united programme and policy.

Recently we have noticed that members of the so-called "High Command" of the Congress have become vociferous in denunciations and pious recommendations. We regret to have to say that the effect of all these condemnations, exhortations and directives is so insignificant as yet, that the common man is beginning to doubt the sincerity of such declarations.

Inter-Dominion Conference

The Inter-Dominion Conference held at Karachi has formulated certain definite schemes for the disposal of evacuee property. In regard to urban immovable property, a fairly complete scheme has been agreed upon. Private exchanges and sales of urban immovable property will be allowed and while in the main the property owners will arrange such exchanges and sales themselves, or through private agencies, which may come into being for this purpose, each Government, through its custodians and liaison officers of the other Dominion Government attached to them, shall make available all relevant information which may facilitate such exchanges and sales.

In regard to movable property, agreement has been reached on the facilities that the two Governments should provide for their removal from one Dominion to the other.

The Conference decided to set up a permanent Inter-Dominion Commission at Secretariat level which will meet

at regular intervals to review and supervise the working of the agreed arrangements in regard to the administration, sale and transfer of evacuee property in the two Dominions.

The Conference agreed to the setting up of a Committee of six before the end of January to consider the question of Trust property and submit its recommendations before the end of April.

The areas to which the schemes of exchange and sale of urban immovable property will apply, will comprise of West Punjab, Sind, North-West Frontier Province and Baluchistan (including States which have acceded to Pakistan but excluding unadministered Agency areas), and on the side of India, the provinces of East Punjab, Delhi, Himachal Pradesh, Patiala, East Punjab States Union, Bharatpur, Alwar and Bikaner. No mention of East Bengal has been made in this matter in the joint *communiqué* issued by the two delegations embodying the decisions of the Conference.

The Inter-Dominion Agreement on Evacuee property has been received with some misgivings by landlords in Pakistan. It is stated that the machinery to be set up under the new agreement is cumbersome, and the goodwill and bona fides of the officials of both Dominions will play a prominent part in the success or otherwise of the sale and transfer of property. The *Dawn* has delivered judgment on the Agreement soon after it was reached at the Inter-Dominion Conference. In an editorial, *Dawn* has expressed the fear that in actual operation the agreement will benefit only India and prove detrimental to Pakistan.

Inter-Dominion Agreement on Minority Protection

In a circular to the Provincial Congress Committees, the A.I.C.C. has sent the copy of a letter to the Congress President from Mr. N. Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Minister, Government of India, relating to the protection of minorities as agreed at the Inter-Dominion Conferences. The responsibility for the protection of lives and properties of the minority communities and ensuring that they receive justice and that their civic rights are fully safeguarded, the letter says, rests on the Government of the Dominion in which the minorities reside. The allegiance and loyalty of the minorities is to the State of which they are citizens, and it is therefore, their right and duty to have their grievances redressed by the Government of their own State. Mr. Ayyangar emphasises, leaders in each Dominion should make public declarations to this effect as a part of the implementation of the provisions of the Inter-Dominion Agreement.

It would be well if all the decisions of Inter-Dominion Conferences were circularised to the Congress Committees in Pakistan and information about minority grievances received from them were taken up by India Government for redress.

General Elections Early Next Year

After adopting Prime Minister Pandit Nehru's resolution regarding the preparation of electoral rolls for India's general elections as early as possible in 1950, the Constituent Assembly of India adjourned till May 16. Article

149 of the Draft Constitution, relating to the composition of the Provincial Legislatures, was also adopted. By Pandit Nehru's resolution, the Constituent Assembly directed the authorities concerned to prepare electoral rolls and take all necessary steps so that elections might be held early next year.

The resolution added that the State electoral rolls be prepared on the basis of the provisions of the new Constitution already agreed to by the Constituent Assembly and in accordance with the principles hereinafter mentioned, namely: (1) That no person shall be included in the electoral roll of any constituency—(a) if he is not a citizen of India or (b) if he is of unsound mind and stands so declared by a competent court.

(2) That Jan. 1, 1949, shall be the date with reference to which the age of the electors is to be determined.

(3) That a person shall not be qualified to be included in the electoral roll for any constituency unless he has resided in that constituency for a period of not less than 180 days in the year ending on March 31, 1948. For the purposes of this paragraph, a person shall be deemed to be resident in any constituency if he ordinarily resides in that constituency or has a permanent place of residence therein.

(4) That, subject to the law of the appropriate legislature, a person who has migrated into a Province or acceding State on account of disturbances or fear of disturbances in his former place of residence shall be entitled to be included in the electoral roll of a constituency if he files a declaration of his intention to reside permanently in the constituency.

Article 149 provides: (1) The Legislative Assembly of each State shall be composed of members chosen by direct election.

(2) The election shall be on the basis of adult suffrage; namely, that every citizen who is not less than 21 years of age and is not otherwise disqualified under this Constitution shall be entitled to be registered as a voter at such elections.

(3) The representation of each territorial constituency in the Legislative Assembly of a State shall be on the basis of population of that constituency ascertained at the last preceding census and shall, save in the case of the autonomous districts of Assam, be on a scale of not more than one representative for every 75,000 of the population. Provided that the total number of members in the Legislative Assembly of a State shall in no case be more than 500 or less than 60.

(3a) The ratio between the number of members to be allotted to each territorial constituency in a State and the population of that constituency shall, so far as possible, be the same throughout the State.

(4) Upon the completion of each census, the representation of the several territorial constituencies in the Legislative Assembly of each State shall, subject to the provisions of Article 289 of the Constitution, be readjusted by such authority in such manner and with effect from such date as the legislature of the State may by law determine. Provided that such readjustment shall not

affect representation to the Legislative Assembly until the dissolution of the then existing Assembly.

The Provinces of Madras, Bombay, United Provinces, East Punjab, West Bengal and Bihar will have bi-cameral Legislatures.

Education Policy of India Government

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Education Minister of the Government of India, explained the education policy of the Government at a meeting of the Central Advisory Board of Education. He said, "We will not allow considerations of financial stringency to hold up for a day longer than is absolutely necessary the programme of universal, compulsory, and free basic education which is essential for building up the free and democratic India of our dreams."

Referring to the report of the Committee of Experts under the chairmanship of Mr. B. G. Kher on free and compulsory basic education for all, Maulana Azad said that according to it universal compulsory basic education can be introduced within a period of 16 years by two five-year and one six-year plans.

The first 5-year plan will aim at bringing such education to a major portion of the children of the country within the age group of 6-11; the second 5-year plan will extend compulsion to the remaining children of the same age group so that at the end of ten years all children between the ages of 6-11 will be under compulsory instruction.

The six-year plan will then extend the scope of compulsion to 14 so that at the end of 16 years the programme of eight years' basic education for children between 6-14 as envisaged by the C. A. B., will be completely realized.

The Committee also went into the question of finances and suggested that the Centre should provide 30 per cent of the expenses while the provinces and local bodies should find the remaining 70 per cent.

"The Ministry of Education have accepted this interim report," Maulana Azad said "and tried to provide funds in our next year's budget on that basis. In view of the economic and financial dangers to which I have already referred, it has not, however, been possible to provide for the entire amount."

"The Government have, however, provided funds for the training of teachers so that, as soon as the economic situation improves, we can go ahead with the programme of basic education."

Stressing the urgency of adult education in this connection, since democracy cannot be expected to function properly without high literacy, Maulana Azad observed: "For this we want not merely literacy, but mental development of the adults so that they can take an intelligent interest in the affairs of their country and the world. The scope of adult education has, therefore, been extended and to mark this change it is proposed to call it Social Education—Future. The Committee which was appointed to prepare a scheme of adult education for the country has submitted its report and has also suggested this change of name."

"The Government have generally accepted the recommendations of the Committee and I am glad to announce that, in spite of inflation and its attendant financial difficulties, we have been able to provide funds in next year's budget for the implementation of the plan.

"In order to make the programme of basic and social education one of immediate interest and utility to the villagers, it has been decided that the village schools will be not only places of instruction for the village children, but centres of community life in the villages. They will provide instruction to children, adolescents and adults and, in addition, serve as places of recreation and sport. It is also proposed to give the villagers practical training in some craft in order to improve their economic status and to organise sports and other forms of recreation for increasing their social and community sense.

"We have taken the help of the Ministers of Health, Labour, Information and Broadcasting and Agriculture and prepared a composite syllabus which will be gradually introduced in these schools."

The following 12-point programme will give a brief indication of the aims we have in view in the scheme of social and basic education:—

(1) The village school will be a centre of instruction of welfare work, sports and recreation for the entire village.

(2) Separate times will be allotted to children, adolescents and grown-ups.

(3) Certain days in the week will be reserved exclusively for girls and women.

(4) A number of motor vans fitted with projectors and loud speakers are being secured to visit the village schools. Films and magic lanterns will be shown and recording of talks played. It is proposed that each school will be visited at least once a week.

(5) Schools will be provided with radio sets and arrangements will be made for broadcasting special programmes for school children, adolescents and grown-up people in the light of the scheme of social education sketched above. About 140 sets have already been provided by the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, and more will be supplied as soon as possible.

(6) Popular dramas will be organised in the schools and from time to time prizes given for the best plays produced.

(7) There will be provision for teaching national and community songs.

(8) Arrangements will be made for giving simple instruction in some craft or industry suited to the locality.

(9) Lectures will be arranged in co-operation with the Ministries of Health, Agriculture and Labour to instruct villagers in the simple laws of social hygiene, methods of agriculture, cottage industries and co-operative activities.

(10) In co-operation with the Ministry of L. and B. suitable films and slides will be shown from time to time. Arrangements will also be made for visits of public men to speak to the villagers on problems of national importance. The help and assistance of public bodies interested in

constructive work will be invited to give effect to the programme of social education.

(11) Arrangements will be made for organising group games. Competitions will be held from time to time between different schools and villages.

(12) Periodic exhibitions, fairs and excursions will be organised.

Referring to the great financial difficulty which has compelled the Ministry of Education to slow down their programme in many aspects of the educational development of the country, Maulana Azad said, "This is a contingency which I cannot but regret and the more so when I remember the extremely inadequate provision made for education of all types in India. When we compare the figures for educational expenditure in India with those in other countries, I cannot help feeling that we have in fact not yet made a beginning with a programme of national education in the truest sense of the term."

"I have already referred to the extremely meagre educational budgets of the pre-Independence days. In spite of the progress made since then, I am sorry to say that the provision for education last year amounted to only Rs. 3,85,00,000 out of a total Central budget of Rs. 395 crores (excluding the railways), i.e., less than 1 per cent. During the same year, the total of the provincial budgets shows a figure of Rs. 247 crores of which only about 30.5 crore was spent on education. Thus in the case of India as a whole, only a little over 5 per cent has till now been spent for educational purposes and though the budget for 1949-50 will show a perceptible improvement, I must confess that the expenditure is not yet up to my expectations!

"These figures may be compared with the amounts spent on education in countries like the U.K. and the U.S.A. In U.K. the State spends on education £214,896,000 out of the total budgeted expenditure of £297,567,000. This represents about 7 per cent of the total budget, but in addition, another 4 per cent of the total expenditure is contributed by local bodies. Thus, in U.K., the proportion of expenditure on education of the total budget is about 11 per cent.

"In the U.S.A. the total national expenditure on education is the colossal figure of 12,00,500,000 dollars. The total budgeted expenditure of the Federal Government is in the neighbourhood of 40,000,000,000 dollars.

"Thus, for a population of about 50 millions, the U.K. is spending the sum of about £300 millions, and for a population of about 140 millions, the U.S.A. is spending 1200 million dollars.

"It may also be mentioned that according to the Steelman Report, the U.S.A. proposes to spend by 1957 one per cent of the total national income—not the State Revenue—for purposes of research alone in Universities and industries. This will represent a figure of something like 2,000 million dollars (approximately Rs. 750 crores). In addition, the U.S.A. Government proposes to provide a sum of about 800 million dollars (Rs. 100 crores) for equalising the opportunity of Secondary and University education for children of comparatively poorer parents.

"Similarly, Great Britain is spending £76.5 million (Rs. 110 crores) for fundamental and applied research.

"Not content with this, the British Government have now under consideration a proposal for further expanding the facilities for higher education by which from 1951 onward, over 90 per cent of the places in the Universities and institutions of higher learning will be free.

"In other words, the process of compulsory education which started in Great Britain in 1870 by providing universal free education at the primary stage and has continued since 1902 by the provision of free secondary education in the Grammar and the County schools has now been brought to its final fruition by making even University education for all practical purposes free and universal.

"No one can for a moment suggest that Great Britain has not her own financial and economic difficulties. This has not, however, prevented the implementation of her education expansion programmes, and we trust and hope that we, in India, also will not allow considerations of financial stringency to hold up for a day longer than is absolutely necessary the programme of universal compulsory and free basic education which is essential for building up the free and democratic India of our dreams.

Education Advisory Board's Resolution

The Central Advisory Board have made comprehensive recommendations, in a resolution passed by it, for Adult, Physical, Technical Education and preparation of Juvenile literature. The following is the text of the resolution:

(1) The State must undertake the responsibility of providing universal compulsory education for children of six-eleven age group within a period of ten years without detriment to facilities for secondary higher education. Special attention should be given to the question of such higher studies as will be necessary for increasing the industrial and agricultural potential of the country;

(2) The basic initial salary of a trained teacher should be Rs. 40 per month in a graded scale;

(3) In view of the pre-urgency, the board agreed that only for five years the teacher-pupil ratio may be one to forty instead of one to thirty, though from the educational point of view the change would be most undesirable. The ratio of one to thirty should be restored earlier if possible but in any case that position must be reviewed at the end of five years;

(4) While the Central Advisory Board of Education is aware that the present condition of the country has compelled some of the provinces to resort to the double-shift system in certain areas, the Board views that practice with disfavour and stresses that it should be given up as soon as conditions permit;

(5) Some increase in the fees in the post-compulsory stage of education may be permitted, provided a substantial number of free places are available to meritorious pupils in straitened circumstances;

(6) The Government may enact that an adequate percentage of the income of charitable trusts should be allocated towards the expense of education provided that the Government may exempt certain specified types of trusts from the operation of such law;

(7) Students after passing their Matriculation or equivalent examination should, if required, serve as teachers for social education for such period and under such conditions as may be prescribed;

(8) Voluntary efforts should be encouraged for meeting the capital and recurring cost of education and voluntary organisations should be induced to run educational institutions with such assistance from the Government as may be feasible;

(9) Wherever conditions permit, loans should be raised for meeting the capital cost or such part thereof as may be necessary;

(10) A fixed percentage of Central and Provincial revenue, about 10 per cent of the Central and 20 per cent of the Provincial, should be earmarked for education by the respective Governments;

(11) About 70 per cent of the expenditure on education should be borne by the local bodies and provinces and the remaining 30 per cent by the Centre;

(12) All contributions for education approved by the Provincial or Central Government should be exempted from Income Tax;

(13) The expenditure incurred on education by industrial or business concern should also, if approved by the Provincial or Central Government, be treated as establishment expenses for purpose of Income Tax.

The board took note of the interim report of the Committee on Physical Education and suggested that in preparing its final report the committee should keep the following two points in mind:

(1) In allocation of expenditure between Central and Provincial Governments for the implementation of the programme of physical education, the contribution of Central Government should be 50 per cent and not 30 per cent, and (2) the co-operation of the Ministry of Defence should be secured for furthering the development of physical education in the country and full benefit should be taken of the physical education schools maintained at Poona.

The Board recorded the progress made in the Central and Provincial development schemes and recommended that the pace of development of education at the Centre as well as in the Provinces should be accelerated.

The Board noted that scales of pay of the teachers in some of the provinces are still much below the scales recommended by the Central Advisory Board of Education and resolved that the Central Government should give urgent consideration to the matter and examine to what extent such provinces need special assistance to enable them to implement the recommended scales of pay.

The Board approved of the action taken by the Government of India in implementing the recommendation of the Board on the appointment of a University Education Commission.

The Board generally gave its approval to the proposal for enactment of Educational Statistical Act.

Accepting the proposal of Mr. Aryanayakam, the Board agreed that the Government of India should take immediate steps to study the scheme of basic education evolved in Sevagram and Bihar which promises to make the schools

appreciably; if not fully, self-supporting. The Board resolved that the source of financial help to be derived from the efficient working of the basic schools should also be tapped.

The report as adopted also recommends the setting up of a board of experts and technical men to examine the provincial schemes to recommend to the Government of India the payment of necessary grants for their implementation, to advise and make arrangement for preparation of literature and audio-visual aids, particularly films, charts, maps, etc., to co-ordinate activities of the Provincial Government in the field of social education, to receive periodical reports of the working of this scheme in different provinces and to suggest legislation or other administrative action for mobilising students, Government employees, etc., for furthering the schemes of social education.

The Board resolved that an enquiry may be made regarding the present procedure followed in the various provinces for recording the age of school children and steps taken to evolve a uniform procedure for recording age as correctly as practicable.

The Board resolved that certificates granted at the end of courses in technical high schools should be accorded proper recognition and the Government of India and the Provincial Governments should approach the proper authorities for necessary action.

The Board while appreciating the steps taken by the Central Government for the development of technical education resolved to move the Government (1) to take early decision on the question of the total grants to be paid to the existing technological institution for strengthening and improving them, and (2) to take immediate steps to organise adequate, suitable and practical training facilities for students from technical institutions.

The Board is of the view that the setting up of the Regional Committees of the All-India Council for Technical Education and the appointment of special technical officer for each of them is essential for the proper organisation of the technical education and training.

The Board further resolved that all forms of technical education including training in crafts and cottage industries should be under the direct supervision of the Ministry of Education of the Government of India or the Department of Education in Provincial Governments.

The Board generally approved the plan of Allahabad University for imparting physical education to men and women students and decided to refer this plan to the Inter-University Board for Examination as to its implementation by the other universities.

The Board recommended the appointment of a committee to prepare a scheme for compilation of juvenile literature.

The Board recommended that there should be at least one school for mentally or physically handicapped children in each province with appropriate staff.

Land Reclamation in India

Inaugurating a 10,000-acre land reclamation scheme by tractors at Patharia in the Central Provinces, Sri

Jairamdas Daulatram, India's Food and Agriculture Minister, revealed the land reclamation scheme that the Government of India had adopted. He said:

"India, agriculturally, has to start with a great handicap. A year or two's efforts in a normal way can effect no radical change where our chief means of agricultural production, land and water, have both shrunk materially in proportion to population. Since August, 1947, our great task has been to produce out of less land and still less irrigated land enough food to feed a greater proportion of population. But, however big the task, it has to be fulfilled and however great the difficulties, they have to be overcome.

"It is for the fulfilment of this task and for overcoming all these difficulties that your own people's Government in the country wants the co-operation of all of you. I would like the agriculturists of the Central Provinces to realise the opportunities which are being given to them to tender this co-operation.

"There are vast tracts in the province which have become infested with weed and which today can yield nothing either to the agriculturists or the country. It has been estimated that in your province 6 lakhs of acres are in this condition. The Central Government with the full co-operation of your Provincial Government is trying to reclaim this large unfruitful area for you and the country.

"Today about 100 tractors sent from Delhi are ready for fresh operations so that in place of being overrun by unsightly weeds we may see the fields of your province laden with health-giving wheat. These six lakhs of 'kans'-infested lands of your province is only a little bit of the huge area of 6½ crores of acres of cultivable waste land which we have inherited as our share when freedom was won and partition effected.

"To convert all this stupendous area of cultivable waste land into smiling fields of corn is a mighty problem, which must occupy several years. But we have planned an immediate programme of reclaiming about one-tenth of this area in the immediate future.

"Forty lakhs of acres infested with weed or 'kans' or 'hariari' in the provinces of C. P., U. P. and Bombay and the States of Madhya Bharat, Vindhya Pradesh and Bhopal are to be immediately reclaimed.

"Besides this area there is other uncultivated waste land not infested by any harmful weed which also has been included in the present programme. This would cover another 22 lakh acres. Thus a total area of 62 lakh acres is intended to be included in a programme which, beginning towards the end of the present year, is expected to be completed in the course of about six years. Every season thus, new land will be coming under the plough and yielding us badly needed foodgrains in an increasing measure from year to year.

"In this scheme of reclamation, 14 lakh acres are to be ploughed up in Madhya Bharat, 10 in U. P., 9 in C. P. and 5 each in Bombay, Orissa, East Punjab, Bhopal, Vindhya Pradesh and 4 lakhs in East Punjab.

States. All this will require investment of large funds and great supply of technical personnel and considerable organizing effort.

"As regards the funds it is proposed to borrow the necessary finance from the International Bank."

The cost of the tractor operations for every acre is Rs. 40, half of which will be recovered from the owner of the land in three easy instalments by the Government. The other half of the total expenditure will be shared equally by the Central and Provincial Governments on a fifty-fifty basis of Rs. 10 each.

Rashtriya Swyam-Sevak Sangha.

We are glad that the Rashtriya Swyam-Sevak Sangha have at last been persuaded to withdraw their campaign of defiance against the ban and interdiction imposed on their public activities. When the Nehru Government struck against this organization public opinion in Maharashtra, where its main strength lay, appears to have resented this attack. The *Indian Social Reformer* of Bombay reproducing a speech of Dr. Raghunath Paranjpye, once Principal of the Fergusson College and lately Consul-General of India in Australia, appeared to suggest that the speech represented "the general feeling in Poona."

Dr. Raghunath belongs to the Liberal Party in Indian politics; as a social reformer he could not have had any sympathy for the cause represented by the Sangha. Yet he stated quite clearly that the R. S. S. Sangha "does make a fervent appeal to many young students just as the Congress does to others, probably the latter being far more numerous." He deplored, therefore, with "every lover of the country" that there should be "this fratricidal war—for, the R. S. S. and the Congress are indeed brothers," that the "available national energy" should thus be lost. We believe that considerations like these must have influenced the leadership of the organization and the Government to make it up so soon. Dr. Raghunath appeared to have gone further; he asked the Government that the "two enthusiasms" represented by the Sangha and the Congress respectively should be canalized into a co-operative effort. We find ourselves in sympathy with this appeal. The suspension by the R. S. S. Sangha of their defiance of law opens out an opportunity for such a desirable move.

Hyderabad and the Nizam.

Everything is quiet on the Hyderabad front except the bickerings between members of the State Congress Committee. We do not know how the mind of the Central Government has been moving in the matter of Hyderabad's future. We have heard of a Constituent Assembly specially convened deciding it. Meanwhile, the Nizam, Mir Osman Ali Khan, has become the centre of many speculations.

Reputed to be the richest person in the world, the future disposal of his wealth has become a subject of heated controversy. We have seen an estimate which

says that the income of the Nizam is about Rs. 70,000 a day; his private estate known as Sarf-i-Khas covers 1,961 villages with a population of 15 lakhs and a yearly income of about two crores of rupees. The *Hindu* of Madras recently published a news-item that the Nizam's privy purse was going to be fixed at one crore of rupees a year. This is 40 lakhs of rupees more than that granted by the British Parliament to its king.

The Prime Minister of India announced during his recent visit to Hyderabad that the Military Governor had been instructed to set up a committee to go into the problem created by the Sarf-i-Khas, and other Jagirs numbering about 1,167. If the enquiry is held and its recommendations implemented betimes, one-third of the State's peasantry will be freed from age-long oppression. Pandit Nehru's announcement is being regarded as "revolutionary." And we hope that the people of Hyderabad will soon control their own affairs, and will have an opportunity to lead a life of dignity and prosperity.

Linguistic Provinces

Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya has been one of the pioneers of the Linguistic Provinces Movement. It has been claimed that it was due to his efforts that the Andhra Province was put on the Congress geography of India leading to the inauguration of other Congress Provinces on the basis of differences in language. It was natural for Dr. Pattabhi to feel dissatisfied with the report of the Dar Commission appointed by Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Constituent Assembly. During his recent speeches at Madras the Congress President has been quite free in his criticism of the Dar Commission.

A Bombay weekly contemporary suggests that the Congress should not have appointed its three-men committee, consisting of Dr. Pattabhi, Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel, and interposed its influence between the Dar Commission's commendations and their implementation. It seems to be suggested that a commission appointed on behalf of the Constituent Assembly should be beyond Congress jurisdiction. We are afraid that this plea cannot be sustained.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad's competence to appoint the Commission with its limited reference has been challenged by many; we have reasons to believe that Ministers of the Central Government are among them. And not unnaturally the Dar Commission's findings have been subjected to vigorous criticism. We are at one with one Bombay contemporary, however, when he said that Dr. Pattabhi should have observed 'discreet silence' in the matter when he is a member of Committee appointed by the Congress in this behalf. But there are other reasons for criticism which need discussion.

Dr. Pattabhi has left his crusader days, in support of Linguistic Provinces idea, behind. He thinks that South India suffers specially from this ungainly arrange-

ment of multi-lingual Provinces, that North India is not as afflicted. We cannot share this selfish view; the Linguistic Provinces idea is concerned with the better integration of India, each language area contributing its contentment to the general fund. At present in Bihar, in Assam, in Orissa, and even in Central India, there is great dissatisfaction with group arrogance; people different in language from the dominant clique are being victimized.

The leadership of the Congress, as well as the Central Government are still pursuing the famed ostrich policy ignoring the disruptive tendency of linguistic dissatisfactions. The partition of Bengal has created a situation which is having its repercussions in the neighbouring provinces. Unless tackled in time, it can act as an explosive. Recent events at Calcutta have demonstrated the dangerous possibilities of the problem.

Bihar's Anti-Oriya Policy

Sardar Patel, in a speech at Baroda, sounded a note of warning against provincialism and said that provincial differences, like communalism, should be anathema to us. On the day his speech was published, was also published a joint statement of the Presidents of the Seraikella and Kharswan State Congress Committees which gives a graphic account of how Bihar has launched an onslaught against the Oriya language and culture of these States. These two States have been amalgamated into Bihar by Sardarji's department in the most arbitrary fashion. The wishes of the people of the State were violated and there was bloodshed before the States were formally handed over to Bihar. Bihar has now opened a second front on Oriyas in these States simultaneously with its anti-Bengali drive in Manbhum. We fully agree with Sardarji in his condemnation of provincialism, but we must also confess our inability to admire the reasons for his sphinx-like silence about Bihar's organised drive on Bengali and Oriya speaking people of that province.

The following is the text of the statement referred to above:

"Seraikella and Kharswan are two purely Oriya States which were integrated with Bihar province a few months ago. The Bihar authorities here are out to uproot Oriya language and culture. The people are denied their fundamental rights. Introduction of Hindi as medium of education and forcible transfer of competent Oriya teachers without any reasons and substituting them by Biharis who know nothing about Oriya languages and culture have created great sensation amongst the public in general.

"The situation here is growing worse day by day. For immediate solution of the present problems here the administration of Seraikella and Kharswan should be transferred at once to Orissa. India Government's prompt action towards this popular and legitimate demand of two and a half lakhs of Oriyas is earnestly requested before it is too late.

"A cultural meeting of 10,000 people of all commu-

nities was called on January 19 last where the Ruler of Seraikella was requested to preside. People from distant villages gathered. Just an hour before the meeting the Additional District Commissioner of Singhbhum with some armed forces arrived on the spot and refused to allow a meeting on the plea of Bihar Safety Act.

"In protest of forcible introduction of Hindi language in the place of Oriya 700 boys and girls of Seraikella and Kharswan schools have gone on strike from January 19 which they have determined to continue till their demands are fulfilled.

"Telegrams to this effect have been sent to the Deputy Prime Minister of India, the Education Minister, and the President of Indian National Congress.

India's Food Shortage

The latest note from New Delhi gave the information that India will have to import about 4 million tons of food materials. A spokesman of the Central Food Department had told us that the cost would be approximately Rs. 100 crores. The cause of this scarcity has not been fully told. In a recent issue of the Madras *Free Press* appeared an article by Dr. Natarajan, Economic Adviser to the Provincial Government, which throws some light on the subject. Though the discussion has been confined to the southern Presidency, it can be accepted, as a representation of the sorry state of things all over India.

Madras, we are told, has been a deficit area for over a century. During the first quarter of the last century British administrators told us that the district of Tanjore was the second largest fertile area in India, the first being Burdwan in Bengal. Since then things have grown worse. At one time Orissa and Bengal sent her foodgrains, then came Burma. The crisis came in 1942 when the Japanese over-ran the country, a deficit of 3 lakh tons was created, added to which was the growing population pressure increasing at the rate of 5 lakhs a year. The food requirement was 7.123 million tons; during 1938-43 it just managed to pull through with a production of 7.227 million tons. Today the actual supplies are 64.66 million tons leaving a deficit of about 10 per cent at a 16 oz. ration per adult per day.

Dr. Natarajan says that the remedy is "simple," the multiplication and distribution of improved seeds alone would step up production by about 10 per cent, and the application of more manures by another 7 to 8 per cent. The Government of Madras appears to have concentrated activities on these two schemes as well as on a well-sinking campaign costing about Rs. 4 crores. But the weather has been specially cruel during the last 4 years; cyclones and "unprecedented" failure of harvests, bottle-necks in the supply of manures have been plenty, and but for the Grow More Food campaign, things might have been worse.

But other factors appear to have taken a hand in changing "the agricultural economy of the Province," of which the decline of acreage under millets has contributed most to decline in food production; it was 13,259.

million acres in 1941-42; in 1947-48 it was 10,979 million acres; ground-nut cultivation has gained at millet's expense. And the controversy over food crops *versus* money crops has complicated matters. Even agriculturists prefer "mixed" crops, as in the prevailing market money crops command a distinct advantage. Dr.

Natarajan suggests a "medium term plan"—redoubled effort in intensified cultivation, reclamation and colonization schemes, expansion of the acreage under millets, and "more than all these," the effective utilization of 27,000 tanks by means of repair and renovation. The services of village communes should be requisitioned; "time-consuming and elaborate scrutiny" should be minimized thereby and "red-tape cut out;" village labour should be harnessed and the work completed in 3 to 5 years.

The major irrigation works like the Tungabhadra project, the Ramapadasagar and Krishna-Pennar projects are expected to bring 5.5 million acres under cultivation, thus making Madras not only a self-sufficient area but a surplus area like Orissa which has increased its exports of foodgrains in 1947-48 to 1,50,000 tons from 90,000 tons in 1944-45.

Economies in Pakistan

Considerable economies in the administration of Pakistan have been suggested by the Parliamentary Committee appointed to examine the level of expenditure in Ministries and Departments. The appointment of the Committee was proposed by the Finance Minister of Pakistan in his first Budget speech last February. The committee submitted its report in September last. It has now been made available for publication.

Outstanding among the committee's victims are the Education Division of the Ministry of Interior, the Information Division, the Ministry of Food, the Ministry of Communications and the Ministry of States. Interesting points elicited by the Committee under the headings of Finance and Communications are that Excise costs 12½ per cent of total receipts under the head for collection whereas the Committee considers 5 per cent a reasonable charge. It also reveals that the E. B. Railways working expenses work out at 108 per cent of the gross earnings and those of the N. W. Railway at 72 per cent. In the Post and Telegraph services income has not yielded the anticipated revenue and, whereas in undivided India working expenses came to about 66 per cent of receipts, the Department of Pakistan is working at an estimated annual loss of Rs. 48 lakhs.

Heavy cuts are suggested in the Information Division, including the Press Information Department, Foreign Publicity, the Publicity Department, the Office of the Advertising Consultant and in Broadcasting. Speaking of the Press Information Department the Committee says that a review of its work has shown that the expenditure involved is not commensurate with the results achieved. "There has been considerable criticism of our foreign publicity methods and this has been used by the department as a lever to increase the staff. The remedy, in the opinion of the committee, does not lie in augmen-

ting the staff but in manning the organisation by really competent persons." Cuts of at least 50 per cent are recommended here also in appointments. The Office of the Advertising Consultant has been recommended to be abolished. Broadcasting is considered overstaffed and gradings too high.

Economies in the Ministry of Food are suggested in the sphere of procurement. The conservation of food supplies, it is suggested, would be adequately met by increasing the anti-smuggling drive, which is the responsibility of the provinces and States. Increased payment of awards to police and informers, it is suggested, would be more efficacious than a top-heavy headquarter staff at Karachi.

Under the Ministry of State it is proposed to abolish a number of appointments in the Frontier area, diminishing the staff of the Governor of the NWFP. It is considered that the Governor should be able to do his work in connection with the tribal areas without the assistance of the Political Resident in the NWFP and the President on special duty and that there is no justification for the continuance of additional staff sanctioned during the war. Several posts of Assistant Political Agents have been recommended for abolition.

Cuts of 30 per cent are suggested in the staff of the Chief Controller of Import and Export, considerable reduction in CPWD circles and, in the Ministry of Defence, once armed forces reorganisation is complete, stabilisation of the GHQ strength at not more than the pre-war level of GHQ in undivided India.

Indians in South Africa

The news of Indians resident in South Africa, and the Zulus and Bantus, indigenous inhabitants of the country, fighting amongst themselves killing and maiming one another is a supreme tragedy. It demonstrates once more that Indian emigration under British auspices to the West Indies, to South Africa, to Mauritius, to Ceylon, to Burma, to Fiji has not been a blessing to our people. The British sent out of India's illimitable labour forces numbers of men and women to countries outside India so that British capital may profit by exploiting the natural resources of these countries. And our people have been content to accept this arrangement as it allowed about 4 million (40 lakhs) Indians to live in more comfort than what their country can provide.

The South African whites, the ruling class in the country, may have demonstrated their crudeness in their dealings with the half a million (two and a half lakhs) Indians in their country whose ancestors had been invited to build up South Africa's wealth. Today the majority of them, born in South Africa and brought up there, are as good nationals of the country as the Bantus, the Zulus, the Boers and the Britons. The whites are afraid of the Indian capacity to work with brain and brawn; and as the power of the State is under their control, they are determined to use it to eliminate the competition of Indians.

But how is the outburst on the part of the Zulus and Bantus directed against Indians to be explained?

The three of them are equal sufferers to the racialism of South African whites; they should have been able to build up a united front against the common injustice. Instead, we find them killing one another! And in our natural anger in India we do not direct attention to this phase of this strange phenomenon. It is up to leaders of South African Indians to throw light on it so that the Government of India may be properly advised. Sentimentalism and condemnation will not be much of a help. The accident of India and South Africa forming units of a single "Commonwealth" has not been able to secure justice to Indians in South Africa, nor protect their life, honour and property.

We have seen it suggested that the section of Zulus and Bantus who have been trained in modern ways of life have begun to grow jealous of their Indian neighbours; and that the South African whites found it easy to fan this jealousy and turn it into a flame of inter-racial pogrom. There is nothing new in this tactics; our recent experience of Muslim League zealotry should explain the matter to us. The whites have for long been threatening to oust Indians wholesale out of South Africa. Are we to believe that the original inhabitants of the country have joined in this game?

British Policy in Western Asia

The *Times*, London, in an editorial (dated, January 19) gives a graphic picture of the foundations of British policy in the Middle East, or more correctly, Western Asia. British interests in this region, which are the core and substance of the Israel-Arab conflict controversy, have been simply stated. They have changed little during the past 200 years and are claimed to be as valid today as they were in the time of Napoleon. Today, they are also, to a very large extent, the interests of the whole Western world. The Middle East is a bridge between Asia and Africa and a road between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean. Britain can protect her African Empire and safeguard her communications with the Far East only if this vital area remains peaceful and well disposed towards her and if no hostile Power gains a predominant position there. So long as these conditions are fulfilled it follows that Britain will also be able to obtain the raw materials of the region and particularly oil; but even if oil had never been discovered in Persia or Arabia, the Middle East, claims the *Times*, would still be of the first importance. Oil has given the Middle East a new and dangerous value, but geography is still the master.

Because of these enduring interests Britain has shown a natural tendency to support the *status quo* in the Middle East. In the nineteenth century, the British Government preferred the Turkish Empire, with all its faults and weaknesses, to the dangers of its dissolution. It was only when Germany obtained a dominant position in Turkey that this policy was

finally abandoned. Today there is the same reluctance to see the same system of independent Arab States disturbed by war or revolution, though in this case there is the added justification that the system was designed to enable the Arab States to develop their own independence. The Middle East and, indeed, the whole Islamic world, is already in the middle of a profound revolution. Faced with the challenge of Western ideas and Western technical progress, each of the States and nations of this vast region has been forced to choose between imitating the West or taking refuge in the instinctive reaction of zealots like the Senussi of Cyrenaica or the Wahabis of Saudi Arabia. The sudden emergence of the new Jewish State of Israel, superior not only in arms but in the whole technique of economic life and in the discipline and fervour of its people, has dramatised a conflict which has been going on for a long time. To take but one example, it is almost impossible to exaggerate the advantage enjoyed in modern war by an army whose soldiers can read over one whose soldiers are illiterate.

At present the States of the Middle East are at widely different stages of development. At one extreme are primitive States, like Saudi Arabia, which still retain the old paternal authority and tribal organisation of society; and for that reason still preserve some discipline and cohesion. At the other are the few States who have already had their revolution and stand today as modern nations in the Western sense. In this class, only Turkey and Israel can truly be counted—both significantly, non-Arab. In between are the majority, torn between progress and reaction, between old religion and new knowledge, between the peasant and the bedouin on the one hand and the new middle class and the proletariat on the other. It is these countries, with their few big cities and backward agriculture, their wealthy merchants and poverty-stricken millions; their unstable and unrepresentative Governments, which form the weak links in the Middle East, and, says the *Times*, unfortunately it is on these that British policy has largely been based. This weakness has now been recognised by Britain and Mr. Bevin's utterances in debates on Middle East show that the British Labour Government is trying hard to get out of the unenviable position in which they have found themselves.

China's Travail

A Nanking news dated January 21 (1949) told us that President Chiang Kai-shek has left the capital of the Republic after divesting himself of all State powers and privileges. He has bade adieu to his people whom he has led for about 20 years as leader of the Kuo-min-tang party organized by Dr. Sun Yat-sen, founder of the Republic. During these two decades and more China under his inspiring leadership has withstood Japanese attacks for about 12 years. The invasion of Manchuria by Japan took place in 1931-32; the "China Incident" of Japan that had burst out in July, 1937, developed into an all-

out war during which China fought alone till December, 1941. The United States and Britain got entangled into this war when Japan attacked Pearl Harbour and Malaya. Thus the war in China became part of the second Great War of the 20th century.

During these war-years Chiang Kai-shek stood forth as the symbol of China's heroic spirit. He lost battles, retreated into China's unknown south-west; established a new capital at Chungking in the Province of Yunnan. The people fled and suffered, had their houses burnt over their heads, had their crops burnt and looted. But they held fast to their resolve to fight the "barbarian" from across the Japan sea. It has been claimed that this miracle became possible because the Marxist Party in China had been able to put before the Chinese peasant and artisan a new philosophy of conduct, a new programme of social and economic justice. The name of Mao-tse-Tung has become classic in this connection as an organizer of victory, as an upholder of the morale of the commonalty of the land. It is claimed that he and not Chiang Kai-shek is the true inheritor of the *San Min Chu I*—Three Principles of the People—laid down by Dr. Sun Yat-sen.

We are not competent to argue this controversy. But our people and our leaders in State and society have to analyse carefully the various factors of Kuo-min-tang's defeat in China, to understand their significance in the new set-up in which India will be required to play a part, big or small. We have seen the United States pouring out into China millions in the shape of materials for war and peace; she made available experts in war and peace to fight communism in China and to help build up her war-shattered economy. This incalculable help and support have not been able to maintain the Kuo-min-tang regime. The United States can still maintain the same volume of help in men and money. But she appears to be doubtful of success, and has been withdrawing her hands a little. And the question is being posed all over the world—what will be the consequences of this travail in China, of the debacle that has overtaken Chiang Kai-shek?

We do not presume to prophesy. A country of such vast dimensions, inhabited by about 450 million (45 crores) men and women, cannot go out into obscurity in this age of the air-plane and atomic power. The leadership of the world will not allow it just as India, our country, will not be allowed to retire into her Himalayan contemplations. We are being taught that the world has already been divided into two warring Blocs. The United States is leader of one; the Soviet Union of the other. The retirement of Chiang Kai-shek from active politics in China creates a vacuum which will draw both these leading powers into this region of Asia. They can clash in their on-coming; it is the familiar dynamics of politics. Can they co-operate in filling up this vacuum? On the answer to this question hangs the fate of hundreds of million men and women. The world waits with anxiety and suspense, for the reply cannot be deferred much longer.

"Nehru Government" and "Big Business"

The Finance Minister of the Indian Union, Dr. John Mathai, the Industry and Supply Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukherji and the Labour Minister, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, have all in their various ways tried to cajole "Big Business" into playing the game, combined with threats for recalcitrance. The futility of this technique of rule was brought out in the *Indian Social Reformer*, the Bombay weekly, representative of non-partisan opinion. Its comments are so very apposite that we make below room for these:

Speaking last week at Ahmedabad, Mr. Jagjivan Ram, Minister for Labour in the Union Government, strongly condemned the profiteering propensities of the millowners. Complaining that crores of rupees had been lost to the Government treasuries, Mr. Jagjivan Ram threatened drastic remedies if capitalists did not mend their ways. There is nothing new in all this, even in the threat. Every time a leading member of the Government of India addresses the public on Labour or on Industry we have these explosions. Nothing follows, except a vague sense of public satisfaction that the Government has rightly assessed the business community. On other occasions, distinguished Ministers are commending the co-operative mood of Business in almost fulsome words. And that too serves no purpose except to confuse the public. The peculiar technique of treating Business alternately as a criminal and as a valued partner is evidently expected to yield good results to the country. The Government of today, however, forgets that this is the first time it is dealing with Business whilst Business has managed many governments. If crores of rupees are escaping the treasuries, then why does not the Government take action to stop the leak? Or does it expect that by mere talk the whole condition will be altered?

Sariputta and Maha Moggallana

The celebrations that took place on the 13-14th January last in this city of Calcutta renew for us the memories of a spiritual heritage dating back to the days when the Buddha, the Enlightened One, walked this earth. The relics of two disciples of his, which had been taken to Britain, were transferred to the homeland of Buddhism; and the Prime Minister of the Indian Union received them on behalf of our people. The Maha Bodhi Society initiated the negotiations with the British Government; these were first sent to Ceylon where they were received with State honours; Rangoon had the honour of welcoming these wherefrom they were transferred to Colombo again. From Calcutta they will be taken to New Delhi and housed there till their original home is repaired and made fit for their reception.

This return of the relics of the two chief disciples of Buddha—Sariputta (son of Sari), Moggallana (son of Moggali)—is a symbol of the new dignity that India has attained. The Buddhist world stretching from Ladak to Japan has on the present occasion realized anew the spiritual heritage to which they are heirs even today after two thousand years. During

these centuries these non-Indian Buddhists have kept contact with their spiritual home; and the present ceremonies made vivid the consciousness of this kinship amongst about 90 crores of men and women.

On the two men who lived and worked twenty-five hundred years back, their Master had put the seal of his appreciation. The *Sacca Vibhanga Sutta* records it thus: "Like a mother, O disciples! is Sariputta; a wet-nurse is Moggallāna." Their title to remembrance as the builders of the Buddhist Church is enshrined in these words.

Tej Bahadur Sapru

A jurist with wide reputation, a sober and sedate politician in the Indian context, Tej Bahadur Sapru has departed this world full of honours. Born in 1875, his life has been a chapter of all-round success; he rose to the highest offices reserved for Indians under the British dispensation. Belonging to the earlier generation of Congress leaders, Tej Bahadur Sapru could not reconcile himself to the ways of Balwant Gangadhar Tilak and later of Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. But in his own right and under the impulse of his own view of Indo-British relations, he was as valiant a defender of his people's self-respect as anybody amongst his contemporaries. He acted, often successfully, as a peace-maker between Indian Nationalists and the British Government. Mr. Mukund Ram Jayakar was an invariable collaborator of his in these missions.

In his own life he represented a synthesis of cultures that was described by the Prime Minister of the Indian Union—"a Britisher" in habits of life, a "Muslim in culture," and "born a Hindu by accident." The richness of such a life could live only in ordered peace; this was what had recommended the British regime to the generation of which Tej Bahadur Sapru was an ornament. He lived to see the end of that regime. But unfortunately for the country, he could not contribute out of his experience and wisdom the patterns of conduct that would ennoble his people's life. For about two years he had lain on the sick-bed—a torture to his wide-awake mind. This has ended, bringing relief to his body.

Syed Abdullah Brelvi

The death of the editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* before he attained sixty years of age is a distinct loss to Indian journalism. Nursed in the traditions of Benjamin Guy Horniman, first editor of the *Bombay Chronicle*, Abdullah Brelvi with his quiet nature was a contrast to his more aggressive "Master." This was reflected in his conduct of affairs when he became the "chief" at Red Building, Fort, Bombay. Abdullah Brelvi was a Nationalist Muslim who suffered at the hands of Muslim League Pakistanis for his disbelief in their "two-nations" theory. His early life trained him to appreciate and value the composite view of

India's life round which has been evolving the principles and practices of Indian Nationalism. When the Pakistani frenzy reached its zenith, a reaction set in amongst the Hindus, and Nationalist Muslims became suspects in their eyes. This was a tragedy for them, as they had the worst of both the worlds—communalism and nationalism. This heart-breaking experience tested Abdullah Brelvi's integrity, and he came out of it with flying colours. We sympathised with him during those days, and today mourn the loss of a colleague who fought for India's unity and integrity with such superb courage. In life he had been serene; in death his soul will be in peace under the great Task-master's eyes.

G. A. Natesan

Death has been busy plying his scythe among the tallest of Indian public men and publicists. The founder-editor of the *Indian Review* of Madras, the organiser of the Publishing House of his own name, is no more. He has been a pillar of public life in the southern Presidency, since 1900. The *Indian Review* under his guidance has been an organ of public opinion in India, unswayed by passion and prejudice, attuned to the highest needs of India's good. G. A. Natesan and Co. has specialized in National Literature embracing all departments of life.

G. A. Natesan belonged to the generation which could work with faith in Britain's declared policy of ordered political progress in India. But when the Swadeshi and anti-Partition movement of Bengal burst over the country, he and his contemporaries could not but feel uneasy with the portents of "grimness" that threatened to upset it. Moderate by nature in the expression of popular feelings, G. A. Natesan responded to the call of Indians resident in South Africa threatened by the arrogance of the white ruling race; he was a valued helper to Gandhiji in his fight against this inequity.

Zahid Suhrawardy

The death of the father of the last Chief Minister of undivided Bengal removes one of the last remnants of the old Bengal that was a pioneer of progress in India. Belonging to a family of scholars with sweetness and light as its beacon-light, Zahid Suhrawardy adorned every sphere of life to which he belonged. Retiring as a Judge of the Calcutta High Court, the last years of his life were passed during tumults and shouts in which one of his two sons had been a virulent protagonist.

He has closed his eyes on the light of Bengal where he grew up to manhood and its maturity. That Bengal has passed away today, and there is a fitness in his departure from the world that he knew and that has vanished from our view. His death recalls many memories of a co-operative life built up by the Hindu and the Muslim in Bengal. As a representative of that age he commanded our respect.

INDIAN STATES AND THE FUTURE CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

By D. N. BANERJEE, M.A.,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

I

The Present Position

THE solution made *so far*, through the processes of accession, merger, integration, and democratization, of the highly intricate problem of the Indian States situated within the geographical orbit of the Indian Dominion, in relation to the Dominion itself, is undoubtedly an achievement of tremendous importance on the part of the Government of India. As the Hon'ble Sardar Patel, Member for the States Department of the Government of India, observed on 5th July, 1947, in the course of a most statesmanlike statement, these States are not merely geographically contiguous to India even as she is to-day, but also indissolubly bound to her by many ties of economic, cultural, political and, I may add, strategic character. It was but an accident that some of the people of India formerly lived in the States and some in British India; but they were all "knit together by bonds of blood and feeling no less than of self-interest." It is, therefore, only natural that the States must maintain relations of mutual friendship and co-operation with India. Their own safety and preservation as well as the safety and preservation of India demand unity and mutual co-operation between them. Is it not a lesson of history, as Sardarji very rightly pointed out, that it was owing to her political fragmentation and our consequent inability in the past to make a united stand that India succumbed to successive waves of invaders? Our mutual conflicts, and internecine quarrels and jealousies were in those days the cause of our downfall and our falling victims to foreign domination a number of times. We could not, therefore, afford to fall into those errors or traps again.

Unfortunately, the political and geographical integrity of our country has been destroyed by that most unwise and unnatural measure, namely, the partition of India. Nevertheless, as the White Paper on Indian States¹ has rightly said, the unity of what was to be left of India after the partition, was a vital necessity not only for the political strength, full economic development and cultural expression of the Indian people, but also for facing the aftermath of the partition. In spite of the amputation of what has been very aptly described by Professor Coupland as its "Muslim limbs in the north-west, and north-east," the heart of India had to be conserved, and this required, to quote the White Paper again, "a common centre for the whole country including the Indian States, able to function effectively in the Provinces and States alike in matters requiring all-India

action." This has been achieved through the accession of the States within its geographical orbit to the Dominion of India. This accession is certainly a momentous event in India's chequered history, and has established a new and more organic relationship between the States and the Government of India." For the first time, indeed, after hundreds of years, our great country has, *at least for the time being*, become welded into a single constitutional entity to all intents and purposes. This is certainly "not a mean achievement"!

The real significance of this great achievement can be appreciated only if it is viewed against its historical background.

"For over a century," says the White Paper referred to before, "the States had been a sealed book so far as the leaders of public opinion in British India were concerned. High walls of political isolation had been reared up and buttressed to prevent the infiltration of the urge for freedom and democracy into the Indian States. Disruptive tendencies had been sedulously cultivated and encouraged and proposals for not only one but several Rajasthans were in the air. There were not a few who nursed the hope that, overwhelmed by the combined weight of the partition of India and disruption of the States, the Government of India would go under."

British Imperialists fondly hoped, indeed, that there would be hundreds of Ulsters in India. Their hopes, however, have been frustrated!

So far as the integration of States is concerned, it has up till now been effected, first, by the merger of 219 States in some of the Provinces of India; secondly, by the consolidation of 22 States into centrally administered areas; and, thirdly, by the consolidation of small States into sizeable and viable administration units, on the basis of a full transfer of power from the Rulers to the people. As a result of this third process of integration we have today the United State of Kathiawar (Saurashtra), the United State of Matsya, the United State of Vindhya Pradesh, the United State of Rajasthan, the United State of Gwalior, Indore and Malwa, and, lastly, the Patiala and East Punjab States Union. In addition, there are some States which are recognized administratively viable units by themselves, and which, therefore, continue as separate entities. They constitute a separate group.

This "integration of all elements in this country in a free, united and democratic India," this "bloodless revolution" in our political life, is a proof not merely of the statesmanship and constructive genius of the Government of India—and, particularly, of its States Depart-

¹ Published by the Government of India.

ment—but also of the spirit of public service and patriotism of the Rulers of Indian States. Indeed, the latter may well claim, as the White Paper has nicely put it, “to be co-architects in building a free and democratic India in which the people of the Provinces and the people of the States will enjoy alike the full measure of freedom and march together as citizens of free India.”

II

A Potential Danger

Although the accession of Indian States to the Dominion of India has, as noted before, established a more intimate and organic relationship between the States and the Government of India, yet there is one difficulty in the present position which it would be unwise to ignore in this connexion. This difficulty lies in the terms of the Instruments of Accession executed by the Rulers of States which “exercised full jurisdiction,” as opposed to the States in respect of which the Crown Representative formerly exercised some powers and jurisdiction: I mean the difficulty created by clauses 7 and 8 of the said Instruments of Accession. Clause 7 of the Instrument says that

“Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit me (i.e., the Ruler of an Acceding State) in any way to (the) acceptance of any future Constitution of India or to fetter my discretion to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future constitution.”

And Clause 8 thereof says that

“Nothing in this Instrument affects the continuance of my (i.e., the Ruler’s) sovereignty in and over this State (i.e., the Acceding State), or, save as provided by or under this Instrument, the exercise of any powers, authority and rights now enjoyed by me as Ruler of this State or the validity of any law at present in force in this State.”

These clauses have been duly accepted by the Governor-General of India, along with the other clauses of the Instruments of Accession executed by the States referred to above. Now it is evident from clause 7 of the Instrument of Accession as quoted above that the accession of the States in question—and these are some of the major Indian States like Baroda, Mysore, Travancore, etc.—is purely provisional, and that there is no commitment on their part so far as the future is concerned. That is to say, theoretically speaking, they may refuse to have any organic connexion with the future Constitution of India.² Besides, clause 8 of the Instrument of Accession affirms in categorical terms the

sovereignty of the Rulers concerned “in and over” these States. Nor should we forget in this connexion a declaration by His Excellency Lord Mountbatten as Crown Representative. In the course of an address to the Rulers and Representatives of Indian States delivered on 25th July, 1947, in the Chamber of Princes, His Excellency declared:

“Now, the Indian Independence Act³ releases the States from all their obligations to the Crown. The States have complete freedom—technically and legally they are independent.”

Strictly speaking this was to be the position of the Indian States from the 15th of August, 1947. In view of all this it is difficult to say that the relation of these Acceding States to India is now really, as has been claimed in many quarters,⁴ of a federal character. Juristically speaking this relation is of the same nature as subsists among the “member States” of a Confederation.

“And in a Confederation,” says Professor Willoughby,⁵ a distinguished American publicist, “the member States retain their full sovereignty and legal independence and strictly speaking, no central State is created. There is a common or central government but no central sovereignty. The Central Government is thus nothing more than the common organ or complexus of organs which the severally sovereign States establish and maintain for the carrying out of purposes with reference to which these States have agreed to act as a unit..... The instrument which defines the powers of the Central Government and the corresponding obligations of the States may be known as a Constitution, but, accurately speaking, it is nothing more than a treaty or compact between the States and derives its validity from their consent to it.”

“This being the juristic nature of a confederacy,” he further observes, “any member State may withdraw from it without being chargeable with the commission of an illegal act, and this is so even though the articles of confederation may provide for a perpetual union. Such a withdrawal by one or more States may..... furnish serious grounds for complaint upon the part of the States remaining within the confederation, but it cannot be properly asserted by them that the secession is an illegal or unconstitutional act.”

Moreover, in a Confederation “each member State retains the right to determine whether or not it will permit the enforcement within its limits of those orders of the Central Government which, in the opinion of such State, are not authorized by the Constitution or

² We also find in the revised Instrument of Accession executed by Raj Pramukhs on behalf of the Unions of Small States like the United State of Kathiawar, etc., the following:

(8) “Nothing in this Instrument shall be deemed to commit the United State (of . . .) in any way to (the) acceptance of any future Constitution of India or to fetter the discretion of the Government of the United State to enter into arrangements with the Government of India under any such future Constitution.”—See Appendix XVIII, *White Paper on Indian States*.

³ Reference here is to sub-clause (b) of clause (1) of Section 7 of the Indian Independence Act 1947, which runs as follows: “As from the appointed day (August 15th, 1947) . . . the suzerainty of His Majesty over the Indian States lapses, and with it, all treaties and agreements in force at the date of the passing of this Act between His Majesty and the Rulers of Indian States,” etc.

⁴ See the *White Paper on Indian States*, para 62.

⁵ See Willoughby, *The Fundamental Concepts of Public Law*, p. 192-3; also Willoughby and Rogers, *Introduction to the Problem of Government*, pp. 456-9.

articles of union.” And “this is known as the doctrine of Nullification.”⁶

Since each State in a Confederation is “admitted to be legally sovereign, it cannot be held to act illegally if it refuse obedience to orders of which it disapproves.” A true federal union, on the other hand, is an indissoluble union, and its constituent units have neither the right of secession nor the power of ‘nullification.’ These are the distinguishing marks of a federal union. And a federal State “connotes the existence of a true central sovereign State, composed of constituent members who are not themselves severally sovereign.”

An inherent defect of our present constitutional structure is that the Rulers of our major Acceding States retain, as we have seen before, under the terms of their Instruments of Accession their sovereignty “in and over” their States, and that their accession to the Dominion of India is of a purely provisional character. Now the question is: what should be their relation to the proposed Union of India? The Draft Constitution of India prepared by the Drafting Committee of the Indian Constituent Assembly appears to be silent upon the question or method of their accession to it, although their present accession to the Dominion of India is categorically provisional. We find in it,⁷ however, that “India shall be a Union of States”; that the territory of India “shall comprize the territories of the States,” among other territories; and that the term “States” shall mean the States for the time being specified in Parts I, II and III of the First Schedule. And in Division A of Part III of the First Schedule we find the names of some major Indian States like Mysore, Kashmir, Baroda, Travancore, etc. I wonder how the territories of these States could be automatically included within the territory of India when their accession to the Dominion of India was of a purely provisional character under clause 7 of the Instruments of Accession executed by their Rulers! We also find in Article 225 in Chapter I of Part IX of the Draft Constitution of India that

“Notwithstanding anything in this Chapter, the power of Parliament⁸ to make laws for a State or a group of States for the time being specified in Part III

of the First Schedule shall be subject to the terms of any agreement entered into in that behalf by that State or group of States with the Government of India and the limitations contained therein.”

It appears from this Article that there will be fresh agreements between the States referred to and the Government of India under the proposed New Constitution of India. Presumably, these agreements will take the place of the present Instruments of Accession executed by the Rulers of the States. If it be so, it is sincerely hoped that these agreements will not reiterate the sovereign status of the States or of their Rulers; that under their terms the States will become inseparable parts of the Indian Union, without any right of secession from it, or any power of nullification in respect of any Central decision within the legislative or administrative competence of the Government of India. If, unfortunately, it be otherwise, that is to say, if a clause like clause 8 of the Instrument of Accession referred to before, be reintroduced into the proposed agreements, then we may have serious troubles in future. We should not forget in this connexion the history of the prolonged and bitter controversy carried on in the United States of America by what is known as the States’ Rights School, over the question of the constitutional status of the constituent units of the United States, also styled States, *vis-a-vis* the Union itself—a controversy which ultimately ended in a bloody Civil War. Nor should we forget in this connexion the past history of our own country. As I have said in another connexion,⁹ we should so frame the future Constitution of the Union of India as to build up a true National State, any attempt at withdrawal from which by any constituent Unit would be an *illegal* act and would have to be dealt with accordingly. The language of our Constitution should therefore be such as to leave no loophole whatsoever even for any attempt either at “secession” or at “nullification” on the part of any component Unit of the Indian Union. This is how we can ensure the strength, stability, unity, and the greatness of our new State. We must not ignore the lesson which the constitutional history of the American Union has taught us.*

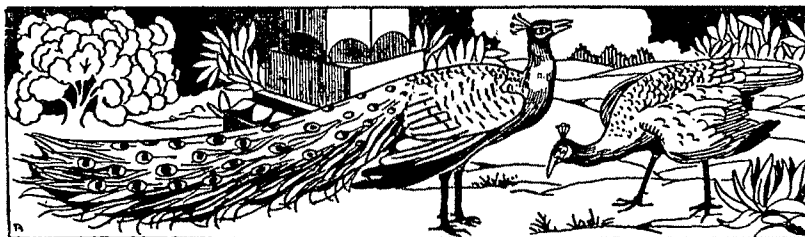
6 See *Ibid.*

7 Article 1 of the Draft Constitution of India.

8 i.e., the Parliament of the Union of India.

9 *The Draft Constitution of India : A Critique.*

* A paper read at the Eleventh Session of the Indian Political Science Conference held at Nagpur in January, 1948.



THE FUTURE OF INDIA*

BY PROF. TARAKNATH DAS, Ph.D.,

Institute of Public Affairs and Regional Studies, New York University

I

By the Independence of India Act of 1947, India was partitioned into two dominions of Pakistan and the Union of India. Pakistan was composed of predominantly Moslem areas of Western Punjab (a part of the province of the Punjab), the North-Western Frontier Province, Baluchistan and Sind in the north-west and also a part of the province of Bengal (Eastern Bengal) in the east. The rest of British India, predominantly Hindu in population, formed the Union of India or Indian Union. By the same Act, the Princely States of India, which were under British Indian suzerainty, were given the choice of joining the Union of India or Pakistan or remaining independent states.

We are often told by eminent Britishers and others that the greatest achievement of British rule in India has been the development of national unity or the evolution of a national state. But it is evident that the British gave up their control or domination over India (or were forced to do so) leaving behind them the liability of a partitioned India, the unsolved problems of the Indian Princely States and outgrown feudalism, and the prospects of civil war and Balkanization of the land. The British Government cannot be freed from its responsibility in creating these unfortunate situations in India. The present situation in India is very closely related to the effects of nearly a century and a half of British control over India.

It is a fact that the British policy of "divide and rule", aided by the growth of the extra-territorial communal patriotism of the Moslems of India, ultimately led to partition of the country. Historically, the seed of the so-called two nations theory advocated by the Moslem League of India and leading to partition, lies in the British policy of communal representation through communal electorates on the basis of religions: a special Moslem Communal electorate, supposedly to protect the Moslem minority interest, was enacted by the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909. Instead of inculcating the fundamental principle of Indian citizenship and having a common electorate for all Indians eligible to vote, the British Government supported, if not introduced, the policy of communalism in Indian politics.

Partitioning India did not solve the so-called Hindu-Moslem question, because all the Moslems did not and could not leave the predominantly Hindu area; and today out of the population of approximately 330,000,000 people in the Union of India, at least 30,000,000 are Moslems. They belong to a minority community. It is, however, gratifying that they are living in peace, enjoying equal rights and protection as other citizens of the Indian Union.

Partition of India was not necessary from the standpoint of Indian national interest. This could have been avoided, had the British Government in India not been involved in aiding the separatist policy of the Pan-Islamist Moslem League, while at the same time it refused to leave India unless Hindus and Moslems came to an understanding about the nature of the future government of the country.

To be sure Indian nationalist leaders did not believe in communalism in politics, and they supported cultural autonomy for all groups. They might have rejected the British offer of Dominion status vitiated by provisos leading to civil war and virtual Balkanization of India. But they accepted partition as possibly the less objectionable of the two evils. It was said that Mahatma Gandhi, for a long time, was opposed to the idea of the partition of India, seeing in it the amputation of the two arms of Mother India, but he was converted to the policy of partition by Mr. Nehru, Mr. Rajagopalachari and others among Hindu politicians, and by Lord Mountbatten, on the ground that through acceptance of partition, India would gain her freedom and avert a civil war. He also hoped that he would win over Moslem leaders of Pakistan by his magnanimity.

But the fact remains that partition of India has not brought peace. Although vast areas of India remain in peace, in a small area India has been having her undeclared civil war and a very costly one at that. It has cost several hundred thousand lives, billions of dollars worth of property, and the devastation of one of the richest parts of India; about 10,000,000 people have been made homeless refugees in Pakistan and in the Union of India. Pakistan carries on an aggressive course of action in Kashmir on the ground that, because it has a predominantly Moslem population, it must be incorporated into Pakistan. India is waging a defensive war in Kashmir, and Pakistan is trying to secure Anglo-American aid in the UN on the Kashmir issue. The Indian Union Government has at last seemingly learned the

* In 1948, under the auspices of the Institute of Public Affairs and the Graduate School of New York University, three public lectures were held: (1) "UNO in Crisis", by Sir Norman Angell, winner of Nobel Prize, 1933; (2) "American Policy in Europe", by Hon. Adolph Berle Jr., formerly Assistant Secretary of State for U.S.A.; and (3) "The Future of India", by Dr. Taraknath Das, Professor, Public Affairs, New York University and Lecturer in History, Columbia University. This essay is based upon the speech delivered by Dr. Taraknath Das.

† See Appendix.

lesson that any compromise with aggressor Pakistan will be detrimental to India and to the cause of world peace.

In Eastern Pakistan, the situation is grim so far as about fifteen million Hindus are concerned. The following authoritative news item will give an idea:

"The Working Committee of the Pakistan People's Party at a recent meeting at Dacca viewed with great anxiety the large number of Hindu migrations from East Bengal (Pakistan) to West Bengal (Indian Union). The Committee stated there were nine main causes of the migration: (1) Moslem leaders' emphasis on Pakistan being a Moslem State to be governed by Islamic laws; (2) the absence of an effective voice for the Hindus in government; (3) the absence of Hindu officers in the armed and police forces; (4) large-scale disarming of Hindus and particularly the recent seizure of firearms from them; (5) indiscriminate requisitioning on short notice of residential houses of the Hindus, not only for Government use but for private persons, without making adequate arrangements for the housing of the dispossessed persons; (6) forcible occupation of Hindu houses and authorities' failure to prevent such unauthorized entry and their inability to eject the intruders; (7) the education policy of the Government which is prejudicial to non-Moslem culture; (8) discrimination against Hindus in the matter of commerce and trade; (9) the loss of jobs and business by the commercial community, artisans and craftsmen."

One may add to this the frequent abduction and rape of Hindu women and their forcible conversion to Islam.

It has been reported that during the first fifteen days of September 1948, on the average of about 10,000 refugees from East Bengal entered West Bengal, which is very thickly populated. The Government of West Bengal and the Vice-Minister of the Indian Union, Mr. Patel, have suggested that Pakistan's government must make arrangements for ceding territories or making some rectification of borders so that these refugees, already nearly two million, may be provided with land for cultivation of food and for homes.

If Pakistan continues to pursue a policy detrimental to Hindus within its territory, three hundred million Hindus may be forced to take a stand to end such a condition. Partition of Ireland, partition of Poland, partition of Hungary, partition of Egypt-Sudan, partition of Palestine, partition of Korea and progressive partition of China have not promoted peace or better understanding among nations; on the contrary, the areas thus partitioned are today festering sores in the body of international relations. No one should, accordingly, have expected that the partition of India, to suit Pan-Islamism and the British formula, would bring peace. However, if Pakistan can be induced to pursue a common foreign policy, a common defense policy and a common economic policy with the Union of India, as the United States and Canada as neighbors have been pursuing, the effect of partition may be healed and to all intents and purposes there may

yet develop a United India. But as long as theocratic Pan-Islamist rule prevails in Pakistan, this is not possible.

If partition of India is the direct and cumulative effect of communalism in Indian body politic then Indian statesmen, in framing the constitution, should be very careful to avoid seeds of communalism in it. However, one may sense that a kind of communalism will be promoted by the proposed constitution of India under the garb of protection of minorities. To be sure, there will not be communal and separate electorates for different communities "*but seats in the legislatures will be reserved in certain constituencies for Moslems, the scheduled castes, most of the scheduled Tribes, and in Madras and Bombay for Indian Christians as well.*"

To check any form of national disunity, through disguised communalism, it is imperative that a campaign for spreading the ideal that an Indian citizen must be an Indian first and should act for the general welfare of all citizens and not for a mere special group. If India is going to develop itself into a modern secular state, then not only should partition be discarded, but there should be no room for communalism in its politics. Underprivileged groups should be aided to raise themselves from their status of poverty, etc., but there should be no special form of communalism, even to further their interests as a community.

II

When the British Cabinet Mission, working out the formula for Indian freedom in terms of dominion status included in its recommendations the suggestion that Indian Princely States should have freedom to join either Pakistan or the Union of India or remain independent, many people saw in this a very serious disruptive force preventing the development of a United India. It is to be recorded to the credit of the statesmanship of India and the patriotism of the Indian Princes that all of them have voluntarily joined either the Indian Union or Pakistan in some form or other without any trouble, except in three cases—the State of Junagad, the ruler of which wanted to join Pakistan in spite of the opposition of the people of the State which ultimately became a part of the Indian Union; secondly, the case of Kashmir, the ruler of which decided to join the Indian Union to secure its aid to prevent forcible annexation of the State by Pakistan (the Kashmir issue is pending before the UN); and lastly the case of Hyderabad, where, in violation of a stand-still agreement of 1947, the government of the Nizam intrigued with Pakistan and other countries to ignore Indian authority in matters of foreign affairs, defense and international economic relations.

In solving the problems of Princely States, the formulae have been: no forceful abdication of any Prince who will agree to democratize the Government of the State and join the Union of India; elimination of petty feudal barons, the so-called Rajas, by incorporating their territories into some of the provinces of the Indian Union after making some financial arrangements; and con-

federation of small units of Princely States under the direction of a committee of Princes within the Indian Union. Thus according to the present arrangements, there will be several constitutional monarchies and confederations of Princely States within the Federated Republic of the United States of India. At present, this policy seems to work out satisfactorily, but ultimately, for the development of a modern democratic republic of India, these Princely States must go, and the Princes who are today financially well-provided should turn to development of Indian industries with their resources and even get into the services of the State and of the people in various ways.

In spite of the forced partition of India, civil war in India on a limited scale, the existence of monarchies and confederations of Princely States, it is my conviction that the territorial future of India can and should be a United India, a strong secular State.

III

The future of India is not entirely dependent upon the territorial integrity of a United India, the undoing of partition, and the complete assimilation of the Princely States as integral parts of a Republic of the United States of India. It will depend more upon the nature of the administration of the country provided by the party in power.

The Congress Party, which is ruling India, is the strongest political party. It was a revolutionary party, aided by the underground movement; and it advocated Indian freedom from alien rule. *Quit India* was its slogan addressed to the British rulers. It secured the support of the intelligentsia on idealistic grounds and of the masses with promises of reforms to better their poverty-stricken lot. Indian industrialists supported the Congress Party in the hope that they would have influence with the party to protect their interests, if not control and direct its affairs to serve their purposes, the enrichment of private interests.

Within a year after the party's accession to power, many of its ardent supporters have begun to accuse the leaders of nepotism and corruption of all kinds, including black-marketing by people closely associated or related to the "high command" of the Congress Party. (I hasten to say corruption is not a sin peculiar to the Indian people, but is also evident in the best of Western countries. But the thing that is to be taken into consideration is that wide-spread corruption in a poor country just emerging from a revolution may become disastrous for its very survival while a rich country like the United States can survive and even flourish with some types of corruption). Due to black-marketing and the inflationary soaring prices of food-stuffs and articles of everyday use such as cloth, Indian industrialists and others are making enormous profits while the poor workers and peasants are in no way better off than they were before August 15, 1947.

The present government party has become a prisoner of its reactionary supporters, including those Indians who were in high Civil Service posts during the anti-Indian British Government and were opposed to the overthrow

of alien rule in India. The revolutionary Congress Party of yesterday has today become a party of the Right and even reaction. Thus some of the Congress Party men show apprehension that, unless steps are taken for housecleaning from the top, the Congress Party may degenerate like the Kuomintang Party in China, with family and class-vested interests coming first and the people's cause afterwards.

The Socialists of India, who used to be the Left Wing of the Congress Party, have recently disassociated themselves from the Congress Party and have taken the form of something like "His Majesty's Loyal Opposition." But the Socialist groups of India are not effective as a strong party, nor are they developing very great influence among the workers and peasants. It remains the party "Left of the Centre." It is to be expected that the present Left Wing of the Congress Party, in course of time will desert it and join the Socialist group; then it will have greater strength and importance, like the British Labour Party. It may then even replace the Congress Party in controlling the government. However, it may be asserted that the overthrow of the Congress Party by the Socialists cannot be expected by the next election, which has incidentally been put off seemingly indefinitely by the Congress Party leaders.

The Communist Party is comparatively a small group, but it has secured a strong hold on the working class and the trade unionist movement. It is gaining recruits from the ranks of students and idealistic youths as well as from materialist, unscrupulous groups who pretend to be workers for humanity, but pander to their personal aggrandizement and pleasure. However, it is well-organized and is growing in strength. The Government of India and certain provincial governments have taken steps to curb the activities of the Communist parties by repressive measures.

Will India in the course of time go communist? It is hard to answer this question categorically.

There are evidences of the march of communism in China, Indonesia and other parts of Asia. This success is due to the internal conditions of these countries and also due to the international situation. The internal situation of these countries may be summed up under the head of "failure of nationalist leadership" in solving the most important problem of the mass poverty due to the existing social and economic institutions. The nationalist leaders have catered to the industrial capitalists, hoping that the latter would be able to aid the cause of national industrial development and raise the standard of living of the masses—a hope which did not materialize. On the contrary, inflationary rise of prices has seriously affected the purchasing power of the working class already living under the lash of abject poverty. The nationalist leaders, busy with political problems and the preservation of their power through the aid of the officials, the rich and the middle class, have failed to pay adequate attention to the needs of the workers and peasants. This has given rise to legitimate and wide-spread discontent among the people and made them receptive to Communist propa-

ganda. Furthermore, Soviet Russian imperialism, anxious to expand its political, economic, and cultural influence all over the world has utilized the existing discontent and aided local Communist parties to organise under local leadership in an efficient fashion. In furthering this organization of radical forces, student movements have been captured, trade unionism controlled for the purpose of overthrowing heartless and selfish regimes. In India, the situation is not so bad as in China, Indo-China or Malaya, but certainly one may find indications of similar developments, which can be prevented with proper reforms now.

To avoid any misunderstanding, I wish heartily to welcome the constructive program now being undertaken by the Government of India in agriculture and food production, the building of fertilizer factories, the reclamation of lands, irrigation, development of an ambitious water-power system, in line with T.V.A. projects, and improving the transportation systems. Equally to be welcomed are the Government's steps to make education compulsory for children of school-going age, and its ambitious program of development of higher and technical and scientific educational institutions.

It is needless to say that in matters of development of industries, India needs American economic and technical support in every way. It is to be hoped that some suitable formula will be worked out by which America will supply machinery and capital goods and if necessary extend a loan of a sizeable sum to meet exchange difficulties.

It is necessary to emphasize that economic co-operation between India and the United States will be dependent upon Indo-American co-operation in world politics. If the United States can be convinced that aiding India will directly or indirectly strengthen her position *vis a vis* Soviet Russia, which is pursuing an expansionist policy in Asia as well as in Europe, then, to serve her own interests, she will gladly help India.

Thus, it is evident that the future of India, in even her international development, and her economic and industrial progress, are intimately connected with her foreign policies.

IV

At the very outset of this discussion of foreign policies for India, I advocate without any reservation that Indo-American co-operation, nay alliance, should be the cornerstone of Indian foreign policy. It is obvious that while American foreign policy is to extend fullest support to the UN, America, for her own interests must be the defender of the British Commonwealth. Thus, if there is going to be any Indo-American co-operation in world politics, then it must be within the form of Anglo-American-Indian co-operation. An anti-British or pro-Soviet Russian government of India cannot secure American co-operation; and this simple fact should be clearly understood by those who are directing India's foreign affairs. They should also realize that there cannot be any possibility of Indian neutrality, if India is to secure American help on a large scale. Unless there is something wrong,

a sovereign democratic republic of the United States of India is expected to co-operate with the United States.

In this connection it may be pointed out that in the Far East, the Anglo-American powers are committed to the policy of checking Russian expansion and of co-operation with Japan and an anti-Communist China. In the Middle East, due to the Jewish victory over the Arabs and also due to American pressure, Britain will have to give up her anti-Jewish policy. There is no reason to doubt that within a short time a Jewish policy of co-operation with the Arabs will ultimately take the form of Anglo-American co-operation with the state of Israel and with an Islamic bloc of powers. In the past, India's policy has been pro-Arab and anti-Jewish, and under the changed condition, she will have to adjust her foreign policies in line with that of America. This adjustment will be imperative to serve her own vital interests. The United States of America can get along without Indian co-operation; but for strengthening India's position economically and politically, India cannot afford to incur the distrust and hostility of the United States.

If there is going to be Indo-American co-operation in world affairs, it must be based on reciprocity on the part of both powers. Thus it is imperative that some of the cardinal principles governing Indian foreign policies should be understood by the American republic.

THE FUTURE OF INDO-BRITISH RELATIONS

One of the most important issues regarding the future of India is that of future relations between Britain and India. On August 15, 1947, India attained the status of a dominion as a stepping stone towards complete independence—a Republic of the United States of India. There are many Indian politicians who think that whatever may be the ultimate goal of India, it is wise for her, at the present moment, to be associated with the British Commonwealth in some way or other. But the popular opinion in India is for complete separation.

When a nation frees itself from bondage through a successful revolution, especially through a military victory, it is not so difficult to cut the old ties completely and effectively. This was the case, for instance, of the thirteen colonies of America which separated completely from the British Empire. But India did not have an effective revolution and military victory over Britain. India was accorded partition and a dominion status as a compromise solution.

In the evolution of the Irish republic, we find a parallel. On January 21, 1917, revolutionary Ireland declared itself a republic; but the Irish faced British might and could not drive the British out of their beloved Emerald Island as the colonists of America did; thus they had to accept the Irish Free State and partition. It was a matter of mere expediency; some will call it statesmanship. But this led to Civil War among the Irish political parties. On December 29, 1937, when Ireland adopted its new constitution and changed its name to Eire, Mr. De Valera defined its status as a republic, yet it continued to have the External Relations Act of 1936 by which Ireland's foreign relations were carried on by officials appointed in the name

of the King. On the 26th of November, 1948, the Dail Eireann approved the Bill cutting the last tie with Great Britain and King George. This Bill will go into effect on the 21st of January, 1949, the 32nd anniversary of the declaration of Irish independence. It is my impression that although Indian popular feeling is for a United States of India outside of the Commonwealth, Mr. Nehru and others will do their utmost not to be too hasty in cutting all ties with the Commonwealth. It may happen that the Indian Constituent Assembly will remain content with declaring India a republic and leaving the question of Indo-British relations as an issue of India's foreign affairs with the leaders of an administration who will play the waiting game.

The future relation between India and Britain or the Commonwealth will be dependent upon the attitude of the latter towards India's vital interests in matters of national security and world politics. Thus far, in every important issue of India's foreign relations before the UN, Britain and the nations within the Commonwealth have acted against India's interests. I have in mind the issues of Indian rights in South Africa—human rights to be treated as citizens enjoying equal rights with white men of South Africa—and the issue of Kashmir and even the Hyderabad question. If Britain continues to follow a policy which results in encouraging Pakistan, supporting it with arms, officers, financial aid, and diplomatic guidance, it is to be expected that Indo-British relations will be strained. If, on the contrary, the British Government, for its own interests and for the sake of furthering the cause of world peace, adopts a policy which might bring about better understanding between Pakistan and India, ultimately leading to a United India, then Indo-British relations will be most cordial.

Ultimately, the republic of India may cut all its ties with the Commonwealth. But this does not necessarily mean that India and Britain must be enemies. In fact, a free India—the Republic of the United States of India—outside of the Commonwealth may become a very great friend and support to the cause of the Commonwealth, as the United States of America outside of the Commonwealth is their greatest protector.

American friendship towards the Commonwealth is not merely an expression of altruism; but this policy is consistent with preservation of the enlightened self-interest. In the process of growth of power and influence of the United States, the British Commonwealth has come to realize that friendship with the United States is a necessity for its survival. At the same time, the American government feels that protection of Canada is as important as defense of Alaska or some of the New England states. It is also true that defense of Australia is no less vital than the defense of the Hawaiian Islands. Thus, because of the existence of a community of interest in matters of foreign policy, defense policies and economic policies between the Commonwealth and the United States, friendship and close co-operation in world politics prevail. Similarly, if Britain and the Commonwealth pursue policies which would be favourable to India's political security, national defense

and economic welfare, India, for her own self-interest, will follow a policy of friendship and co-operation; otherwise to protect herself from isolation in world politics, she will be forced to seek friendship and support from other powers whose interest will be to seek Indian support against the Commonwealth.

If ever Indo-British relations for some reasons degenerate into distrust, suspicion, rivalry and conflict, then the United States of America will feel very seriously the evil consequences of such a situation, because it would weaken her position in Asia and world politics as a whole. Thus, the United States has a distinct responsibility, for her own self-interest, to see that the relations between the Commonwealth and India remain friendly and co-operative.

In the past, American statesmen and the so-called American experts on Indian affairs pursued a policy of siding with Britain right or wrong and following the British lead in dealing with India. If such a policy continues, and if America supports the anti-Indian activities of any of the members of the Commonwealth, such as Pakistan, this will have undesirable consequences. There is already an impression in India, spread by anti-American forces (Communists at home and abroad), by anti-American propaganda of the British in the past, and also due to American actions, that the United States is pro-British, pro-Pakistan and anti-Indian. It will be of interest to the United States and to the cause of world peace, if such impressions can be removed by actions which would demonstrate American friendship for India in matters of upholding India's vital interest.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND ASIAN INDEPENDENCE

The future of India is inextricably involved with all issues concerning Asian independence. This is apparent to all who have watched the proceedings of the UN regarding Indonesia, Viet Nam, Malaya, and the problems of the peoples still under foreign domination. One of the first acts of Free India has been to call a Conference of all Asian peoples to discuss matters of common concern. India's concern for Asian freedom is one of the cornerstones of India's foreign policy. In fact, all Asian countries must feel that their freedom is not secure if the rest of Asia continues under alien rule.

I happen to know, from my personal knowledge, that long before Indian political leaders adopted the plank of Asian independence as one of the cardinal principles of the All-India National Congress (which was done by the late C. R. Das in his presidential address of the All-India National Congress at Gaya in 1921), great Asian leaders of Japan, such as Marquis Okuma and others, those of China under the leadership of Dr. Sun Yat Sen, and the great poet-patriot of India, Rabindranath Tagore, envisioned the need of Asian independence and elimination of domination of Asia by western powers as a requisite for their freedom. This policy is no different from the principle of the Monroe Doctrine applied to Asia. In the past, a Monroe Doctrine for Asia has not been effective, as it has been in the American continents, because while the Monroe Doctrine was never challenged by a concert of Western

powers, the issue of Asian independence was in the past concertedly opposed by the colonial powers of the West. However, the situation has changed and leadership in carrying out a program of Asian independence has come to India, and she will, for her own self-preservation, support it. Any nation opposing Asian independence cannot expect Indian goodwill; because without Asian independence and co-operation among Asian powers the future of Indian freedom will be insecure. Inasmuch as the United States is for freedom of all peoples, large and small, Asian or European, Indo-American co-operation is a requisite for Asian independence.

THE FUTURE OF INDIA AND RACIAL EQUALITY

It is needless to emphasize the fact that nations fight for freedom and political equality. India's fight against alien rule was not only to free herself from political domination and economic exploitation but also from racial discrimination on a world scale. India has been fighting against the racial imperialism of Britain and other powers for a good many years. This fight will continue. In this fight, India will be aided by all the peoples of Asia, particularly those of Eastern Asia and South-east Asia and the peoples of Africa. I do not suggest that India will lead a race war against white peoples, which would be suicidal for India, but India will fight for the enforcement of the principle of equality of peoples and oppose discrimination against any people because of their race or color.

This racial equality issue will influence India's foreign policies and thus her future in relation with other Powers. This is not merely a psychological matter; it has very close relations with two issues vital to the people of India and the other peoples of Asia—the problems of population and food supply.

As things stand today, Asia has more than half of the populations of the world; and India with Pakistan has a population of more than 400,000,000. Western population experts prescribe birth control as the sole remedy. In spite of birth-control, Europe's population is increasing. Although on a percentage basis the population of Asia is not increasing as fast as that of Europe, Russia or South America, yet Asian countries such as India, China and Japan are densely populated and this pressure of population can be averted to a great extent if the continents of Africa, South America, Australia, and even Siberia are opened to immigration of Asian peoples. But the peoples of Europe and America have fenced in the rest of the world for themselves and their future generations. While the peoples of Asia will have to improve their own agriculture, they will, nevertheless, with their increasing strength and solidarity, ask for equal opportunity for migration. Such migration will not only ease population pressure, but will become a factor in producing greater quantities of food through cultivation of land which remains uncultivated due to the lack of labor. In spite of the existence of race prejudice among some Western scholars, they are forced to acknowledge the contribution of the Japanese in developing California, which was infested with unreasonable racial prejudice against all

Asiatics. In spite of the anti-Indian laws of the South African government, the Indian indentured laborers and their descendants helped to develop South Africa more than the white peoples, so far as contribution of labor is concerned.

It is thus to be expected that India will champion the cause of racial equality. This may help the cause of "One World" for which every intelligent civilized man and woman should work; or it may lead to greater bitterness and conflict. Whatever may be the consequences, India's future will be affected. Indo-American understanding will aid the cause of better relations between the East and the West and thus promote the cause of one world, world peace, and human brotherhood. If this is attainable, and it is possible, and with the needed reforms in Indian administration, the future of India is bright.

I wish to conclude with the affirmation of my faith in the future of India as the realization of the ideal of freedom as cherished by India's greatest philosopher-poet of modern times—Rishi Rabindranath Tagore;

"Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into

fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms

towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way

into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into

ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let my

country awake."

Appendix

FOURTEEN POINTS ON KASHMIR

1. By the Independence of India Act of 1947, India was partitioned into the Indian Union and Pakistan, the latter being the secessionist state insistent on partition. This Act also provided that any of the Princely States of India could accede to either the Indian Union or Pakistan or might stay outside of them as a separate entity.

2. The Pakistani Government, to coerce Kashmir to accede to it, engineered a revolt of the Moslems of Kashmir and an invasion of the State by Moslem tribesmen who crossed through the North-Western Frontier Province, a part of Pakistan. These invaders were supplied with arms and ammunitions and Pakistani officers to carry out the program of invasions; a program prepared by the Pakistani Army in which commanding positions are held by British officers.

3. When the invaders marched into Kashmir, the ruler of the State appealed to the British Government to use its influence with the Pakistan Government not to aid the tribesmen. However, the Pakistani Government continued to carry on its aggression into Kashmir.

4. At this juncture the Government of Kashmir made

an application to become a part of the Indian Union and sought its aid. Lord Mountbatten, as Governor-General of India, agreed to Kashmir's accession to the Indian Union.

5. When Kashmir became a part of the Indian Union, the latter, in sending a defense force to Kashmir, was in effect defending its own territorial integrity from an aggressor.

6. Mr. Nehru, the Prime Minister of the Indian Union, is an enthusiastic supporter of the UN, as an agency to promote peace. He thought that he would be able to bring about peace in Kashmir by securing United Nations' support against the aggressor, Pakistan.

7. Although the issue before the UN was to decide whether Pakistan was an aggressor or not, Pakistan aided by the British and other UN delegations, introduced the extraneous issue of a "plebiscite" in Kashmir. It should be emphasized that the nature of Kashmir's future government was solely India's private affair and beyond the scope of the original issue. As no nation can dictate to the United States regarding a racial or political issue in Texas, similarly no nation can dictate to the Government of India regarding Kashmir which is by law a part of the Indian Union.

However, the UN with its double standard of international morality, favored Pakistan by adopting various resolutions detrimental to Indian interests. From the sound legal point of view the whole proceedings of the UN could have been challenged by the Indian delegation. It must be admitted that the Indian Union was very poorly served by its own delegation. While Pakistan made false assertions that its troops were not involved in attacking Kashmir and made fantastic charges that Hindus were carrying on "genocide" against the Moslems, the actual situation was that men, women and children who were defending their home and hearth were brutally massacred, raped and carried away by the Moslem invaders.

8. Although Pakistan officials at first denied that Pakistan was involved in the invasion of Kashmir, later

on they had to acknowledge before the members of the U. N. Commission that Pakistani forces were fighting in Kashmir. Thus Pakistan stands as a self-confessed aggressor in Kashmir, violating Indian territory. In this conflict India is without question on the defensive.

9. Unless the UN decides that Pakistani aggression should not be challenged, because such an action would hurt the position of Pakistan (a member of the Moslem bloc of powers and a buffer state against Russia) it is imperative that the UN should ask Pakistani armies to get out of Kashmir now.

10. If Kashmir is not freed from the invading army of Pakistan, which is virtually directed by British officers (as was the case with the Transjordan army against Israel), the Indian forces have every right to drive the invaders from India's soil, as Israeli forces have done with the invading Arab forces.

11. Now Pakistan, as the self-confessed aggressor, is trying to use British and American diplomatic help to have Kashmir partitioned so that it may keep the part already occupied by Pakistan's forces. This fact has been made quite clear by the dispatches from London, Paris, Karachi and Lahore.

12. There is no question that during recent months American reporters for some peculiar reasons have sent highly colored anti-Indian dispatches. It almost seems as if a bloc of Pakistan-Arab and Anglo-American powers is working against Indian interests.

13. It will not be out of place to say a word about the nature of the state of Pakistan. It is a theocratic dictatorship where non-Moslems, especially Hindus, do not enjoy human rights. It has been reported that during the last few months some two million Hindus out of the 13,000,000 Hindu population of Eastern Pakistan have left Eastern Bengal and migrated into Western Bengal, a part of the Indian Union.

14. It is up to the Indian people to insist that their Government protect India's national interest in Kashmir, as it has been done in Hyderabad.



SOME ASPECTS OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

By SRI RAM SHARMA, M.A., F.R.Hist. soc. (London), F.R.A.S. (London)

EMERGENCY PROVISIONS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

THE draft constitution of India has a unique provision nowhere else met with in democratic constitutions. It assumes that a time may come when it may be impossible to carry on government as a democratic representative concern on account of a grave emergency, which may threaten the peace and tranquillity of a State or the security of the Union by war or domestic violence. If and when such a contingency occurs in a unit, the Governor may assume all the powers of the Government for six weeks, but if the security of India is threatened, the President may assume all the autocratic powers of a Czar for six months. In both the cases, the assumption is that the parliamentary executive is incapable of managing the affairs of a provincial unit or of India as a whole. How gratuitous this assumption is may be proved by the fact that it was against just such an assumption that the Congress kept out of office in the provinces for six months in 1937 and once resigned when in office. It makes no difference that the President and Governors in independent India would be Indians. If a Council of Ministers is incapable of managing the affairs of a province when its peace and tranquillity is threatened, there is no guarantee that a Provincial Governor would do any better in such a crisis. Similarly a threat to the security of India is not likely to be removed any the sooner under an autocratic President in office than it would be under a Council of Ministers.

What the authors of the draft or members of the Constituent Assembly had in mind when they cast these extraordinary aspersions it is difficult to guess. Did they postulate that a time may come when a legislature or the Council of Ministers may become a danger to the peace or tranquillity of a unit or security of India? If so, the remedy they have prescribed is worse than the disease; a Governor or a President armed with these powers is more likely to run amuck than a lawfully constituted Government. Further an opposition between the Council of Ministers and the titular head of the government at such a delicate time is less likely to make for the removal of 'an emergency' sooner than otherwise. The provisions will not serve the purpose they are intended to serve.

To make it possible for the Governors and the President to take action under these provisions, it is necessary that they should be kept fully informed of the state of things in the country not only by the reports received from the Prime Minister and the Chief Ministers but by an independent intelligence staff of their own as well. They should further possess a personal staff of their own capable of advising them in all such emergencies when it may be to the interest of the Ministers to keep the state of things concealed from them. If the Governors and the President appoint such a staff and intends employing such agents,

they are not likely to find either the legislatures or the Councils of Ministers pliant. The expenditure may be included in expenditure charged on revenue but unless the Ministers are willing to sign their own death-warrants, the Governors and the President may be facing a serious constitutional crisis at the very commencement of the constitution just as the British Governors did in 1937.

But it may be urged that the Governors may declare an emergency at the suggestion of the Council of Ministers. If that is the form the constitution is intended to work, it is still more dangerous. The Governor and the Council of Ministers may be tempted by provisions to father a violent revolution and carry it through during the fortnight of emergency at their disposal. The provisions making it necessary for the Governor to report to the Governor-General hold no security against the abuse of such powers by a Governor. If it is not possible for the Governor to summon the provincial legislature in an emergency, it may be still less possible for the Governor-General to secure any independent information from the province over the head of the Governor. The press will be of no help, its freedom stands cancelled during an emergency. Opposition will be silenced for there is no freedom of speech during a state of emergency. The Governor and the Council of Ministers can have it their own way almost as long as they like.

It may be said that Governors and President will be our tried statesmen capable of standing sentinel over our liberties. If these provisions are any indication of their faith in democratic government, one must despair of their usefulness as such sentinels. Further some 'tried' statesmen have changed their party labels in the past. More may change them during their 'gubernatorial' term.

It may well be retorted that if these provisions will not serve the purpose they are supposed to serve, what is the alternative? Why, strong central and provincial government deriving their strength from the people and their representatives in the legislatures. No emergency is imaginable when legislature could not be summoned to meet. Even if the meeting of the legislature were to take time, the Governors and the President possess the power to make laws during recess. But the only satisfactory method of dealing with an emergency is to call the representatives of the people forthwith and keep them in session to meet the emergency 'by sweat, blood, and tears' if need be.

Constitutions are not made every day nor can they be amended so easily even if the constitution is flexible. It is better to pause a little now, consider fully the implication of the various provisions of the constitution than to find that in practice they assume a form very different from what their authors fondly hoped it to be. It is time we acted now and acted rightly.

SOVEREIGNTY OF THE LEGISLATURE IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

The draft of the Indian Constitution is a curious mixture. On the one hand, it vests in a two-third majority of the two houses of the federal legislature, the right to amend the Constitution, on the other it denies to the legislature the satisfaction of putting even ordinary legislation on the statute book if the President does not assent to it. It makes it possible for both the houses of the federal legislature to remove their presiding officers for incapacity by an absolute majority of the house, but provides no measure whereby even a unanimous bill could be translated into an Act against a recalcitrant President. Thus whereas it would be lawful for the legislature to demand by a two-third majority that the President's absolute veto should disappear, it would be within the power of the President to veto such a bill and safeguard his own power. Further, whereas the draft provides that the Union could exercise legislature and administration function in princely India only within the orbit of the Instruments of Accession, ordinary amendment to the constitution carried as described above, could authorise the dominion legislature to legislate for princely India in everything. Even the list of subjects assigned to the provincial units is not safe against the legislature. If a subject assumes national importance, a majority of the Council of States can vest concurrent jurisdiction in the subject in the Union legislature by a resolution which will not require the President's assent. Parliament can set up new courts for the better administration of Union laws. Such courts need not ordinarily be subject to the Supreme Court which may entertain appeals from these courts only by special leave to appeal granted individually in every case. Thus whereas the federal legislature can do many things, it can do so only with the assent of the President. Together with the President, the power of the legislature approaches sovereignty. But he can reduce the legislature to absurdity, if he so wishes. It may be retorted that such power is only to be exercised by the President as a constitutional head of the government. The Constitution does not however make him a constitutional head. He sends messages to the legislature; presumably counselling it to act otherwise than in accordance with the advice of his Ministers. He sends back bills for reconsideration by the legislature and presumably by its leaders, the Ministers. Thus the Union legislature, though it would enjoy greater power than most other federal legislatures, may find these powers confined by the presidential veto to debating and considering legislative measures only. It is the President who is sovereign and not the legislature.

The relations between the legislature and the President would thus be in a state of unstable equilibrium. Of course, the legislature could force the issue, as it did in the U.S.A. and France, and bring

the President to his knees. But a quarrel between the President and the legislature may put too great a strain on the constitution and on its democratic principles. Why not avoid all this by putting a time limit to the Presidential veto and thus start on a safer road from the very beginning?

THE SUPREME COURT UNDER THE DRAFT CONSTITUTION

The Supreme Court under the draft constitution consists of a Chief Justice and such number of other judges not being less than seven as Parliament may by law prescribe. Presumably it implies that the establishment of the Supreme Court will have to wait upon the pleasure of Parliament which by its refusal to prescribe, or by its delay in prescribing the number of judges, may leave the Chief Justice severely alone as one judge of the Supreme Court incapable of acting. It is possible that the authors of the draft wanted to prescribe that the Supreme Court should have at least seven associate judges. If so the language of the draft is unfortunate and may deprive the Union of an effective Supreme Court for some time. It is interesting to remember that one of the present judges of the Federal Court once forced a provincial government to appoint a Chief Justice by pleading before the High Court that as there was no Chief Justice of the High Court, the Court could hear no cases.

The associate Judges of the Supreme Court will be appointed in several ways by several authorities. Some of them will be appointed by the President after consultation with such of the judges of the Supreme Court and of the High Courts as may be necessary. The Supreme Court may one day have to interpret this clause with the help of the judges whose right to sit in the court may be a bone of contention. The only thing this clause does is to declare that the President shall not consult the Council of Ministers when making these appointments. If anything substantial was to be gained by such a negative provision, the clause should not have been left as vague as it is at present. Further if consulting his ministers would make these appointments political, consulting judges of the High Courts whose promotion to the Supreme Court may be involved in such appointments would be too absurd for words. If the advice of the judges is accepted, it will convert them into an electoral college, if it is not accepted, it will provide a screen for the President's misuse of powers.

But judges so appointed shall form only one class of the judges of the Supreme Court. If out of the eight judges of the Court four or more decided to fall ill simultaneously or are otherwise absent the Chief Justice will nominate a judge or judges of one or more High Courts to the office so as to secure the quorum of five for the court. Such an *ad hoc* judge will attend court as long as the Chief Justice thinks his presence is necessary.

Associate and *ad hoc* judges apart, there may be

a third variety of judges in the Court if the Chief Justice is so minded. Past judges of the present Federal Court or of the Supreme Court may any day be called upon to form the court even when there is otherwise a full quorum. They may, by their presence on the court, change its political or constitutional bias and thus secure a judgment which, but for their presence, would not have been forthcoming. Whether this does or does not happen, the appointment of both these varieties of judges arms the Chief Justice with a dangerous weapon which may destroy the reputation for independence which a final court of appeal should possess particularly in a Federation. Remembering that the decisions of the Federal Court have been openly resented by at least one High Court, two provincial governments, and the Government of India, in the past, it is necessary that such experimentation in the appointment of judges of the Supreme Court be avoided. This is no imaginary danger. In the past Chief Justices have tried to pack the court. In one case, it was only when several judges had intimated that they were resigning in protest, that the integrity and independence of the court was saved. Decision on important constitutional questions should not be lightly left to a miscellany of judges brought together.

FLEXIBILITY OF THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

It has been claimed for the draft constitution that it is workable and flexible and is good enough to start with. The last part of the statement seems to be an apology for its defects. This makes even the first part take on a different meaning. Accept this constitution which is good enough to start with and amend it as you like later on as it is flexible. This was exactly the argument used in favour of the covenant of the League of Nations. The last thirty years stand witness to the disastrous results that this attitude produced. It is time we took stock of the situation with regard to the constitution instead of using such phrases in its defence.

For one thing the Constitution of India is not flexible. Two-thirds of the members voting, if they form an absolute majority of both the houses voting separately, can pass a bill amending the constitution. But no bill passed by the federal legislature has a chance of becoming an Act unless the President assents thereto. The President thus exercises an absolute veto—for five years at least—over all legislation and hence all amending legislation is subject to his veto. This destroys much of the flexibility claimed for the Constitution.

That flexibility is not always a virtue has been conceded in the constitution itself. Certain problems have been placed beyond the reach of even two-thirds majority of the federal legislature. The division of functions, allotment of seats to units in Parliament and powers of the Supreme Court have all been thus safeguarded. Any amendment in these three matters is subject to ratification by two-third legislatures in the Governor's provinces and by one-half of the legis-

latures in other units of the federation. Ratification in each legislature again requires the same two-third majority of the members present. Thus the principle is conceded that there are thus certain parts of the constitution that should be as easily amended as others.

The three exceptions mentioned above safeguard the federal character of the constitution alone. It is curious that no other feature of the constitution is so safeguarded though some of its authors have been waxing eloquent in its praise not on a count of its federalism but its other features. The term 'union' is said to deny the right of secession, yet it is not so safeguarded. It is claimed that the constitution sets up a parliamentary system of government. Nothing is said in the constitution to protect this feature against hasty legislation. India is described as a sovereign democratic republic. The draft gives a cold shoulder to this aspect of our constitution as well and leaves it alone at the mercy of any transient majority of the federal legislature. Neither the Supreme Court, nor distribution of subjects, nor yet the number of members allotted to various units would keep India a democratic republic. If we have any faith in the essential characteristics of the type of government the constitution provides, we should not treat them so irreverently.

Flexibility of the constitution may some time become a danger. A constitution is supposed to provide the fundamentals upon which all citizens, particularly all public parties, are agreed. If it be as easy to change the essential features of the democratic republic of India as the present draft makes them to be, it is possible that some political parties may refuse to take the present constitution seriously. This will vitiate our public life and make our next elections a mockery. Democratic ways of doing things are new to India. Now that the British are not here, not only there is no harm in admitting this fact, it is necessary to harp on it and to do nothing whereby democratic ways of life as also of government may be endangered. The flexibility of the constitution should not stretch itself to the necessary fundamentals.

The protection provided to the three subjects is not complete. It is possible under the constitution for the centre to take any provincial subject under its wing as soon as it assumes national importance. It is difficult to conceive of anything these days that would not assume national importance sooner or later. To transfer a subject from one list to another under this clause would not need a statute much less an amendment of the constitution requiring ratification by the provinces. A resolution of the Council of States would be sufficient for the purpose. This would get rid of the President's veto and render even the federal character of the government illusory.

It is time the constitution settled the fundamentals instead of making it possible for the future generations to wrangle about its provisions by making them so easy a target for change and therefore attack.

DIRECTIVE THAT MAY MIS-DIRECT THE UNWARY

The draft of the Indian Constitution contains 'a novel provision' such as no other constitution can boast of. It contains 'Directives of State Policy' and gives a whole part to them. The chapter contains some sublime nonsense, many pious wishes and a few rights that could well be guaranteed by the constitution. Equal pay for men and women can not only be guaranteed but it can be enforced at law as well. Whatever 'primary education' may mean, it is amusing to find it suggested that the provision of free compulsory education for every child within the next ten years cannot be made enforceable against the state or that it is a target which we cannot easily hope to reach. The preservation of monuments declared national by law is not a directive of state policy, it would be an effective part of the law declaring such movements national. The sublime nonsense and the pious wishes of the chapter mix ill together. India can no more 'prescribe', 'open, just and honourable relations' between nationals than can she make the understandings of international law the actual rule of conduct among nations. It is too tall an order for any one nation.

But the worst of it is that the chapter may prove a fruitful source of quarrels among political parties and help to bring the constitution into disrepute. The very fact that some parts of the constitution are not enforceable may well create a frame of mind that may weaken the will to enforce provisions, particularly, provisions with regard to fundamental rights. The experience of the working of constitutions elsewhere amply demonstrates this evil. The directives of state policy have been—not very happily—compared to the 'Instruments of Instructions' to Governors and the Governor-General. If that is the place they are going to occupy in our constitution, they may as well be not there. Few students of Indian constitution would hold that the Instruments served any useful purpose. They safeguarded the interests of the minorities so well, that the Muslims demanded and got away with Pakistan. They certainly helped to assure the princes that the princely states—some 562 of them—would become 'independent' the day the British transferred authority to Indian hands and thus led to our present worry in Kashmir and a year of intransigence in Hyderabad. They allowed the British Government to drop the custodianship of the British interests in India. The Instruments did not prevent the Governors from appointing minority ministries in provinces in flat contradiction to their instructions.

But more than that, the Instrument laid the Governors open to charges of partisanship in Bengal, Sind and the Punjab in their relations with their ministers. The wranglings that ensued enveloped the entire party-politics of the three provinces and became a fruitful source of accusations and counter-accusations. The directives may do the same. An enterprising Governor may refuse to accept the advice of his

Ministers on the plea that it is contrary to the directives. A revolutionary party may charge its opponents with disregarding the directives and may thereupon start disregarding other parts of the constitution itself. The subtle niceties of the constitution may be lost upon an electorate that would be coming into power for the first time.

So the directives may best be dropped out of the constitution. Nobody claims that their presence in the constitution would achieve anything. They are likely to bring the constitution into contempt and disrepute if they are disregarded; they would tend to promote violent and therefore dangerous wranglings about the record of the party in power or the intention of the opposition to make them operative.

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

A search for fundamental—in the sense of likely to be respected—rights in the Constitution would lead us to the rather interesting conclusion that one has to look for them elsewhere than in the chapter devoted to them in the constitution. The right of Muslims, Anglo-Indians, Sikhs and scheduled castes and scheduled areas to a certain number of seats, of Anglo-Indians to a certain percentage of public offices and a certain amount of money for educational institutions are safe for ten years and beyond the reach of the President, Governor, Councils of Ministers and legislatures, Central and Provincial. The right of Anglo-Indians to a certain percentage of public offices goes counter to the fundamental right said to be guaranteed in the constitution to provide equality of opportunity to all citizens in the Union. They are neither under-represented in the public services nor do they form a backward community in any sense of the term. As the 'Anglo-Indians' right to a certain number of posts is supposed to override the equality of opportunity promised to every citizen, it is certainly more 'fundamental' than the so-called fundamental right.

Other fundamental rights turn out to be similarly chimerical if not positively burdensome. If the State does not confer any titles, it would not promote equality of status in the presence of a host of princes, princelings, chiefs, estate-holders and jagirdars, among us—not to mention a large number of persons who claim to form at present a distinctive class of aspirants to office and to gain on account of their having gone to jail. The citizens are promised a right to freedom of speech and expression, to assemble peaceably, to form unions and associations, to move and to reside, to acquire property and practise professions and trade in any part of India. But this will not remove a single restriction imposed on any person in any one of these respects anywhere in the Union today. Our rights and liberties thus will remain circumscribed as at present. Or to put the matter in another way, the chapter will not add an iota to the rights which we are enjoying at present without the benefit of its provisions in the constitution.

The fundamental rights are no more fundamental, if looked at in another way. They can be easily taken away by a two-third majority of those voting in either house of the federal legislature. Thus even if they make any addition to the 'privileges' we enjoy at present, these privileges lie at the mercy of the federal legislature.

But it will not usually need a two-third majority of the legislature to take away these 'rights.' The State *i.e.*, 'the Government and the Parliament of India and Government and the legislature of each of the States, and all local or other authorities'—could easily make a 'law' in the interests of public order, morality or health curtailing freedom of speech and assembly, of press and association, and imposing limits on the rights of free movement and residence in the territories of the Union and the provisions for fundamental right will avail a citizen nothing. All this could be done in normal times. If an emergency arose, all these rights would disappear during the emergency and for six months thereafter, unless Parliament were more kindly disposed.

The rights that can be enjoyed only so long as 'a local or other authority' does not interfere with them are in no sense fundamental. The sooner this illusion is dispelled the better for both the citizens of the Union as well as its governments.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN THE INDIAN CONSTITUTION

It has been claimed for the draft constitution that it sets up a parliamentary government in the Union as well as in its provincial units. The essence of parliamentary government lies in the accountability of the executive to the legislature and ultimately to the people at large. The draft constitution however stops just short of this consummation and may thus develop other than parliamentary characteristics.

For one thing the laws are not all made by the legislature. In fact, the constitution makes it possible for the President or the Governor to reduce the legislature to impotence by refusing assent to the bills proposed and passed by the legislature. What is worse, both need not signify their 'intentions' towards a bill enacted by the legislature for six months and even then only if they intend sending the measure back for reconsideration. There is no time limit within which the Governors and the President are expected to act in the matter. They can easily bring the legislature into contempt and disrepute by refusing to notice its activities and therefore its existence.

For another matter, though the constitution charges the Government of the Union with all the cares of India and of the universe, it presupposes that it needs meet but twice a year at six monthly intervals. During parliamentary recess, neither the Speaker

of the House of the People nor the Governors need summon the legislature sooner even if the Governments need legislation for the Union or a State. The necessity of summoning the legislature is easily avoided by authorizing the Chief Executive to enact laws in the form of 'ordinances' which will be valid as long as the legislature does not meet and six weeks thereafter.

The right conferred on the Governors and the President to send messages to the legislature militates against parliamentary government. When the Governors and the President have their ministers in the legislatures, they do not need another means of contacting the house. The American messages of the President to the legislature would be highly inappropriate here unless of course the chief executive were to play the part of George III against his ministers. Such interference—even interference on behalf of the ministers in power—would destroy the impartiality and neutrality which is an essential character of a constitutional head in parliamentary government. The President and the Governors both possess the right of summoning the legislature to hear them. Both are entitled to deliver an 'inaugural' address each session as the mouthpiece of the Council of Ministers. If they are to serve any useful purpose in the constitution, it is necessary that they should keep above partisanship so that they may be able to play their part in times of crisis.

The powers conferred on the chief executives during an emergency ignore the Council of Ministers at the Centre and in the Provinces and enable constitutional heads to assume actual control of administration. The President and Governors possess the right to make laws during parliamentary recess. To vest them with special powers in an emergency would be justified only if it were contemplated that they should supersede the legislatures even when they were in session. If during a crisis we are to revert to naked autocracy, we better give up all pretence to setting up democratic government. Nothing would be lost in practice if these provisions were omitted. Governor's rule will not give us 'strong government'; it may only make a repetition of '1942' possible under worse circumstances. It will not prevent a *coup de etat* if the Council of Ministers attempted it, it will only produce a conflict of loyalties which may be dangerous. It will not prevent armed revolution by itself unless it were backed by popular support. It may, however, make a *coup de etat* by Governors possible which is worse.

Thus to save democratic government from being strangled, it is necessary that the chief executives be deprived of the extraordinary powers vested in them in the constitution. This would hold for strong government rather than the reverse.

THE INDIANS IN MAURITIUS

By PROF. SADASIVAN, M.A.

THE keen interest in the Indians overseas, which our leaders, specially Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, have manifested in their speeches in the Assembly and elsewhere and the recent appointment by the Government of India of Commissioners in places outside India where Indians abound, have made me nostalgic more than once. I am often reminded of the natural, romantic and picturesque beauties of that little native island of mine, that "Pearl of the Indian Ocean" that goes under the name of Mauritius and is marked by a dot to the south-east of Madagascar in the map of the world.

The island was first discovered at the end of the 15th century by Arab pirates, who used it as a haven of refuge or as a hiding-place for their booty. They called it *Dinarobin*, according to an Arab hydrographic sketch of 1508. About a decade later, the Portuguese found the island while proceeding to India; and, on their way back in 1528, they "landed deer, goats, monkeys and pigs" on it, perhaps to introduce higher forms of life there, as the island was inhabited only by rats and as there were no aborigines. They went away after naming it *Illa de Cirne* (Isle of Swans). It was the Dutch who came to settle down in the island in 1664, though they discovered it in 1598. They called it *Mauritius*, after Count Maurice of Nassau, the then Stadholder of Holland. They abandoned the island in 1712 to mass their troops at Cape Colony or perhaps, as some facetiously put it, on account of the rats. When the French came in 1715, they found the island uninhabited, and they settled down in right earnest. They began by planting sugarcane and the cotton and the indigo plants and by erecting buildings of military importance as well as of public utility. The French named the island *Ile de France* (Isle of France). Last of all, the English took possession of the island in 1810 by right of conquest, after sustaining defeat in several naval and land battles at the hands of the French. The English gave the island its Dutch name of Mauritius.

An historical fact which is to be noted here is that the different European powers that came to India to ply their 'trades' in the wake of the French Revolution, had to double the Cape of Good Hope, the Suez canal not being then open, and then pass through the Mozambique Channel between Africa and Madagascar to reach India. In rough weather, these people would not cross this risky channel but would deviate round Madagascar and thereby pass near Mauritius on their way to, and from, India. Mauritius thus occupied a great strategic importance for these European powers, specially the French and the English, who were struggling for supremacy in India during the Carnatic

Wars. That is the reason why the British fought the French for the possession of the island.

The capture of Mauritius from the French provides a striking analogy with Indian history. Just as in India, the Indian sepoys have more often than not been the cause of the victory of the Britishers against their Indian opponents by their actively helping or conniving or siding with them, so did the 2,700 sepoys of the Madras, Bengal and Bombay Regiments, who accompanied the expedition to Mauritius to help the Britishers in capturing the island. S. B. de Burgh-Edwards, a member of the Mauritius Historical Records Committee, bears me out in this. He writes:

"Meanwhile the sepoys had climbed *Montagne Longue* (a mountain spur), which the Pamplemousse (the district in which *Montagne Longue* is situated) Militia had failed to defend in time, though ordered to do so."

Now the masters of the island were the British and the possessors of the land were the French. The notorious slave trade of the Whites supplied these French settlers with African slave labour: where Blacks were available, the Whites cannot soil their hands with tilling the soil! But when the slave trade was abolished in 1834, these Africans refused to work. Moreover, according to F. Gleadow, an expert sent to Mauritius in 1905:

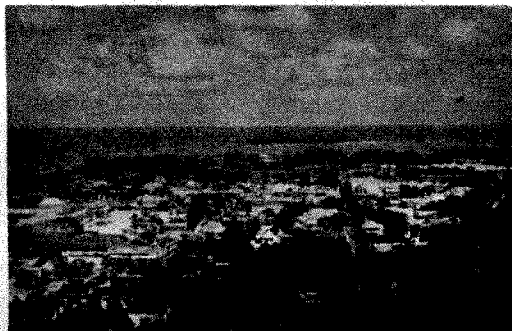
"The great body of this (non-Indian) class have a horror of agriculture, derived from the slave days partly, but also due to the general negro love of play and dislike of work. Like the British workman, he loves to lounge round the drink shop, smoking, gossiping, and spitting all over the place."

The colonists were now in a fix. On October 12, 1838, they gathered in several meetings and asked for "the immigration of Indians to replace the slaves in the fields." And the benign East India Company sent Indians under indentured labour with such a rapidity that by the next year, these "Indian coolies" as they were contemptuously called, numbered 25,648.

Indentured labour was a euphemistic term for the serfdom of the Middle Ages: it was much worse even. Not only did these Indian labourers change masters and do *corvée* like the serfs of old, but they were also stripped naked and whipped and made to stand in the sun with cane syrup smeared on the wounds so that flies may complete the lesson the white masters had to teach to their black slaves. Most of the Indians died in this 'humane' process. The cause of this treatment varied from the grave sin of not handing over of a "femelle asiatique triviale" (trivial Asiatic female)

to a "blanc de bonne souche française" (White of good French stock) for the satisfaction of his 'divine' lust, to the peccadillo of not willingly submitting to the whims of the Saheb.

The Indian groaned under this most inhuman tyranny. His voice was heard by his brothers in India, but the latter were themselves helpless. In these circumstances, he went on toiling and bringing up his children with his own life-blood, as does the pelican of the poet's imagination. It is he who has brought about "the present prosperity of the colony." It is he who is "the secret source of all the wealth, luxury, and splendour with which the island abounds."



An aerial view of the town and harbour of Port Louis

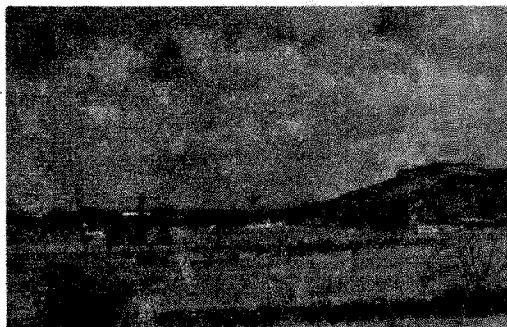
"The increase in the produce of the colony has been owing exclusively to the introduction of Coolie labourers from India," says Rev. Patrick Beaton, in his *Creoles and Coolies or Five Years in Mauritius* (1858). "... The abolition of slavery would have been its (the colony's) death-blow, and instead of having its sloping plains and central high lands covered with the rustling cane, and the natural beauty of its scenery diversified by bands of busy labourers, and the smoke of working *usines* (mills), the whole island might soon have relapsed into its original state, and ... retained only by the British for the conveniences which its harbour affords to their Indian shipping."

But what have these Indians got as reward for saving Mauritius from the catastrophe and bringing about its prosperity? They have been treated like beasts and been given the contemptuous appellations of "coolies" and "malabars" and been maliciously and calumniously called the bringers of "cholera, malaria and other evils." I wish to borrow the words of Shakespeare to express my horror at this monstrous ingratitude, which "is sharper than a serpent's tongue":

"Blow, blow, thou winter wind,
Thou art not so unkind,
As man's ingratitude."
"Freeze, freeze, thou bitter sky,
Thou dost not bite so nigh,
As benefits forgot."

The Indian's cup of misery was full when came the liberator, Veer Manilal, at the beginning of this century. Single-handed he fought against the White Bastille of tyranny and oppression and succeeded in the end in freeing the Indians from the shackles of the Indenture System—from what is popularly known there as *engagement*. Veer Manilal is dead, but his name shall ever live in the heart of the Indians of that land, where, according to the wish of the author of *Paul et Virginie* (1787), an idyll with Mauritius as background, man was to "pursue his happiness by following nature and virtue." How much disappointed Bernardin de St. Pierre would have been if he were to know that the "Mauritians", who claim him as their "souche", were not to follow virtue in their dealings with the Indians to whom they were so much indebted!

After the emancipation of the Indians by Veer Manilal, there came, one after the other, Dr. Chiranjivilal Bharadwaj and some Indian missionaries, who kindled the spiritual fire that was already burning in them and made them conscious of the glories that was Hind and proud of their race, instead of hanging down their heads in shame before the traduceurs of their nation. As a result of these missions, a thirst for knowledge of things Indian, specially Indian religion, literature and arts, began to be felt. To slake this thirst, a wave of Indo-Mauritians started coming to India from the early twenties, my humble self being one of them. Most of them have gone back after completing their studies here. They have gone a lot to propagate Indian ideals and traditions and Sanskrit learning in that far-off colony. But of all these young enthusiasts, Prof. Bassoodeo Bissoondoyal tops the list.



An aerial view of the race-course track and citadel at Port Louis

PROF. BASSOODEO BISSOONDOYAL

Prof. Bissoondoyal came to India in 1933 to drink deep at the Pierian spring of Vedic lore and to imbibe Indian culture at its very source. He took his B.A. degree from the D. A. V. College, Lahore, and his M.A. degree from the Calcutta University. During these six years of his stay in India, he studied

Sanskrit and Hindi literatures, much more than he found in his college curriculum, from eminent scholars. He also travelled extensively during his sojourn to gather first-hand information. He had equipped himself well for his self-imposed mission; it seems he was born for that. On reaching Mauritius after this solid preparation, he started his work of unifying the Indians—Muslims included—on



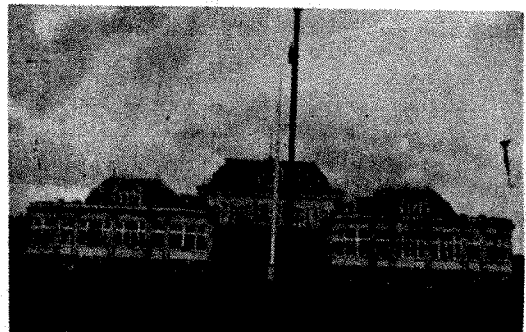
The town of Curepipe with well-built stores on both sides and the lofty tower of the Church of St. Therese in the background

one side and, on the other, counteracting the Whites' campaign of vilification against Indians that had been going on unchecked for years. If I am allowed an awkward phrase, I will say he burst into many and varied activities. He brought out pamphlets upon pamphlets to make the slanderers of Indians understand that India had a glorious culture, which was personified in the Mahatma, the soul admired by the whole world; he opened many schools to educate the Indians in their language and culture; he addressed innumerable meetings in every nook and corner of the island to propound the beauties of Indian culture and traditions to spell-bound audiences; he organised well-disciplined Sewak Dals and processions to show the solidarity of the Indians to their revilers. The Hindi Sahitya Sammelan of 1942, the Mahayajna of 1943 and the Indian Independence Celebrations of August 15, 1947, which he so successfully organised, besides being scenes of unbounden love and enthusiasm among the Indians (including Muslims), the number of the congregations at a single place (*Champ de Mars*) mounting to the unprecedented figures of 20,000, 50,000 and 60,000 respectively, show that he is the leader of the Indian community there. But this popularity he won not without sacrifices: he was clapped in jail four times for "sedition" on the report of witnesses, whom the Judiciary later on found to be misunderstanding or misrepresenting facts. But can you believe it, reader, that there is a jail even in such a small island as Mauritius where soft Nature bathes in beauty? Further, can you believe that a Hindu missionary whose preachings revolve round *ahimsa* can be put in that jail?

The greatest achievement of Prof. Bissoondoyal

is the revision of the sixty-three-year old constitution which he has brought about by his untiring labour and agitation throughout the eight years after his return to Mauritius. His lieutenants in this work are his brother, Shree Sukhdeo Bissoondoyal, and Shree Balgobin, both of whom were waylaid and assaulted last year by hirelings of vested interests just as they were coming out of a meeting which they had organised to protest against the kind of constitution the colonial bureaucracy was willing to foist on the people. I don't think it would be out of place to mention here that the Professor's eldest brother and my revered teacher, Shree Sugriva Bissoondoyal, that talented, silent but ardent patriot, who had filled the hearts of so many young Indians with a passion for Indian culture, would have been a great asset to him in his struggle had not cruel death removed him from his side.

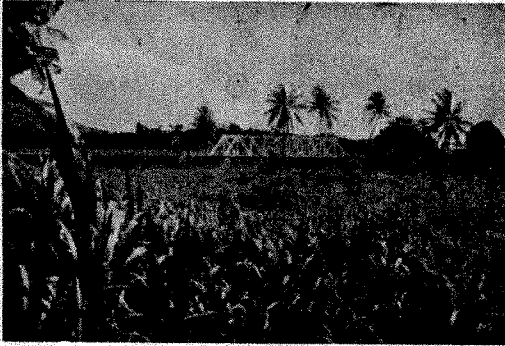
Imperialism dies hard. So it is in Mauritius. Divide and rule is an old Machiavellian tactics—and bureaucracy has tried it in that colony too. It has not been difficult for the Government to gather some reactionaries and vested interests—it is a pity that even a highly educated Indian has allowed himself to be used thus—and get a memorandum to the Constitution Consultative Committee signed by seven of these



The Town Hall of "Rose Hill" and the Plaza Cinema Hall

boosted "leaders," in which Prof. Bissoondoyal's movement for universal franchise and a fully democratic constitution has been dubbed as a "Hindu organised agitation," whose unanimous resolution showed that this "community is still politically immature." Those habituated to these ways of Imperialism will dismiss this as too old a joke. But one cannot stand the mud-slinging that some of these black sheep do at Prof. Bissoondoyal, this great patriot. This reminds me of Austin Dobson's *Don Quixote* :

*"Thou wert a figure strange enough, good lack !
To make wise-acredom, both high and low,
Rub purblind eyes, and (having watched thee go)
Despatch its Dogberrys upon thy track :
Alas, poor knight ! Alas, poor soul possest !
Yet would today, when courtesy grows chill,*



A view of the sugarcane plantation ready for harvest with Tamarin Bay Bridge at the back



The Botanical Garden of Curepipe is noted for its crystal-like lakes and for its huge valuable trees

*And life's fine loyalties are turned to jest,
Some fire of thine might burn within us still."*

And then these reactionary "Mauritains" or "Europeans," as they had begun to style themselves recently, have raised the bogey of Mauritius joining the Indian Union in case they have an overwhelming majority through universal franchise. We have read repercussions of this in London papers. Though the present liberalisation of the franchise has increased the number of voters six-fold, the literacy qualification attached to the vote has curtailed the voting capacity of the Indians, specially of the South Indians, who are less literate than their brothers hailing from North India, while it has virtually increased the vote of the minority of non-Indians, as their women-folk are all literate. The new elections are going to take place this month. Let us hope that progressives like Shree Sukhdeo Bissoondoyal and Shree Balgobin, who are contesting the elections against reactionaries propped up by vested interests will win.

With the appointment of a Commissioner of the Government of India in Mauritius, the Indian struggle for equality with his fellow citizens assumes a new stage. The formerly helpless Indo-Mauritian now feels he has an elder brother to rely upon in times of stress and before whom he can put his domestic differences and difficulties for arbitration and counsel. I must say that my compatriots are lucky in getting Shree Dharam Yash Dev Ji as their first Commissioner. It won't take them long to have proofs of his love and zeal for the community. I hope the Government of India will sanction sufficient funds for him to carry out all the schemes he has in his mind for the uplift of our down-trodden people there. I fervently wish our

countrymen there may quickly achieve their goal with his help and advice.

*Jai Hind ! Jai Bharatadwipa **

* When this article was written (June 1948), the election was not yet held. Now the election is over and the official results show that 11 Indians were elected out of the 19 members to be elected to the Legislative Assembly under the new Constitution. The remaining 7 seats were captured by the Creole community, while only one went to the Europeans. The contest was very keen. Seeing that the whites had sustained defeat in the election, the Governor (who has always supported them) nominated 5 whites (5 Frenchmen and 2 Englishmen) out of the 12 nominations that were to be made. Of the remaining 5 nominated seats, 3 went to the coloured population, 1 to the Muslims and 1 to the Chinese. The table given here below speaks for itself :

Community	Population	Number of elected members	Number of nominated members	Total Representatives
Hindus	207,000	11	0	11
Coloured (of African descent)	130,000	7	3	10
Muslims	60,000	0	1	1
Chinese	18,000	0	1	1
Whites (of French descent)	9,500	1	5	6
English	200	0	2	2
Rodrigues and Dependencies, etc.	18,000	0	0	0
Total	452,700	19	12	31
		Ex-officio seats		4
				35



NATIONAL HERITAGE OF RAJASTHAN

By THE MAHARAO RAJA SAHIBBAHADUR OF BUNDI

HERE in Bundi we have a rich heritage of history, and at last been rediscovered, and on the magnificent sculptures that have been lying, sometimes hidden and sometimes in the open.



A view of the gathering on 5th December, 1948, in which H. H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi inaugurated the N. H. P. Society

These discoveries are of very great interest and value to Bundi. But, from what I have learnt in these past few days, it seems more than likely that they will prove of great interest and value on a far wider scale. It may well be that these discoveries, and the research to which they will give rise, will throw completely new light on our Rajputana history in its earliest days.

It is especially fitting, therefore, that this should be the time when a Museum should be opened, and I am particularly glad that the initiative should have come from members of the Bundi public. I hope that the group that has formed the National Heritage Preservation Society of Rajasthan¹ will succeed in



H. H. the Maharao Raja of Bundi inspecting the sculptures in the Museum Hall of the N.H.P. Society



Fragment of a Scytho-Parthian sculpture

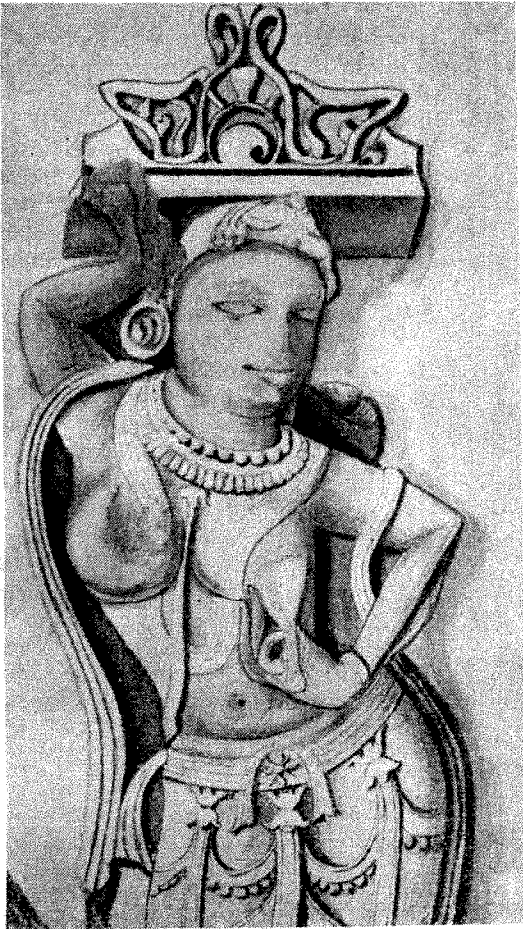
here would have been good reasons to establish a Museum in Bundi.

In these last few months, largely due to the knowledge and skill of Mr. S. Roy and Mr. Thakore, and the enthusiasm of a small group which has worked with them, the need for a Museum in Bundi has become much more pressing. Mr. Roy has done fine work at Jakhari, Patan and Nainwa, on the old town that has

spreading its enthusiasm to many others in Bundi, so that the Museum, when it is opened, will become a living part of Bundi—and not, as often happens with a Museum, a building which everyone knows from outside and very few from inside.

¹ This society has been founded with the sole object of preserving the manifold relics of the traditional art and culture of Rajasthan as

I understand that it is the aim of the Society to open, in conjunction with the Museum, an Arts School. Of this, too, I am very glad. In the past fifty years the old arts of Rajputana have been slowly dying.



An architectural sculpture recently discovered and collected by the N. H. P. Society

Workmen who take real pride in the quality of their work are hard to find. But the skill is still there, if it can be found and encouraged.

It has always been my aim to encourage any fine workmen that can be found in Bundi. I assure you all that I shall watch the Arts School that you mean to form with great interest, and I shall give any encouragement that is within my power to all fine workmen that the school may produce.

I am very glad to be able to inaugurate this Society, and still more glad that it should have come into being.

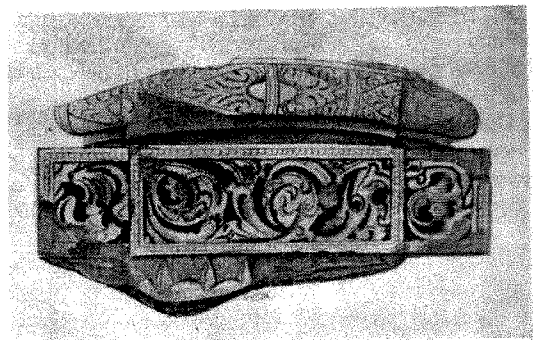
is manifest in the sculptures and paintings discovered by this society recently. It shall also strive to collect and record folk-songs, ballads and stories. Its immediate aim is to establish a museum in the historic and ancient city of Bundi, as well as an Arts school in order to revive the dying arts and crafts which were once the pride of India and the highest artistic expression of the people of Rajasthan.

I should like to congratulate those of you who have formed this Society, and to urge the people of Bundi to share in your work. Today, at the start of a new era in Indian history, there is a temptation to look only forwards. We have a proud and fine past, and while looking forward to the future let us not forget that past. It has much to teach us. The beautiful sculptures² collected in these rooms are one more proof of that.



A Sunga period Yakshini figure

I should like also to assure you of my very real interest in your work, and to say that it is my intention to be the patron of your Society in fact as well as in name. May the National Heritage Preservation Society of Rajasthan, which I now inaugurate, be of true service to Bundi, to India, and to knowledge.*



Fragment of a Gupta column

2 The four line-drawings are directly copied from the sculptures of the museum by Mr. Jogendra Sahai Saxena, B.A., Sahityalankar, Assistant Curator of the Museum.

* Address delivered by His Highness the Maharaja Raja Sahib Bahadur of Bundi at the inauguration of the National Heritage Preservation Society of Rajasthan on the 5th of December 1948.

THE HOOVER LIBRARY AND INSTITUTE

By HAZEL LYMAN NICKEL

IN anticipation of his 74th birthday anniversary former United States President Herbert Hoover (President from 1929 to 1933) recently was presented with a gift of \$70,000, monetary donations to be used as a nucleus for a continuing fund by which activities of the Hoover Library and Institute can be expanded. Establishment of the Library and Institute, on the campus of Stanford University in the west coast state of California, was itself a co-operative project. Funds were donated by Mr. Hoover and supplemented by other contribu-

whatever corner of the globe they were stationed, and have forwarded to it materials which it would never have received otherwise.

The Hoover Library as it is today is largely the work of Miss Almond who recently retired after 25 years as librarian. Her decision in 1921 to document the National Socialist movement in Germany, before the party had come into power, brought to the library a collection of materials of the Nazi Party unsurpassed on the North American continent.

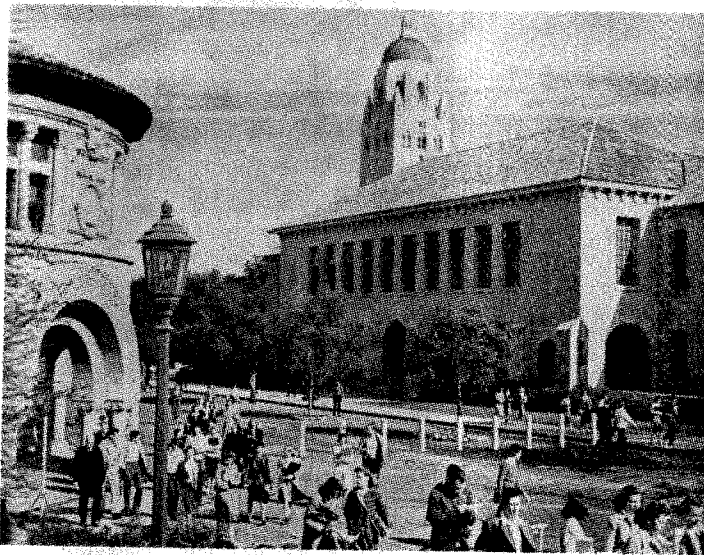
As a custodian of irreplaceable documents of international conferences, of records of experiments in international understandings, and of fugitive documents of governments which have ceased to exist, Miss Almond had a richly remunerative life. She saw the library expand from a small collection of Herbert Hoover's humanitarian enterprise of World War I into one of the great libraries of the world, including the records of every social movement from Communism through Fascism, Nazism, and of the various social movements in the democracies as well.

On retirement Miss Almond recalled the day when a box was unpacked containing a complete bound file of *Der Sturmer*, Streicher's office copy of this organ, with its rich, red inner covers emblazoning "Deutschland Erwachte." And there was the arrival of an over-whelming ship-

ment of 63 crates containing 10,000 separate pieces of documentary material on post-revolutionary Spain, more than half of which was made up of propaganda literature of the German Cultural Institute in Madrid operated by the German Embassy and a center of wartime propaganda in Spain.

Neatly tucked away in one box of books from Germany, sent by one of the Stanford alumni, was a water color of a serene country landscape at which one had to look twice to discover the name of the artist, A. Hitler, inscribed in one corner.

"One of the most interesting changes in documentary practice in recent years," explained Miss Almond, "has been the replacement of original documents by microfilm copy. Now it is possible to make available, with a microfilm reader and one small case of microfilm, piles of newspapers whose originals would have occupied the shelves of a large room. The Hoover Library's files of over 200 Russian newspapers of the

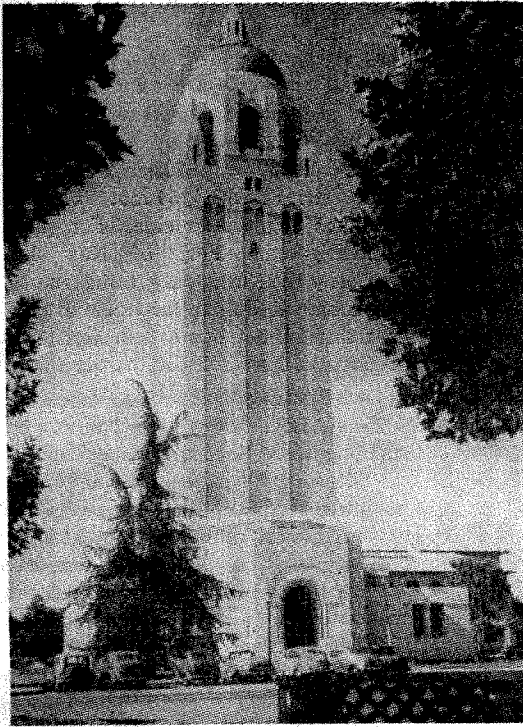


A view of the campus at Stanford University with the tower of the Hoover Library in the background

ors and by the university. The library's aim is primarily toward promoting peace throughout the world.

During World War I, Mr. Hoover was prompted to begin the collecting of elusive documents of contemporary history, while he was serving as chairman of the Commission for Relief in Belgium. Realizing that the documents which passed through his hands were of great importance for the study of the problems of war and peace, Mr. Hoover purposed to preserve these precious records and to provide a place where history could be written from an impartial standpoint. From this nucleus, through gift and purchase, materials have poured into the library from every country of the world.

Miss Nina Almond, retired librarian and consultant in research of the Hoover Library, gratefully acknowledges that the members of the Stanford University community have cherished the interests of the library, in



A view of the Hoover Library on War, Revolution and Peace, at Stanford University on the Pacific Coast of the United States

1917-1918 period are not only indispensable sources for study of that period, they are almost the only ones."

During the many years as librarian Miss Almond had an especial genius in preparing lists of desired Government documents, books, serials, and newspapers to be taken abroad by collecting agents of the library. Her selectivity was based on the endeavor to provide complete and authentic historical sources for scholars—for those men and women qualified to handle historical research.

During the war years, Miss Almond assisted Army and Navy officers who made extensive use of the library. While the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations Organization was convening in 1945, Miss Almond was frequently consulted in locating certain vital documents of the Paris Peace Conference which the Hoover Library could always produce.

Professor Sidney B. Fay of Harvard University stated in an address delivered at the dedication of the Hoover Library in 1941: "There are only two libraries of importance in the world of this kind that can be compared with the Hoover Library." He referred to the German Weltkriegsbucherei at Schloss Rosenstein near Stuttgart and to the French Bibliotheque et Musee de la Guerre at Vincennes, and added:

"I have spoken of these two libraries because they are of great interest and value to historical scholars in themselves, but also because by comparison with them it will be seen how greatly the Hoover Library excels them in breadth of scope and in usefulness to scholars and students."—From *The Christian Science Monitor*.

—:O:—

WORLD'S LARGEST COMMERCIAL AIRPORT

In New York City's International Airport, popularly known as Idlewild, the world is probably seeing an approach to the physical limits of commercial airports. Located at the edge of Jamaica Bay, only 13½ miles from the heart of New York City and not far from the U. N. headquarters at Lake Success, this new air metropolis is nine times the size of world-famous LaGuardia Airport. Because of its vast size, its long open parallel runways, ranging in length from 6,000 to 9,600 feet, and its central location, it may be said to have one of the best approaches of any commercial airport in the world. In addition to these physical advantages, it has a special approach—and runway—lighting system designed to provide for visual recognition of the instrument runway under all weather conditions.

Formally dedicated by President Truman and the Republican Party's Presidential nominee, New York's Governor Thomas E. Dewey, on July 31, 1948, International Airport was officially thrown open to foreign-flag overseas airlines on July 1, 1948.

Speaking at the dedication ceremony, the President said: "This airport stands open to the air commerce



Aerial view of International Airport on Long Island's south shore

of all the peace-loving peoples of the world. May their citizens and ours use it in increasing volume, exchanging their goods and ours and exchanging their ideas and ours. . . . This airfield will help us to know our neighbors better. Planes will land here, bringing newspapers printed only a few hours earlier in Rome, or

Within the vast area of Idlewild, comprising 4,900 acres or 7.1 square miles, six runways, arranged in pairs, have already been completed and a seventh is under construction. In all there are some nine miles of runways, six miles of taxiways and 20 miles of roads within the field.



These hangars at International Airport were made available for service for foreign-flag airlines, beginning July 1, 1948

Paris, or London. Papers printed in the morning in New York will be in the streets of European cities that night."

INITIAL WORK

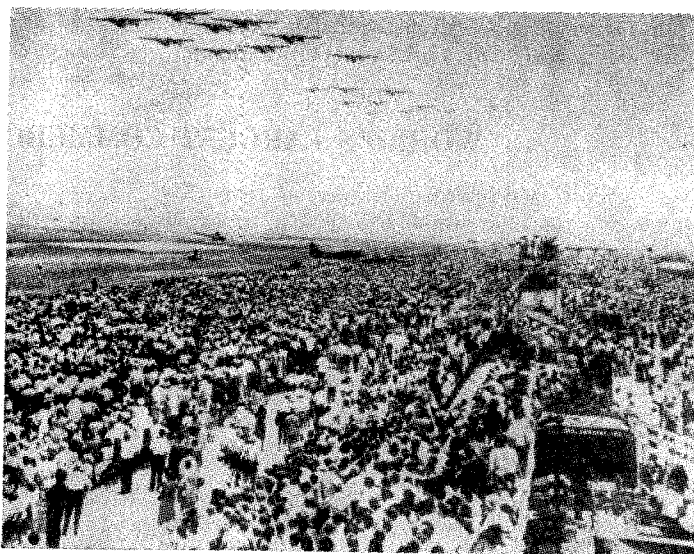
Initial work on New York International was commenced six years ago and some 60 million dollars was spent in clearing and erecting temporary buildings. The port of New York Authority, which has signed a 50-year lease for the airport, plans to spend another 100 million dollars in developing the field. Construction of the first permanent building, a 4,500,000-dollar steel and brick structure, has already started and in it will be housed the Weather Bureau, the Civil Aeronautics Administration regional offices and Federal agencies. By 1949, when the new hangars are completed, it is expected that all overseas air traffic into and out of the New York area will be concentrated at International, and by 1950 the Port Authority hopes to shift certain intermediate and long-range domestic traffic from LaGuardia to the new facility, which will have an estimated capacity of at least 1,000 flights per day. By 1960, however, it is expected that International Airport will handle 40,000 passengers and 2,500 planes each day.

The runways are 200-foot-wide concrete strips with 50-foot black-top shoulders on either side. For initial operations the Port of New York Authority will use only three runways to handle the limited air traffic expected to result from the move of foreign-flag overseas airlines from LaGuardia Airport.

OUTSTANDING TECHNICAL FEATURES

Technically, one of the most outstanding features of the huge airport is the all-weather approach-light system installed at the end of Runway C and extending on a timber pier for 3,500 feet out into Jamaica Bay. It is considered by some engineers to represent the strongest light ever made by man.

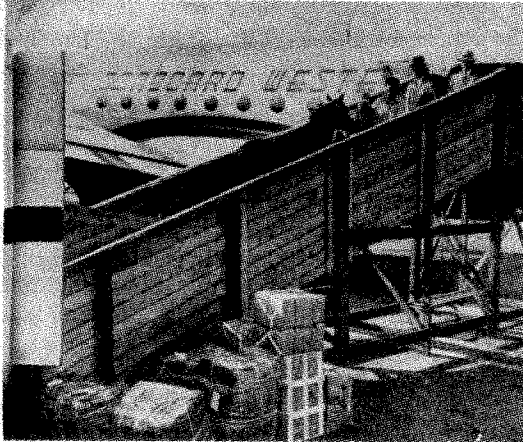
There are two types of lights comprising this approach-light system; one type performing as steadily-burning or brilliantly-flashing units, can muster a maximum brilliance of 10,000,000 candle-power.



Twin-engined troop carriers of U. S. Air Force flying over some of the 215,000 spectators gathered at International Airport dedication

The other, used to pierce heavy fog conditions, operates like a rapidly repeating bolt of lightning, flashing 40 times a minute from the far end of the approach light pier to the start of the runway. These flashes are magnified optically to 3,300,000,000 peak beam candlepower. In less than a second the com-

pletely flashing system develops more than 115,000,000 candlepower—the momentary light ing and the red cross that it is closed for some reason. In addition to the instrument and lighting system,



This commercial transport plane was the first to land at International Airport from Paris

equivalent of 2,000,000,000 ordinary 60-watt household bulbs.

Besides this powerful approach-light, the 8,200-foot instrument runway (C) is equipped with flashing green-arrow and red-cross lights at the runway ends. The green indicates that the runway is open for land-



President Harry S. Truman and Thomas E. Dewey, Governor of the State of New York, exchange greetings as they meet at the dedication of International Airport

New York international Airport will have all the various conventional navigational aids—large lighted tetrahedron, a central control tower of modern design and other installations—all of which equip the airport for utmost efficiency.—USIS.

—:O:—

RAJA SIR ANNAMALAI CHETTIAR

By L. N. GUBIL

Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar of Chettinad was born on September 30, 1881. He was the son of Mr. Muthiah Chettiar who was a prominent member of the Nagarathar Community. At Kanadaukathan, his native place, Annamalai Chettiar as a young man received training in banking, and after the death of his father in 1900, he took charge of his family affairs. His business extended over all the Eastern countries, Burma, Ceylon, Malaya, etc., and in 1910 he visited many of the countries of Europe and also America later on. After a quarter of a century he led a delegation in connection with the question of the status of Indians in free Burma. He distinguished himself in the service of his country as a member of the Council of State and the Central Legislature and also as a Governor of the Imperial Bank of India for some years. He was knighted in 1923 and was made a hereditary Raja in 1929. He was a prince of philanthropists. His donation of 30 lakhs of rupees for the University which is known after him, his contribution to the Women and Children's Hospital at Kanadaukathan and also to the Willingdon Club are widely known. His interest in the development of Tamil music was great and the many-sided development of the Annamalai University is a standing monument to his varied talents and gifts. Two of his three sons are



Raja Annamalai Chettiar in business and the eldest son is the Kumaraja (now Rajah) of Chettinad who is a distinguished leader in South Indian political and social life. Raja Sir Annamalai Chettiar died on June 15, 1948.

MM. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI

An Autobiographical Sketch

[An Indologist of international repute, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Sastri needs no introduction to readers. He comes off a family of great Sanskrit scholars. His profound knowledge of Sanskrit and Pali helped him to solve many an intricate problem of ancient history covering the period of Buddhist influence in India. He rose to eminence through years of hard labour and meticulous care in sifting details. Some of his discoveries are quite startling. He traced the origin of the Bengali language and literature to Buddhism. The influence of Bankim Chandra Chatterjee led Haraprasad to be a writer of fine Bengali prose, but his contact with Raja Rajendra Lal Mitra was a turning point in his life and made him what he is known to be among scholars. He was a worthy successor to the great Raja. He has left an autobiographical sketch in the form of a pamphlet printed in 1916 for private circulation among his friends. It is a very rare document, and readers interested in biographies of eminent men would do well to acquaint themselves with the life of a great scholar as told by himself. Born in December 1853, Haraprasad died in November, 1931, when he was 78, full of years and honours.—BRAJENDRA NATH BANERJEE.]

I. GOVERNMENT SERVICE

In February 1878 Haraprasad Shastri entered Government Service as Translation-master and Head Pandit of the Hare School. In September of the same year he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit in the Canning College, Lucknow, where he served for thirteen months. During his term of office in the Canning College, Babu Ramsaran Dass, (afterwards a Rai Bahadur and a Fellow of the Allahabad University) passed his M.A. Examination in Sanskrit with distinction. In January, 1883, he was appointed Professor of Sanskrit Literature in the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. In September of the same year he was transferred to the Bengali Translator's Office as Assistant Translator. In January 1886 he was appointed Librarian of Bengal Library, an office which he held for eight years, and his annual reports were highly appreciated by Sir Alfred Croft, the then Director of Public Instruction under whom the Library department was placed. His annual reports were also appreciatively reviewed by the *Pioneer*. In February, 1894* his services were transferred to the Presidency College as Senior Professor of Sanskrit. In 1896, he was allowed to open an M.A. Class in Sanskrit in that College. In December, 1900, he was appointed Principal of the Sanskrit College, Calcutta, and Registrar of Sanskrit Examinations in Bengal. He retired from the Government Service in November 1908. But Government put him on the day

of his retirement in charge of a Bureau of Information for the benefit of Civil Officers in Bengal, in history, religion, customs and folklore of Bengal, an office which he still holds.

II. RESEARCH STUDENTS

The Shastri has spent the greater part of the period he was in Government Service in teaching higher branches of Sanskrit—the B.A. and the M.A. classes as a rule. As Principal of the Sanskrit College he trained six scholars in Sanskrit Research, viz., 1. Babu Ganga Mohan Laskara, M.A. (Sanskrit), now unfortunately no more, in Epigraphy and Paleography; 2. Pandit Bhagavat Bhusan Goswami, M.A. (Sanskrit), now Professor in Hughli College, in Vaisnava Literature; 3. Babu Bhavesh Chandra Banerji, M.A. (Sanskrit), now Professor of Krishnagore College, in Mimamsa and Smriti; 4. Babu Nilmani Chakravarti, M.A. (Sanskrit and Pali), now Professor of the Presidency College, in History as gathered from Sanskrit Literature; 5. Babu Ramlal Kanjilal, M.A. (Sanskrit), now in Maharaja's College at Srinagore, in making descriptive Catalogue of MSS. and in Sanskrit Geography; and 6. Pandit Guruprasanna Bhattacharyya, M.A. (Sanskrit), now in the Central College, in the Vedas.

All these students placed themselves under his training after passing their M.A. Examination in Sanskrit as Government of Bengal post-graduate Scholars on a Research Scholarship of Rs. 100 a month, for terms of two or three years.

III. HONORARY SERVICES UNDER GOVERNMENT

In 1880, the Shastri was appointed a Commissioner of the Naihati Municipality, an important Suburban and Riparian town which has now been divided into three, nay, four Municipalities. He soon rose to be its Vice-Chairman and Chairman, and his work was always reported on with appreciation by the authorities, but his literary engagements in Calcutta multiplying, he had to sever his connexion with this Municipality.

In 1884, he was appointed an Honorary Magistrate of the Naihati Bench and was soon made its President, an appointment which he still holds.

In 1888, he was appointed a member of the Central Text Book Committee which he served for 12 years.

In 1888, he was made a Fellow of the Calcutta University and he continues a fellow still.

In 1903, he was appointed a member of a Commission to report on the Budh-Gaya Temple along with Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra and the report submitted elicited the highest encomium from the then Lieutenant-Governor, Mr. J. A. Bourdillon. His Honour's letter is quoted here in full.

* This should be "1895".—B. N. B.

Belvedere,
Calcutta, 17th July, 1903

My Dear Sir,

I find that I have not hitherto formally acknowledged the receipt of the report on the Budh-Gaya Temple which has been submitted by Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitra and yourself, after the enquiries made by you at the end of March last.

Let me do so now : and in doing so allow me to express to you the acknowledgement of Government for the complete, erudite, valuable memorandum which you have prepared . . . In any case it will remain a monument of your learning, assiduity and impartiality.

Believe to be,
Yours truly,
J. A. BOURDILLON

In 1911, he was appointed a member of the Conference of Orientalists at Simla to which he submitted many notes.

In 1908, the Shastri was requested by the Government to accompany Prof. Macdonell of Oxford in his tour in Northern India and he travelled with the Professor to Puri, Bankipore, Nalanda, Rajgriha, Muzafferpore, Benares, Lucknow, Balarampore, Set-Mahet, Agra, Delhi, Lahore, Peshawar, Jhansi, Khajuraha and Bombay, examining Archaeological Museums, excavations, Temples and Collections of Manuscripts. On this occasion he collected rare Vedic Manuscripts for the MaxMuller Memorial at Oxford. He also collected nearly 7,000 manuscripts, which the Maharaja of Nepal presented to the Bodleian Library, Oxford. The Chancellor of the University, Lord Curzon, the late Viceroy of India, wrote him an autograph letter, thanking him in the following terms :

1, Carlton House,
Terrace, S. W.
5th January, 1910

My Dear Sir,

I have heard from Oxford of the invaluable part that you have played in arranging for the purchase, the cataloguing and the despatch to England, of the wonderful collection of Sanskrit manuscripts, which Maharaja Sir Chandra Shumshere Jung of Nepal has so generously presented to the Bodleian Library ; and I should like both as a former Viceroy and Chancellor of the University to send you a most sincere line of thanks for the great service which your erudition, goodwill and indefatigable exertion have enabled you to render to us.

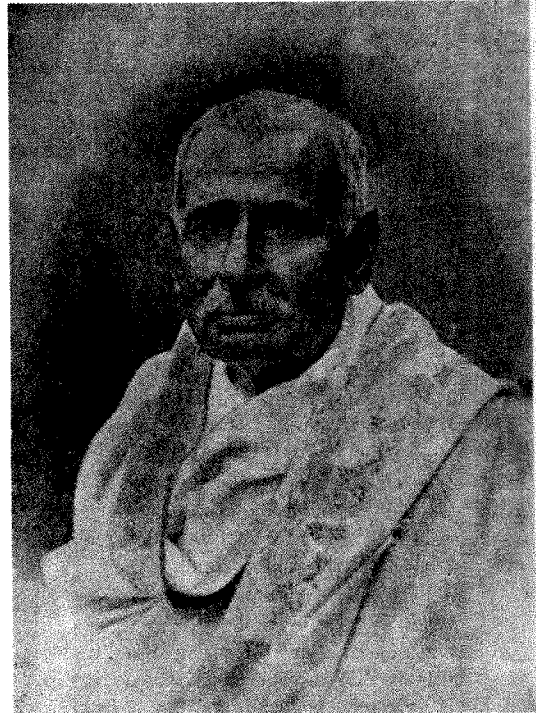
With the best wishes for the new year and with the hope that scholars like yourself may never be wanting in India

I am,
Yours faithfully,
CURZON of Kedleston

In 1912, the Shastri at the request of Sir John Marshall purchased for the Archaeological Department a collection of MSS. which after a protracted examination of three years proves to be one of the largest containing nearly twelve thousand manuscripts. The Vedic MSS. in it are very valuable. Sir John has given him a small temporary establishment which is still employed in sifting and testing the collection.

IV. HIS WORK IN THE ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL

In 1878, Raja Rajendralal Mitra asked Pandit Haraprasad Shastri to translate the Gopalatapan Upanishad into English, and sought his assistance in the preparation of his monumental work entitled the Nepalese Buddhist Literature. The assistance afforded by the Shastri was handsomely acknowledged in the Preface of that work, by the Raja in the following terms : ". . . during a protracted attack of illness, I felt the want of help and a friend of mine Babu Haraprasad Shastri, M.A., offered me his co-operation and translated the abstract of 16 of the large works. His initials have been attached to the names of these works



Mahamahopadhaya Haraprasad Shastri

in the table of contents. I feel deeply obliged to him for the timely aid he rendered me and tender him my cordial acknowledgments for it. His thorough mastery of the Sanskrit language and knowledge of European Literature fully qualified him for the task and he did his work to my entire satisfaction. I must add, however, that I did not deem it necessary to compare all his renderings with the original."

In 1885, the Shastri was elected a member of the Asiatic Society and was at once put on the Philological Committee and was placed in charge of the Bibliotheca Indica Publications. He held this office for 22 years and had to revise the last proofs of all non-resident editors. He left it in 1906* when he was appointed, under the old rules, Vice-President of the Society, for life.

* This should be "1907."—B. N. B.

In July, 1891, on the death of Raja Rajendralal Mitra, he was made director of the operations in search of Sanskrit MSS. an appointment he still holds. In this capacity he has collected 8,000 select manuscripts, submitted six long and learned reports and published eight volumes of Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, two of which contain catalogues of Palm-leaf and selected paper manuscripts in the Durbar Library, Nepal. His reports and notices have always been well-received by oriental scholars of Europe and India, and they have often been referred to by scholars. After his retirement from Government Service, the Council of the Asiatic Society requested him to undertake a descriptive catalogue of the entire collection consisting of eleven thousand manuscripts, which he has very nearly finished and which now awaits publication. In 1909, the Council of the Asiatic Society asked him to undertake on behalf of the Government of India to report on the Bardic MSS. in Rajputana and to formulate a practical scheme for their collection and preservation. This work took four years during which he submitted four annual progress reports and a comprehensive "Preliminary report on the Search of Bardic Manuscripts"—which contains many new and interesting discoveries in the Political, Social, Religious and Literary history of Rajputana.

In his capacity as the officer in charge of the operations in search of Sanskrit and Bardic MSS. he had to make protracted tours in Rajputana, Malwa, Nepal, Orissa, Benares, Bihar and other parts of India.

In 1904, he was elected by the Council to represent the Asiatic Society of Bengal in the centenary celebration of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland.

V. SERVICES TO BENGALI LITERATURE

While the Shastri was in the B.A. Class, the Maharaja Holkar paid a visit to the Sanskrit College and offered a prize to the writer of the best Essay on "the highest ideal of woman's character as set forth by ancient Sanskrit writers" in Bengali. The prize was won by the Shastri, and, though a prize Essay, it is still regarded as the standard work on the subject. The Essay attracted the attention of Babu Bankim Chandra Chatterjee who inserted the whole of it in his now classical magazine, the *Bangadarsan*. He encouraged the Shastri to write in his magazine and Shastri's contributions are varied and numerous. The translation of the titles of these, are given at the end.

The most interesting work by the Shastri is the *Balmiki Jay* or the triumph of Balmiki, a poem in prose, the central idea of which is the triumph of literature over physical and intellectual power. The work elicited the following remarks from Babu Bankim Chandra :

"The course of imagination of this young writer is like the strides of a proud and haughty Lion."

A translation of the work so pleased the great

Shakespearean critic, Professor Dowden, that he remarked, "It will extend the horizons of Western Imagination."

Dr. Brajendra Nath Sil gives to this work the first place in Bengali Literature. The work has been translated in many European and Indian languages.

Another work published in the *Bangadarsan* is the *Kanchanmala*—a historical novel dealing with the reign of Asoka, which, when it first appeared in the *Bangadarsan*, Sir Romesh Chandra Mitter took for the best work of Bankim Chandra, as the author's name was not attached to it, but was soon agreeably disillusioned by a friend.

His next Bengali work is *Bharatvarsher Itihash* which for the first time contained a connected and comprehensive account of the Hindu Period. This, with its English counterpart, a School History of India, revolutionised the idea of Indian History.

His next work Kalidas Vyakhya—*Meghduta* which elicited very strong hostile but interesting criticism in the Bengali press, as an indelicate piece of writing, attracted the attention of the Government and they asked a report from the Shastri. On the perusal of the report and after due enquiry, the Government of Bengal pronounced it to be "written in the best interests of the highest Sanskrit Scholarship."

The Shastri is now continuing his criticism of Kalidasa in the *Narayana* which is conducted under the able editorship of Mr. C. R. Dass, Barrister-at-Law. In the *Narayana* also appears a series of articles by the Shastri on later Buddhism about which very little is known as yet, showing how the highest ideal of Mahayana became gradually degenerated into Devil-worship on the one hand and into excessive sensual enjoyments on the other.

VI. CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS THE HISTORY OF BENGALI LITERATURE

The Shastri's first contribution to the History of Bengali Literature, is a long paper in the *Bangadarsan* entitled, "The Bengali Literature of the present (19th) Century"—a paper which is still read and criticised.

The second contribution is a pamphlet in English entitled "The Vernacular Literature of Bengal before the Introduction of English Education" in 1891, which gave for the first time an insight into the richness of the Vaisnava Literature of Bengal. This work gave an impetus to the search of Manuscripts of Bengali Literature to which Bengal owes the works of Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen and Babu Nagendranath Basu.

The third contribution is to be found in the Eleventh Volume of the Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts, a part of the introduction of which is devoted to it. In this the Shastri for the first time informed the public that Bengali literature owed its origin to Buddhism.

His last work on the subject is, Bengali Buddhist songs, thousand years old, which has just been published. It has taken the History of Bengali Literature,

five or six centuries back. These songs and Dohas have all been discovered, studied and edited by the Shastri single-handed and the edition is accompanied by an all-word index with meanings and an author-index of Buddhist writers in Eastern India taken from the Tantra Section of the Tibetan Tāngur.

VII. THE ADDRESSES

During the past three years, the Shastri as the President of the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad read not less than eight addresses. The first was the Presidential address at the end of the first year of his connexion with the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad. In this he reviewed the ancient Buddhist Bengali Literature which was absolutely unknown. The same subject was elaborated in the second year's address. In the third year's address he has given a history of the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Northern India from Nagarjuna in the second century A.D. to Abhayakar Gupta who flourished in the 11th and the 12th century.

In his Town Hall address, he reviewed the Literature of the whole of Bengal in general and that of Calcutta and 24-Parganas in particular, as President of the Reception Committee of the Bangiya Sahitya Sammilan. At the Bangiya Sahitya Sammilan at Burdwan he read two addresses, the first as President and the second as President of the Sahitya Sakha. In the first he gave all that was glorious and honourable to Bengal and the Bengalis dividing his subject in twenty sections, chronologically arranged, from pre-historic times to the end of the Mahomedan rule. His chapters are termed Gauravas or Honours. In this he has shown that the glory of ancient Bengal was indus-

trial, commercial, and maritime, and of Mediaeval and modern Bengal, literary and proselytising.

In the second address he fearlessly reviewed the present position of Bengali Literature and showed it the way towards progress and proper development.

In his Rungpur address on the occasion of opening the local museum there, he described all the archaeological museums in India and gave Rangpur some good advice how to collect materials for the museum and how to make them interesting.

His address in English on the Educative influence of Sanskrit delivered on the occasion of the opening ceremony of the Hindu University has elicited the following letter from Sir Harcourt Butler.

Government House,
Rangoon,

Dated, 31st March, 1916

My Dear Sir,

Thank you very much for your interesting lecture on the educative influence of Sanskrit. I have read it with greatest interest and if you will allow me to say so, I think it does justice to your reputation as a Scholar. My interest in orientalia does not grow less and I hope to do something for Pali later on. I have new problems and new people to deal with here but I don't forget my old Indian friends.

With all good wishes.

Yours sincerely,
HARCOURT BUTLER

The Shastri was invited to preside at an All-India Sanskrit Congress at Mathura in March last, where he gave an address in Sanskrit on the extent and volume of Sanskrit Literature.

(To be continued)

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INDIAN WOMANHOOD

Mrs. Sushelabhai Phatak, M.A. (Nagpur University), has been appointed an Assistant Secretary to the Relief and Rehabilitation Department of the Government of Hyderabad by the Military Governor. She was for some time Lady Rationing Officer but the Laik Ali Ministry removed her from office. This is the first time that a lady is given such a high post in the State. In recognition of her services during war she was awarded the *Kushru-e-Deccan* medal by the Nizam. A prominent and sincere social worker, she is the wife of Dr. B. K. Phatak, D.D. (Oxon.), M.B.B.S., Honorary Eye Surgeon, Osmania Hospital.



Mrs. Sushelabhai Phatak, M.A.

Photo : N. P. Service.

UNIVERSITY REFORM

By DR. JADUNATH SARKAR, Kt., C.I.E., D.Litt.,
Hon'y. Member, Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain

THE Sadler Commission on the Calcutta University (1917) made suggestions which were foredoomed to failure because they aimed at an ideal too grandiose for a poor country like India. It recommended as an ultimate development, a separate, independent University for every Commissioner's Division in Bengal, i.e., for every revenue-unit of about three districts. Thirty-one years later, another Universities Commission has started its investigation in India. The present Commission will court the same futility unless it constantly bears in mind that a social revolution is now nearing completion in India which is even more far-reaching than that which occurred in England after the Black Death of 1349,—in consequence of which agricultural servitude disappeared, the thinned body of labourers rose to an independent and prosperous status, and the feudal grading of society and the prevailing distribution of political power hastened to a sure end. In India owing to the two World Wars, the Bengal famine of 1943, and the certainty of insufficient food production in the country for as many years as the eye can peep into the future, whole classes have ceased to exist or are fast dying out. These doomed classes are: domestic servants, unskilled day-labourers, priests and school-masters, and the lower-middle-class in general.

The various classes that ensured the normal continuity generation after generation, of our intelligentsia (I mean the vast majority and not the few top men), now find it impossible to bring their children up in the old ways and must choose some other or more mechanical profession for them, because plain living and high studying can only result in family extinction in the post-war world. Further, the impending abolition of private property in land will destroy the last representatives of our indigenous erudite Sanskrit and Persian scholarship, who had for centuries past been nourished on pious land-grants to Brahmans and Manuvais. A life of learned leisure is now impossible for any one in India, except the very rich.

Apart from the scholars of these two classical languages (inseparably linked with the two main religions of our people), even in the case of English and vernacular lower schools, the number and efficiency of the necessary teachers are rapidly falling. (Also in the case of compositors and proof-readers). The plethora of "University Professors" and "Heads of Departments" in the recent plethora of new Universities in India, each on a salary that may rise to four figures, should not conceal this ruinous decline in our teaching agency.

The mentality of one class of our leaders is revealed in an astounding argument which I have often heard in support of teaching the highest classes in the vernacular instead of English. It is said that English education takes more time and costs more money than education through the vernacular, and therefore a vernacular-passed teacher will be "cheaper" than an English-passed teacher of the same race! Yes, go for the higher teachers of your sons to the famine-relief camps.

TEACHERS' SALARIES

The naked truth must be faced that no improvement in the country's education is possible unless the teachers' salaries are raised, promptly and exactly in proportion to the rise in the index number of the cost of living, which in 1948 was four-fold (387 p.c.) that of 1939. This relief must go to all the grades of teachers, from the village *gurus* to college lecturers drawing less than Rs. 500. Whence is this money to come? It is idiotic to sit down in helplessness because you cannot get a greatly enhanced aid from a Central Government which is itself financially embarrassed. Immediate relief to the teachers can be given by our colleges and universities with their existing funds if they will only repress their megalomania and agree to cut their coat according to their cloth. Let them concentrate on teaching a few essential subjects, but teach them well by means of a well-paid, contented and competent but necessarily smaller staff. Reduce the number of departments and branches of minutely specialised subjects, and thus avoid waste and multiplication of overhead charges. No university need establish a separate chair for every special branch of M.A. study. The fragmentation of subjects in the Calcutta University is as deplorable as the fragmentation of individual land-plots in Bengal agriculture, with the same ruinous consequence. An army of ill-paid, hungry and embittered teachers is a great social danger. The British people wisely recognised this truth long ago, and its Education Minister Mr. H. A. L. Fisher averted the danger by increasing the wages of all secondary school teachers to a reasonable standard, while enforcing greater efficiency in return. Let our Finance Ministers, Central and Provincial, sternly set their foot down on the megalomania of our universities and insist on this essential economy as a condition precedent to any grant (old or new) of public money.

A humiliating confession must be made here. In Bengal, we have private "proprietary" schools and even Colleges, where the teachers are kept on starva-

tion wages, while all the surplus income from the fees of their over-crowded classes is swallowed up by the proprietor and his family, nominally designated as officers of the institution. One such College when taken to task for not supplying microscopes to its Biology students, replied to the University (1927) that "Simple lenses would be purchased." Refer also to the report of the Sadler Commission that the students of this College pointed out the Third Class waiting shed of the Sealdah Railway Station as their Students' Common Room. The University, if it only had the will, can stop this shameful exploitation of the teachers and degradation of teaching, in one day as Sir Asutosh Mookherji did in the case of the Sri Krishna Pathshala. All this misappropriated fee income can be spent for the benefit of the teachers and the equipment of these schools and colleges, if an outside public body of managers took charge of their administration.

SUMMARY OF REFORM PROPOSALS

1. Giving all teachers a statutory living wage varying with the price-index of food and clothing (discussed already).

2. Maintenance of the academic standard by means of (a) Visitation of every University by a band of *foreign* experts every two years to inspect and report on the actual efficiency reached by its teachers and equipment, and the *immediate publication* of the report. (b) The regular holding of All-India examinations, *i.e.*, the creation of a sort of intellectual "Central Testing House," on the analogy of the Government Test House for standardizing machines, chemicals, medicines, etc. Such examinations will not be, as now, for merely filling up vacancies in Government services, but as a means of giving a reliable "hall-mark" to our graduates,—the existing local degrees having entirely failed to ensure dependable merit. These examinations should be conducted by men clearly above provincial narrowness and jealousy, with a strong element of foreign scholars.

3. The foundation of all-India institutes of research in the first instance, and of teaching colleges later,—at elevations where unbroken brain work throughout the year is possible. These places should be within easy reach of railways and the cost of living should not be prohibitive by reason of distance from farms and production centres.

If India is ever to be self-sufficient for producing the highest works in art or science, technical device or medical discovery, she must have on her own soil institutes where the highest original investigation can be conducted without a break throughout the year. The climate of such places must permit of brain labour of the most strenuous kind to be done uninterrupted by summer heat and the lassitude born of the "hot vapour bath" of our monsoon months. Thus only can we have a perennial spring of the highest scientific or philosophical truth within our control, without having to beg or steal from the West. I find Bangalore, Lonavala (40

miles up on the line from Poona to Bombay) Dehra Dun,—and for Eastern India, Shillong and Kaimpong (in spite of their heavy rainfall) as best suited to hold our institutes of the highest *continuous* research. Darjeeling, Mussooree and Kurseong are ruled out (the last two by their want of level plots.)

4. The retention of the English language for teaching and examination at the University standard truly so called, (as distinguished from High School work, which may be done well in every locality in the local dialect). There should be maintained in *every* province some schools and colleges, with the English medium from top to bottom, on the lines of the Cambridge Senior examination schools, for feeding our Apex Colleges and also serving the needs of the children of all-India service officers and businessmen who are subject to transfer from province to province.

HOW TO STOP THE ROT IN OUR "HIGH" EDUCATION

The greatest danger facing Indian education today is the sure and rapid lowering of the standard in our colleges and Universities. Two forces are driving us blindfolded on in this path of ruin. One is the foundation of many new Universities, poorly financed, without adequate local talent of the necessary quality and the necessary basis of a very large number of students soundly trained up to the secondary stage, (here called the High School or S.L.C. standard). These mushroom universities are animated by a narrow parochial spirit of exclusiveness, they jealously resent criticism from any other province, and insist on recruiting only local men for the teaching work though manifestly below the proper standard of a university or seat of world-knowledge.

The second cause is the attempt to abolish English as the language of teaching and examination in the higher classes, which alone are the legitimate concern of any university. The effect of this dependence on any of the numerous provincial languages will be to shut ninety-nine per cent of our college students out of the progressive thought and research discoveries of the outer world, which can be promptly and fully reached only through a universal language like English. Research-fruits published in any provincial language are denied the inestimable advantage of being read and criticized by experts from the great world outside. Local patriotism will only make our best vernacular scholars live like the proverbial "frog in the well," surrounded by darkness, in utter isolation.

In practice it has been found that such local universities try to court popularity—and the very necessary increase of their finances in consequence of popularity—by passing as many students as they can. The most sordid example of it is the conducting of the Law examinations in Calcutta or Allahabad. (now Agra), where the word examination has lost all its meaning. With so many local universities "each on earnest business bent," each fomenting the provincial bias among its supporters, and each directed mainly

by professional politicians (usually briefless lawyers seeking a career), it is impossible to judge of the actual quality of its graduates unless we have for all India one central examining body or Test-house as I have called it. It may also be likened to the Apex Brain Bank. Its function will be to examine and pass for all-India services, State scholarships, and even "all-India diplomas" (without any reward in the form of immediate posting), the top graduates of the various local universities who may care to apply. Its graded list should be printed. This super-examining body should have a majority of Europeans on its Board, an obvious sedative of inter-provincial jealousies.

On a general view of the actual conditions in India today, university reform is possible only by the Central Government assuming full powers of visitation, criticism and implementation of directions on our various universities. This work must be done for a decade or two at least, on the advice of a group of *foreign* experts, who will naturally stand above all suspicion of provincial jealousy and also keep *unfailing* touch with the latest developments in science, educational thought, and technical invention, in the ever-progressing Western world. It is a bitter pill, but we have to swallow it. The Centre has full power to enforce its directions by (a) withholding grants, (b) refusing recognition to the passed products and (c) withdrawing the power of legal spoliation of students which certain universities have by selling monopoly 'text-books' at fancy prices. For example, the Calcutta University compels every Intermediate candidate (there were over twenty-six thousand in a single year, 1948) to buy its monopoly Intermediate Portulac Selections, for three rupees, though it is a small crown octavo brochure of only 112 pages, without cover without illustrations or notes.

ADMINISTRATION

1. High Schools must be entirely taken away from University control and examination.
2. Devolution of work; instead of the same

matter being discussed by four or five separate bodies before any action can be taken.

3. An executive officer to be placed in charge of the disciplinary measures, instead of the Syndicate or any other debating club.

4. No officer (from the Vice-Chancellor downwards) to be elected by the men whom he is to govern.

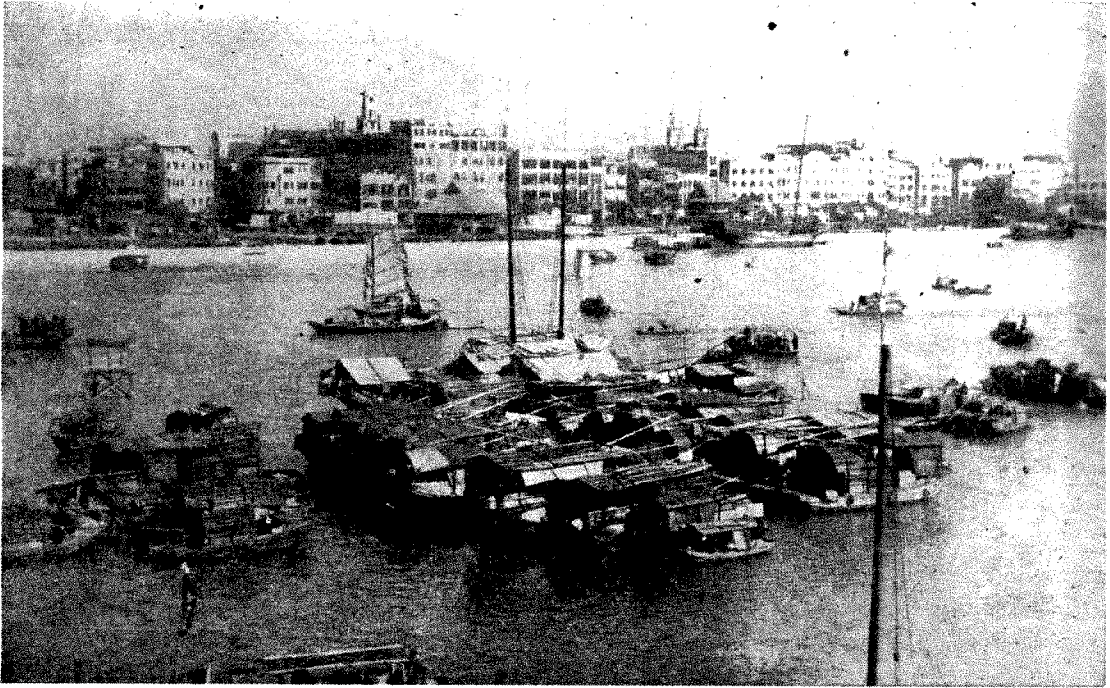
5. In elections to legislative or deliberative bodies, adopt proportional representation, with a single transferable vote.

6. The Secondary Education Board should not be an unwieldy body. Its administrative Council should be a small compact body, and its President should have the amplest executive authority, subject to the general principles laid down by the legislative body.

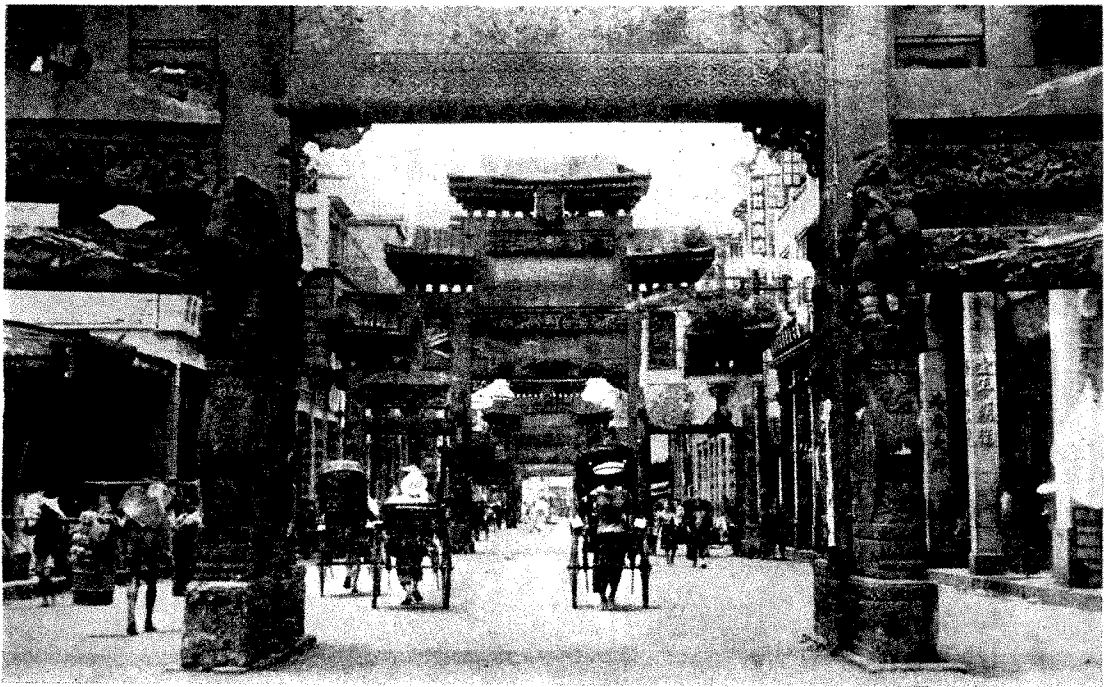
7. A large number of selected High Schools should have, besides the classes preparing for the Matric, a top class in addition, in which selected boys should be given training for one additional year, in subjects which will enable them to directly join medical schools, technical or engineering schools—all teaching and examining in the vernacular—without their having to go through the intermediate course of any University. This is the only means of reducing the rush of tens of thousands of matric passed lads to colleges, though most of them have neither the means nor the capacity for pursuing a full University course and have an absolutely vacant mind about their future careers.

8. Audited reports of every educational institution receiving Government grant in any shape (block or recurring) must be printed within six months of the end of the financial year, (31st March) and distributed to every donor. The Ramakrishna Mission Hospital at Hardwar and the Women's College at Hingane (Poona) present their annual reports to every donor of even five Rupees. There is no reason why the same thing should not be done by, say the Bose Institute or the Visva-Bharati. The investment of the endowments or surplus funds of *every* aided institution should be scrutinised by a Government auditor, as a condition of the continuation of the grant-in-aid.

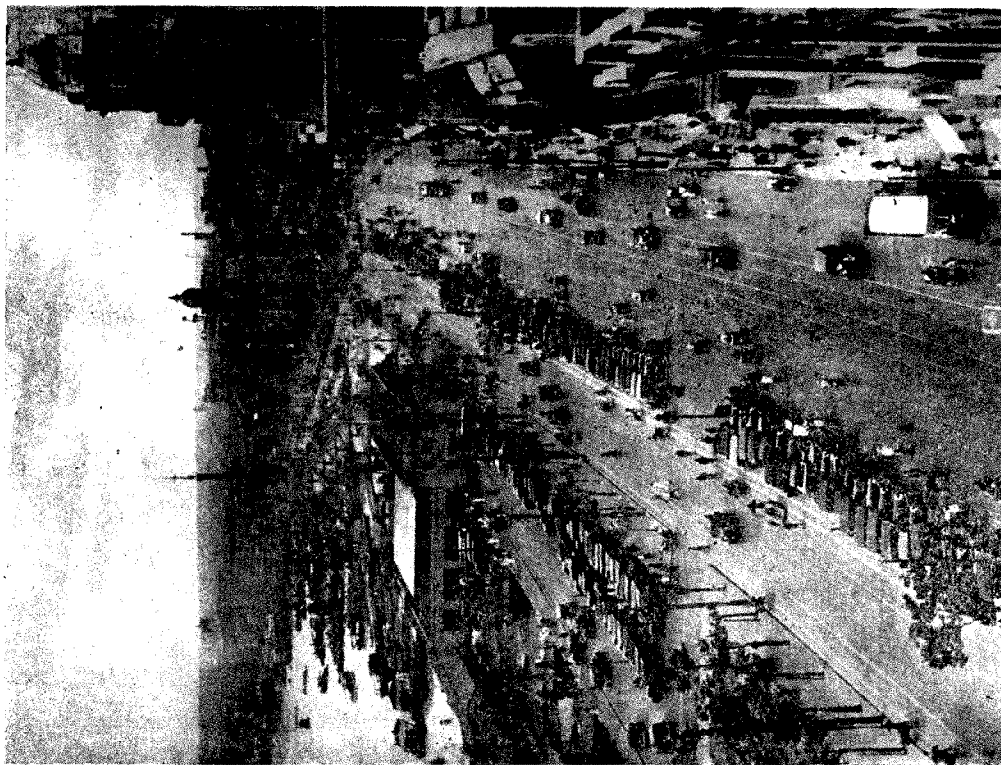




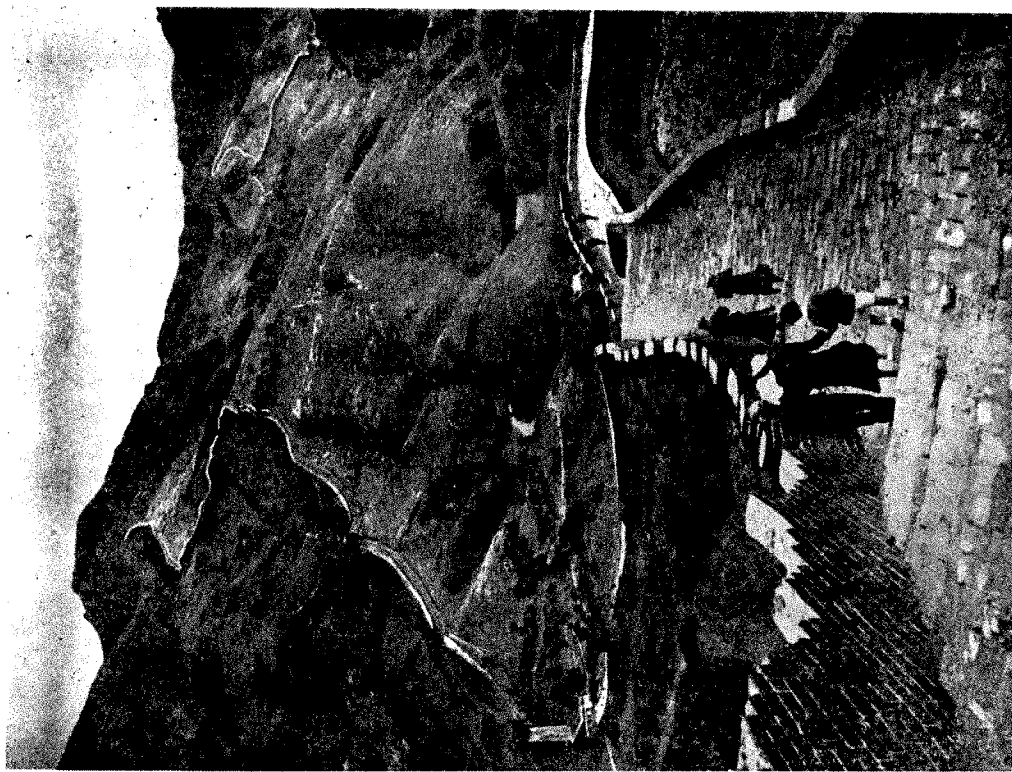
Floating villages of *sampans* are mobile "suburbs" of modern Canton



These *pai-lous* or ornamental archways are the only remains of the many monuments and
 • buildings of old Canton



The spacious river-front boulevard of Shanghai on the Yangtze, and the Bund



A section of the 2000 miles long Great Wall of China

POWER-POLITICS IN AFGHANISTAN

Past and Present

By PROF. MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

It has rightly been said, "He alone can be the emperor of Hindostan who is the first lord of Kabul." The genesis of the Afghan question can be traced to 1835 when Lord Melbourne, the Whig Premier, was in power in Britain. Much apprehension was entertained in London about Central Asian affairs and such fears were not unfounded inasmuch as Russian influence had been definitely extended over various territories of Central Asia. Dr. Sir John MacNeill, a medical officer attached to the British mission, then in Teheran, sent intimations to Lord Auckland in explicit terms about conditions in the Middle East:

"Nothing has struck me more forcibly since my return to Persia, than the evidence I everywhere find of the increase of Russian influence over the Government since I was formerly here, and the almost unaccountable decline of our own."—Extract from MacNeill's letter dated June 25, 1836.

Russophobia had already developed among a section of the people in England and such letters from responsible British officials in the Middle East enhanced their suspicion all the more. Eager and enthusiastic Lord Auckland sent Captain Alexander Burnes in September, 1836 to pay a visit to Kabul with a message of goodwill. No doubt he was accorded a most cordial reception by Dost Mohammed, the Afghan ruler, but unfortunately for him, a Russian agent Captain Vicovich also came to Kabul almost at the same time. This clearly showed that both the parties were harbouring mutual suspicion.

During the thirties of the nineteenth century Afghanistan was not a unified state. It was a group of Khanates of which the most important were Kabul, Kandahar and Herat. In the former two the rulers belonged to a new dynasty of the tribe of Barakzais, while in the third the Sadozais clan predominated. Now Ranjit Singh of the Punjab was annexing to his kingdom territories like Kashmir and Peshawar, which had earlier been taken as Afghan provinces, so that the Russians apprehended that his ally the British might be sponsoring further attacks on Afghanistan. Soon after Ranjit Singh's death the Britishers took possession of the Punjab, and the Russians feared that they might now be forming some plan of aggression in Afghanistan with the help of Shah Shuja, head of the discarded Afghan dynasty, against the Khans of the new ruling dynasty. There were other reasons too. India was linked with Central Asia through trade, and products of both these areas were mutually exchanged so that Indian produce was welcome even in Khokand and Bokhara. It was due to these apprehensions that Captain Vicovich was sent to Dost Mohammed by Count Simonich, the then Russian Ambassador at Teheran. Vicovich reached Kabul three months after the arrival of Captain Burnes there.

Events in Persia also were proving to be very unfavourable for lasting peace and they in their turn told on Afghanistan situation. Hence one needs draw a picture of the situation in the Middle East too. Mr. Ellis, a British official in Persia, in his letter to Palmerstone, alleged that the Russian agents in Persia were conspiring with the Shah to lead an expedition to Herat. After his personal interview with Count Simonich, Ellis wrote to Palmerstone:

"I commenced by stating that Afghanistan must be considered as frontier to our Indian empire, that no European nation had relations, either commercial or political, with that country; that accordingly I could not conceive that the British Government would view, otherwise than with jealousy, any interference, direct or indirect in the affairs of Afghanistan. I trusted that the exposition of the principle would excuse me to the Russian minister, for inquiring from him, whether there was any foundation for the statement that had reached me, of the Russian Government having offered a body of troops to assist the Shah, in the projected expedition against Herat or aid of any description."—*Ellis to Palmerstone*, April 16, 1836. *Parliamentary Papers*, 1839, XL. p. 10.

Ellis wanted that Afghanistan be considered as frontier to the British territories in India, and though there were so called independent sovereigns in Sind and the Punjab, he was visualising them as under British hegemony in no distant future. Any way, this letter created, so to say, a sensation both in British and Russian circles. Count Nesselrode on behalf of the Russian Government, in reply to his inquiry through Lord Durham, British Ambassador, wrote to Lord Palmerstone telling him that there was no actual foundation of such charges. But to the British the situation seemed still critical. The strategic importance of Herat had been considerable. And Sir John Hobhouse also observed in the House of Commons that the master of Herat might be able to hold sway over India and other Central Asian States. Rich in strategic raw materials, Herat "was a starting point of routes to Kabul on the one hand and to Kandahar on the other, from both of which run natural lines of invasion into India."

Ultimately however Palmerstone's statesmanship succeeded in its intentions, and St. Petersburg, the seat of the Russian Government of the time, sent all kind of assurances to the British about Russian designs. For the time being Count Simonich was recalled, but unfortunately for the British he was again restored to his post, and was found actually manoeuvring an attack on Herat through Persian enterprise.

At this, MacNeill not only wrote to Lord Auckland

urging him to send an expeditionary force to the Persian Gulf to convert the Shah into British faith, but he, on his part, also proceeded to the Persian camp outside Herat and arranged a draft treaty between Kamran Mirzæ, the Sadozai ruler of Herat and Shah Mohammed of Persia. But despite this, things went completely against British interest, and Russian roubles won the heart of Persians and the siege of Herat continued. Unable to effect a reconciliation between the contending parties, and learning that in Kabul also Burnes's efforts were likewise foiled, MacNeill left the Persian camp for Tahriz. In a letter to Lord Palmerstone, he drew a very gloomy picture of things there and observed:

"The united influence of Persia and Russia was on the eve of complete dominance in Afghanistan. No means, therefore, must be neglected to guarantee the defence of British India."

A similar development also was apparent in Kabul. Burnes, for a time, remained in the good book of Dost Mohammed, who was rather reluctant to receive Vicovich, the Russian ambassador, with any formality. Burnes, being without any political authority, could not satisfy the demands of the Amir to help him to hold sway over Peshawar so that Mr. Burnes fell in his bad book. Consequently, he had to leave the field to the Russians who were summoned to his assistance by the Amir. The turn came for Vicovich, and he availed himself of the opportunity. He offered his best help to Dost Mohammed and agreed to please Ranjit Singh to get hegemony over Peshawar. He also arranged a treaty between the rulers of Kandahar and the Shah and secured safety of Herat from Persian onslaught at all costs.

On the other hand, the British diplomats also were not idle. Continued efforts of Lord Palmerstone and other British statesmen met with success, the British Government guaranteeing the security of Afghanistan from Russian design. A message also was communicated to the Shah of Persia, through Colonel Stoddart, to the effect that any attempt on his part to launch an attack on Herat or Afghanistan would be considered as a hostile demonstration against Britain. The failure of the Burnes mission actuated Lord Auckland to conclude a tripartite treaty with Ranjit Singh and Shah Shuja. Lord Auckland also tried to install Shah Shuja, "an unpopular and rejected claimant," to the Afghan throne. Dost Mohammed, on the other hand, was supported by the Russians. The British policy to hold sway over Afghanistan failed, so that Dost Mohammed became the undisputed ruler of Afghanistan.

Both London and Petersburg have since been in constant clash over the Central Asian and specially the Afghan question. The Russians at that time was controlling Khiva, an important strategic point, but their attempts were frustrated by Captain Shakespeare who liberated many Russian slaves, and effected a treaty between the Khan and the Russian emperor.

Russian failure in Khiva synchronised with British failure in Afghanistan, so that all remained quiet till

the end of the Crimean war when in 1860, Russian advance in the Middle East was again resumed.

Gradually the Russians began to occupy Khokand, Bokhara and Khiva; and Russian hegemony began to be felt by the weak Central Asian States. Its strategic geographic position and uncertain boundaries made the situation in India even more complex and British diplomats were sorely pondering over the security of Afghan territories as a sure protection of Indian boundaries. Hence in 1867, Sir John Lawrence, the then Viceroy of India, eagerly asked the Home Government to enter into negotiations with Russia concerning the frontier question.

Thus requested by Sir John Lawrence the British Government entered into correspondence with the Russian Government in 1869, so that in 1873 an agreement was concluded between the two Governments. Two things were included in the agreement:

"First, the northern and northwestern frontiers of Afghanistan were established by the European powers most concerned with the fate of that country. The boundaries however were not complete, not definite, not laid down 'on the spot.' Secondly, England obtained from Russia repeated and positive commitments to the effect that Afghanistan was wholly outside her sphere of influence—a declaration which was later invoked by the English with wearisome frequency and which consistently the Russians avowed."

There was much confusion about the third point. What was meant by "the intermediary zone"? It was not clear whether Afghanistan was that zone and whether it was the neutral zone also. It was in February, 1876, that the Russian Government admitted that there was no neutral zone. The following statement of Prince Gortchakoff of Russia summarises the relation of the two great Powers.

"Have the goodness to inform his excellency, (the British Foreign Secretary) by order of our august Master, that we entirely agree in the conclusion (of the British Government) that, while maintaining on either side the arrangements come to as regards the limits of Afghanistan, which is to remain outside of Russian action, the two Cabinets should regard as terminated the discussions relative to the intermediate zone, which have been recognised as impractical, that while retaining entire freedom of action, they should be guided by a mutual desire to pay due regard to their respective interests and necessities, by avoiding as far as possible, any immediate contact with each other, and by any collisions between the Asiatic States placed within the circle of this influence."

Thus Afghanistan remained a "buffer state" between Russian territories in Central Asia and British territories in India. The Agreement of 1873 could not settle the Afghan question.

The Gladstone Government were overthrown in 1874; the Conservatives having returned to power, Lord Lytton

was sent as the Governor-General of India. Renewed activities in Indian frontiers were looked upon with much suspicion. Lord Lytton called a conference between the Amir and the representatives of the India Government. But the discussion bore no fruit. The Amir refused to receive an English mission in Afghanistan, apprehending that the Russians in such a case might send another mission.

In no time, however, a Russian mission under General Stolietoff arrived there in July 22, 1878. The Amir, it is alleged, had protested against the coming of the mission but took no military steps to prevent its advance and received the Russians with honour. This precipitated a crisis. The Britishers scented danger. At the same time a British mission under Neville Chamberlain had been prevented by Afghan troops from passing Ali Mesjid. This was supposed to be due to Russian instigation.

This time also the British Cabinet was divided on the Afghan question. Any way, the then Secretary of State Cranbrook supported Lord Lytton. On the other hand, the second Afghan war broke out. Sher Ali died in 1879 after a series of defeats. No help from Russia was forthcoming in favour of the Afghans. This, however, proved to be a blessing to the British. Sher Ali's son Yakub entered into a treaty (known as the Treaty of Gandamak) with the British, on May 26, 1876. By this treaty the British obtained the districts of Kurram, Pishni and Sibi and agreed to accept a permanent British representative. He also accorded to conduct foreign affairs with the advice of the Viceroy of India.

Yakub did not reign long. The murder of Sir Louis Cavagneri, who had been sent as the British envoy, resulted in renewal of hostilities. Suspecting Yakub to be connected with the intrigue, the English dethroned Yakub and installed Abdur Rahman Khan, a nephew of Sher Ali, to the throne. So long he had been under Russian protection, and had returned to Afghanistan with Russian permission. Abdur Rahman Khan became Amir on July 22, 1880, after his acceptance of the treaty of Gandamak with two changes. Kandahar was to be under a separate ruler and the admission of a British agent was not to be pressed, though both parties agreed that

"A Mohammedan agent of the British Government might be stationed at Kabul for convenience of intercourse."—*Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy*, p. 30.

The British Government in their turn agreed to grant protection to the Afghans from foreign aggression. In a short time Kandahar came to the Amir's hand and the British evacuated (1880). It should be noted in this connection that both the Afghan wars were broadly the result of British suspicion concerning alleged Russian intrigue in Afghanistan.

The British accepted in early sixties for a time the Oxus as "indicating broadly the Amir's sphere of influence" but it lacked any definiteness.

In the eighties the Russians became active in Central

Asia. British apprehensions were increased by the occupation of Merv in 1884 by the Russians. Lord Cranville informed Baron Mohrenheim, the Russian Ambassador, that "the news (concerning Merv) had not been received with indifference."

By virtue of his strict administrative capacity, Abdur Rahman established his rule on firm basis and became ruler of Kandahar and Herat also.

In 1884, it was settled that a joint commission of British and Russian officers should demarcate the northern boundary of Afghanistan. But the Russian commission did not immediately arrive on the scene and while in March 1885, the Amir was busy conferring with the Viceroy of India, Lord Dufferin, at Rawalpindi, the Russian troops attacked and drove from Panjdeh, a small town on the frontier, an Afghan force. In 1888, the Amir's authority was seriously menaced by the revolt of his cousin Ishak Khan, who held a quasi-independent position as Governor of Afghan Turkistan and caused himself to be proclaimed Amir. But the rebellion was crushed. In 1895, Abdur Rahman completely subjugated Kafiristan, a wild mountain tract to the north-east of Kabul, the inhabitants of which had hitherto successfully resisted all attempts to destroy their independence.

In 1901 Abdur Rahman died on the completion of an illustrious reign of 21 years. He was an able ruler, kind and generous, and was noted for his concern for the poor and the helpless.

Two days after the death of Abdur Rahman his eldest son Habibullah was recognised as his successor. Like his illustrious father he also brought about certain reforms in the military department.

Habibullah consented to receive a special mission under Sir Louis Dane, Foreign Secretary to the Government of India, which reached Kabul in Dec. 1904. But the mission wanted to obtain some concession whatever that might be.

Habibullah readily accepted the invitation of the India Government. Lord Minto accorded him a warm reception in January 1907, which helped to improve this relation between the two governments.

According to the Anglo-Russian convention signed on August 13, 1907, Great Britain disclaimed any intention of altering the political status of Afghanistan, and Russia declared Afghanistan to be beyond her sphere of influence.

Habibullah introduced many reforms in the administration of his country. He introduced motor cars, telephone and newspaper in his kingdom. A patron of learning, he founded a high school in Kabul named Halibia College. He also tried to consolidate the tribal people under his sway and showed much leniency towards them.

In the meantime, the World War of 1914-18 broke out. Afghanistan decided to remain neutral. But Turkey, the chief Islamic power, entered the combat and anti-British feelings were high in Afghanistan. The Amir was induced to receive a German mission. They came there as fugitives, eluding Russian eyes, but were unfortunately

treated as simple State prisoners rather than guests. Scinting imminent danger, some of them retreated, while some on their way back were killed by the Russians. Up to the end of the war, Habibullah remained neutral, but was unfortunately killed on Feb. 20, 1919. His brother Nasrullah Khan became Amir for six days only. His nephew Amanullah ousted him. People made him king and compelled him to enter into war against Great Britain. Afghanistan no longer remained Turkey's enemy.

In May 1919, Afghan troops crossed the Indian Frontier. The British had more force of arms and skilled soldiers. Hence the strong resistance from and the occupation of Dekka by the British, constrained Amanullah to enter into treaty. On August 8, 1919, a peace treaty was concluded at Rawalpindi. By this the annual subsidy that the Amir had been receiving since 1879 was discontinued and Afghanistan was released from the control of her relations with foreign states. On November 22, 1921, the two governments mutually agreed to respect each other's independence in domestic and foreign affairs, to recognise existing frontiers, subject to a slight modification near the Khyber Pass. Both the governments agreed to receive legations in main cities of both the countries. A trade convention also was concluded.

On the other hand, another Russo-Afghan treaty was concluded on February 28, 1921, permitting the establishment of Russian consulates at Ghazni and Kandahar.

This is another country in the Middle East whose history is the history of so many pacts and treaties. Another trade convention, signed at Kabul on June 5, 1923, provided for three transit routes across British India, for the transport of goods to and from Indian ports. Late in 1927, Amanullah left Afghanistan for an extensive tour which included parts of India, Egypt, Italy, Great Britain and other European countries. He returned to his native country in 1928, but the introduction of unpopular reforms precipitated a revolt in the land. Amanullah abdicated on June 14, 1929 and went to Europe.

Through vicissitudes of fortune Afghanistan ever remained true to her principle and never broke her diplomatic relations with other governments. With the outbreak of hostilities in 1939, H. M. Zahir Shah, King of Afghanistan, opening the Afghan parliament on August, 17, 1940, observed that since the outbreak of the European war, Afghanistan observed a strict policy of neutrality and that political and economic relations with the belligerent powers remained cordial.

"The country which had followed a policy of independence was inspired only by the desire to safeguard her national interests and to help in the establishment of peace and tranquillity throughout the world. As war and its repercussions threatened relations with unnatural and unexpected circumstances, it was imperative that Afghans should prepare to be united for the future."—*The Statesman*.

This neutrality was again reaffirmed on the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and the U.S.S.R.

Once again King Zahir Shah formally opened the Loe Zirga (Grand Council) in Kabul on November 5, 1944. After the king's address, the foreign minister reiterated the country's determination to maintain neutrality and follow a peaceful policy.

On June 5, 1943, Abdul Hassain Aziz was sent to the U.S.A. He was the first minister, and was sent there to hold diplomatic relations with America. An agreement was signed in Moscow on June 13, 1946, by M. Molotov and Sultan Ahmad Khan, the Afghan Ambassador, redefining the Soviet Afghan frontier in certain areas notably along the Amudariya and the Panja rivers and providing for the incorporation in the U.S.S.R. of the Kushka district ceded to Afghanistan under the frontier treaty of 1921. The new treaty re-establishes the frontier which formerly existed between Afghanistan and Tsarist Russia.

On January 13, 1947, the Russian Ambassador in Afghanistan M. Bakulin and the Afghan Minister for foreign affairs Mr. Ali Mohammed Khan effected an

"exchange of ratification of instruments of agreement on frontier questions signed on Jan. 13, 1946, and signed by the President of the U.S.S.R. on Nov. 21, 1946."

Another Russo-Afghan treaty was signed in Oct. 1948 reaffirming the above agreement regarding Russo-Afghan frontiers.

The above review of political relations of Afghanistan with Britain and Russia, will show that her sincerity and good faith has been alike exploited by the powers to serve their own interests.

Asia is in ferment today. Afghanistan stands in the vanguard of a United Asia whose aim is not to liberate all Asia from foreign bondage but to quote Zahir Shah, "to help in the establishment of peace and tranquillity throughout the world." Afghanistan declares the real voice of Asia.

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SANSKRIT : ITS INDISPENSABILITY IN INDIA

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA. PANDIT VIDHUSHÉKHARA BHATTACHARYA,

Asutosh Professor and Head of the Department of Sanskrit (Retired), University of Calcutta

THE value of Sanskrit literature in the service of humanity is indeed very great. There are unfortunately some who entertain the queer notion that it would not matter much if Sanskrit is completely effaced from India. Such people put too much premium on the achievements of science. They think that we should rather not attempt to whip this dead horse to activity.

Whatever may be the position of other countries, with India whose very pulse beats the echo of truth and spiritualism the case is entirely different. Nor is it possible for us to be divorced from the present which is but the legacy of our glorious past. India, it may be noted, is pre-eminently a spiritual country and Sanskrit literature has ever prepared the ground for spiritualism. Material comforts may count much in other countries but in India they pale into insignificance before the eternal bliss.

By means of Sanskrit and Sanskritic literature as treasured up in Pali and Prakrit, the whole of India from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin enjoyed for centuries, even against heavy odds under foreign domination, an undisturbed unity till the British Government could gradually bring this land of ours under one complete sway of a cultural conquest which has brought us to such a stage as to elevate analytical judgment mainly for the attainment of brighter prospects of the mundane existence at the expense of the most ennobling impulses of the soul and to forget the ocean in the contemplation of a polypos. That the value of Sanskrit, even from a practical point of view, can never be ignored may thus be briefly illustrated.

It is evident, however, that one cannot write a few lines in pure vernacular languages without having some fundamental knowledge of Sanskrit, so intimate is the connection between Sanskrit and allied languages. It may be pardoned if I mention that sometimes we find even learned dons of Indian institutions betraying lamentable ignorance about the spelling or meaning of ordinary Sanskrit expressions so very current in our vernaculars. It goes without saying, as our experience shows, that the study of Sanskrit has been, is and will be indispensable in the coining of technical terms in our vernaculars to represent objects and ideas in our researches and discoveries in the domain of science and other technical branches of learning. It is an admitted truth that if by chance the flow of the main Sanskrit language is arrested, the tributaries must perish for want of feeding. It is perhaps for this reason, to which the present writer can testify, that the great poet and seer, Rabindranath Tagore, desired that no professor should be in

charge of any vernacular language in Santiniketan unless he is well-grounded in Sanskrit. Some however argue that grammar which cripples our originality need not be sedulously cultured, and that freedom, even at the risk of degenerating to linguistic anamoly, should be our watch-word. But that is a different story unknown to the elite of the past and the present.

It may be stated here that there is an intimate relationship between Hindi, Bengali and other provincial languages of India with regard to grammar, syntax and vocabulary, etc., because they are all deeply indebted to Sanskrit from whose generous sap they have all alike drawn the nutrient sap. On account of this common affinity it is quite easy to understand other sister languages. In view of our newly earned freedom we must not overlook this bond of union among the different provinces of India.

On a broader view we cannot but realise the importance of the Sanskrit language. We talk of cultural unity but how many of us know that there was a deep cultural unity between Sanskrit literature and the Avesta of the Parsis, besides a deep-seated similarity in manners, customs and traditions prevailing among the Parsis and Indians, between whom, in spite of many differences here and there, a very warm friendship exists and grows up. With the help of translations we know something of the religion and literature of the Parsis, but if we read the original through the medium of Sanskrit we cannot but be struck with the vast difference between the original and the translation. Sanskrit establishes the close relationship that exists between it and the language of the Parsis and for this reason at least the study of Sanskrit should be properly appreciated.

The literature, philosophy, history, art, religion and science of each nation exercise considerable influence upon its destiny. We know to our joy how much the history of India was forged out of her rich heritage, her glorious culture and traditions.

Some say that Sanskrit is but a languishing link between the vernacular languages of India, or between these and the languages of other countries. As such the feeble tie may be snapped asunder with impunity. Nothing can be a greater fallacy than that, we bite the very hand that feeds us.

I must mention here that the influence of the spread of Sanskrit literature was very much felt in countries like Siam, Malaya, Cambodia, etc., which may be said to comprise "Greater India," the people whereof felt very intimately the noble influence of Sanskrit language and literature on their own, as if it was the bone of their

bone the flesh of their flesh. This aspect of the question might have been practically ignored in the remote past but with the surging of liberty and the advent of a new era we cannot overlook the significant fact in the history of nations. Our heart beats with joy when we think that a cordial relationship between India and Java has been existing since 4th century, A.D. and that the ancient language there prevailing known as 'Kavi' has great affinity with our Sanskrit, so much so that in some cases their language might safely be taken as the counterpart of our Sanskrit. About 40 to 50 per cent of their words are Sanskrit besides many terms and phrases signifying dates, months, quarters of the moon, etc. etc. which are of Sanskrit origin. Here we find a sort of the Veda, rather a pinchbeck one, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata and other books on philosophy and spiritualism much like our Upanishads, which all testify to the influence of Sanskrit on their literature. From their works we learn much about Sanskrit literature as also interpretations of certain sects and religions like Buddhism, Saivism and the cult of the Tantras—discourses which without Sanskrit would have remained unknown to us. The various rules and principles all written in Sanskrit for the culture of true discipline are undoubtedly thought-provoking. They prove the incontestable grandeur of India, in the domain of arts, literature, philosophy and religion. An exhaustive treatment of this subject is not possible just at present within this narrow compass.

Whatever researches have been made in this field, they have been mostly done by French and Dutch scholars. Some of our countrymen have been recently following in the footsteps of these foreign scholars and we must be thankful to our worthy countrymen for their noble endeavour.

All this has been possible because of the common link, the Sanskrit language. Without the help of Sanskrit the researches would neither have been possible nor lasting. The vast field for national work practically lies unexplored and untouched. Prudence dictates that instead of depending on foreign scholars we should depend on our men, but this is not possible unless Sanskrit gets a wide and free scope. It is an undisputed fact that India cannot know her own self, her glorious past, unless she applies herself well to the study of Sanskrit and Sanskrit literature.

Let us dwell on this subject a little further. To understand the literature and culture of Middle Asia we are practically to depend on Sanskrit. Buddhism which made its entry into Tibet, China, Korea and Japan as also in Central Asia and Mongolia could not grow without Sanskrit. The literature on that religion reflects unmistakably the influence of Sanskrit upon it. There is no language other than Sanskrit which can help us in studying or understanding the literature of Middle Asia. Many good Sanskrit works have been hopelessly lost but their translations remain. By means of Sanskrit we can peruse the translations imbued with the spirit and culture of Indian Sanskrit and try to restore the original

because there is an inherent affinity between the original and the translation. The magic of the mysterious bond is found both in Sanskrit language and literature. Without the culture of Sanskrit you cannot pretend to make any researches in this respect, you cannot move an inch in your survey, which, without Sanskrit, would be barren throughout.

The study of Sanskrit, it has been mentioned before, was mainly instrumental in bringing India under one rule from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. Such was the wonderful potency of Sanskrit language and literature. Who on earth would advise the casting away of the precious talisman, specially in this new era of liberty which India by the grace of God has just acquired.

From another point of view the study of Sanskrit is essential, I mean from the point of view of religion. Nothing can be high or lasting without religion which is the essence of everything. Indiscipline is the want of religion and India cannot afford to be undisciplined. She must be religious and her actions and thoughts must be broadbased on religion. And what is the language which a man of religion in India uses? Well, it is none other than Sanskrit, which is rightly called the language of the gods. Sanskrit is pure and sublime. If you stop the culture of Sanskrit, you cut at once the root of religion. The seers of old have rightly called religion the cure of all evils. Nothing can be greater than religion or truth which alone can save mankind, it is religion which alone can bring peace to the world. It is Sanskrit that teaches us to follow the path that leads to peace and happiness.

The higher the sense of religion in a theory of philosophy or any work of art the greater would be its worth. On the contrary, without the sense of religion a mere artistic work would be barren and worthless. Rightly it has been said by a great English critic:

"A literature of indifference towards moral ideas is a literature of indifference towards life; a literature of revolt against moral ideas is a literature of revolt against life."

It is truth or religion that counts and not merely a fine display of words or sentiments. Without high and profound ideas a piece of literature however ornate would be useless. It is the idea that counts. It is the idea that guides a man, it is the idea that makes a man a god or a beast. The good idea brings in good results while the bad idea is responsible for bad consequences. We want good ideas clothed in good forms, no matter whether there is a reality underlying the good ideas. Who can prove the existence of Rama and Sita? It does not matter the least whether they actually were living beings but as soon as their names are uttered our heart leaps up with unspeakable joy. The Ramayana has charmed the world, it has preserved and vivified our society for ages but alas! in the downward rush of modern society it would be too difficult to stem the tide of evil consequences any more.

Translation indeed can help us to a certain extent but it can never be a substitute of the original. If the connection with the original ceases, then there is danger ahead. In the Paisachi Prakrit there was a very nice story-book, written by Gunadhya, a big and delectable volume. The whole of it is extinct except a few words from it here and there. But we still get Sanskrit versions of his work entitled *Kathasaritsagara*, *Brihatkathamajari* and *Brihatkathaslokasangraha*. The chief reason for the existence of the Sanskrit versions was that the original book having been written in Prakrit rather fell in bad times, because people would not take any interest in reading it, with the unfortunate consequence that the original practically disappeared and the Sanskrit versions survived with vigour and as such some people in some part of the world preserved the Sanskrit versions with great care.

It might be safely asserted that in Sanskrit literature we find so many high and noble ideas, quite in abundance, moulding and fashioning our thoughts in such a manner as will astonish the world because the thoughts would do immense good to mankind. Look at the present unseemly squabbling in the world over food in satisfaction of acute hunger. In the couplet of *Srimad-bhagavata* (7.14.8) we find a nice thought-provoking recipe for this malady, the remedy is as wholesome as it is admirable:

"Man has no right to claim more than what his system requires; if he takes more than that he commits theft and as such he is punishable."

The sacred literature of India has always preached such sublime doctrines so nicely enunciated in Sanskrit language. How much we wish and pray that this divine literature might live for ever preaching high and noble ideas to India and the world holding aloft before mankind concrete examples of profound wisdom and sacrifice!

It may be pointed out that in olden times Sanskrit entered the east as a handmaid of religion. Allured by that prospect, even in secular matters Sanskrit literature made its headway as evidenced by the Tibetan translation of Kalidasa's *Meghaduta* and King Harsha's *Nagananda*. It is probable, however, that the Mongolian versions of those works are yet extant.

In western countries Sanskrit could not at first enter for the propagation of religion but by dint of wonderful intrinsic merit Sanskrit has now crept in those countries where it has occupied an almost important place. Its gradual growth and eminence there in course of time are almost assured. Now Sanskrit is seriously studied in those countries where it was practically unknown before, not in a superficial manner but with all earnestness and sincerity.

Those who are engaged in India in the study of Sanskrit must admit that their researches would not be

complete unless they take into account the achievements in the domain of Sanskrit in other parts of the world in a broad and comprehensive manner.

While this is the actual state of affairs, is it not a matter of pity that some of our countrymen are bent upon stopping the growth of Sanskrit, as if it is absolutely a useless study, a sort of worthless dietarianism? Some argue oddly enough that in the struggle for existence there are many things which can be more profitably learnt. What is the good of studying Sanskrit they ask, which is no more than a barren and worthless subject at present. Good! but what is the condition of those countries of the world that pinned their faith so long on science and other material subjects, that boasted rather arrogantly of their new acquisitions of learning? Why, they have caused a mighty conflagration in which they themselves are being burnt out in the midst of hunger, thirst and squalid misery and untold sufferings! And yet they were untouched by the tune of Sanskrit! Nothing can be further from truth than the criticism that the study of Sanskrit will bring in her train only misery and poverty to her votaries. Rather or the contrary she will help them all as the divine mother of peace, happiness and prosperity.

In the temple of learning, India with the help of Sanskrit can occupy a glorious position in the civilisation of the world. Without that what is her status? What would be her acquisition? What would be her culture without Sanskrit, the soul of everything?

It has been already mentioned that by means of Sanskrit there was a uniform undisputed sway from the cloud-capped Himalayas to Cape Comorin. It was the only language of India in which she expressed her real feelings and sentiments.

On the dawning of precious liberty the pursuit of Sanskrit should be zealously undertaken, with necessary modifications, of course, here and there, in the light of modern requirements. It is a matter of profound grief that when the long-wished for liberty has come to us by the grace of God, the authorities strangely enough think of curbing the growth and expansion of Sanskrit, practically clipping her wings and bedim her glory at a time when India expects them to nourish her and place her on a firm footing. May she grow with more beauty and splendour in every direction. Let it be remembered that with the growth and prosperity of Sanskrit are indissolubly connected the growth and prosperity of India. Let there be no doubt about it. May the authorities of our country shine with glory, I pray to God they may decide with wisdom. So far as Sanskrit is concerned expansion should be the watchword.

Sanskrit must live and grow without any let or hindrance, achieving more and more wonders spreading her sweetest boons to India and the world!



JAMES LOUIS GARVIN

An Eminent Journalist Passes Away

By C. L. R. SASTRI

"Do I contradict myself?

Very well, then, I contradict myself.

I am large, I contain multitudes)."

—WALT WHITMAN

ENGLISH journalism is considerably poorer today on account of the sad (and sudden) demise of Mr. James Louis Garvin at his home in Beaconsfield on January 23, 1947. He had passed the psalmist's span of three score years and ten, having been 79 when Yama, the Lord of Death, snatched him away from our midst in such a swift manner that his innumerable readers and admirers had not been forewarned of it in any way. Another great man had died at the same place a decade or so before—a man Falstaffian in girth and in gaiety—Gilbert Keith Chesterton by name.

G. K. C. AND J. L. G.

Garvin and Chesterton had not much in common. In one matter, however, they could claim kinship: they were both exuberant, Garvin in expression also, though Chesterton drew the line there. The latter was always careful to purge his words of the riotousness that was not seldom the characteristic of his thought. Garvin was not so finicky: "his fancies broke through language and escaped." As a votary in the shrine of a chaste English prose style I need hardly stress the fact that I have never hesitated to prefer G. K. C. to that volatile Irish journalist.

Nevertheless Garvin had his points, and I was attracted to them from the moment I began reading his articles in the paper that he made his own, just as Massingham did the *Nation* and Scott the *Manchester Guardian*. The *Observer* was Garvin and Garvin was the *Observer*. Garvin made the *Observer*. After serving it faithfully for full 35 years, however, he had to resign from its editorship and squander his genius in periodicals that did not suit him as the *Observer* did for more than three decades. He must have been a most distinguished journalist, indeed, of whom that Grand Old Man of Letters, Mr. George Bernard Shaw, could bring himself to write:

"The revival of the *Observer* by Mr. Garvin after some rather desperate vicissitudes is one of the great journalistic feats of our time."

A. TORY

Mr. Garvin, as I have noted above, was Irish by birth. That explains a great deal, though it cannot explain convincingly his ultimate choosing of the Tory platform for the voicing of his sentiments. Irishmen, as a rule, are not Conservative by political faith. They have ever been in the vanguard of progress, centuries of subjection to an alien rule making them predisposed to the idea as nothing else can in this sorry world. But even Mr. Garvin started his journalistic career as a Radical of Radicals; he had been "one of the Chosen," after all. He preached from

a thousand pulpits the gospel of Home Rule for Ireland. He hitched his wagon on the star of Parnell. When Parnell was forced to retire from the political field Garvin had to look about him for another leader to follow to the ends of the earth: he was a born hero-worshipper.

His next choice was Joseph Chamberlain; and because Joseph Chamberlain was a Conservative, he had to forswear his earlier Radicalism and become a Conservative too, in his turn. There was a time, later on, when he tried very hard to bind himself hand and foot to Lloyd George; and, had he succeeded, Radicalism would have found in him a valiant supporter again. But he did not succeed. Thus it came about that he lent his services (by no means inconsiderable) to the cause of repression and retrogression till the end of his days.

NO POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY

It is evident, then, that he had no political philosophy. He was not rooted to an idea till his very last moment. The other giants of the profession, C. P. Scott, J. A. Spender, H. W. Massingham, and A. G. Gardiner must thus be conceded to have been bigger men than he. Indeed, in every sense of the term, they *were* bigger men than he: even in the matter of writing. Garvin could not be mentioned in the same breath as this illustrious quartette. Massingham, to take only one of these, could be as exuberant as, if not more exuberant than, Garvin himself. But he cultivated a style that steered clear of any corresponding exuberance of expression. However violent his opinions on a particular subject might be he exercised such a control, such a poise, in his written words that violence hardly showed through the finished product of his article or essay.

CONTRAST

As Mr. H. W. Tomlinson says of Massingham:

"But this wilful, and at times violent man, who did not know how to guard his own interests, when in the editor's chair would show a temerity so swift, and yet so justly poised, that though his decision was startling yet his manner of handling it gave entire confidence; for as soon as he began to write he was in full control, and could guide the most dangerous matter along the edge of a declivity with not an inch to spare, even in the war years, and laugh with us over the deliberately narrow saves. He did it as lightly as though it were comedy; but it was not comedy to Lloyd George, as the ex-Premier knows now, for he must be well aware that it was chiefly Massingham who placed him where he is and where he will remain in public opinion." (Written in 1925.)

Mr. Garvin was usually not capable of such self-restraint. He would fling his treasure abroad with the recklessness of Omar's Rose:

"Look to the blowing Rose about us—Lo,
Laughing, she says, 'into the world I blow,
At once the silken tassel of my Purse
Tear, and its Treasure on the Garden throw.'"

HIS LOVE OF SENSATION

When he was the editor of the *Observer* he was in the habit of contributing a central-page political article, under his own name, 4 or 5 columns long, which you found all right in the end because it was written by a master-hand but which honesty compelled you to declare was nearly twice as long as it need have been and verbose to a degree. Let the truth be told at once that he was often out for sensation, which runs absolutely counter to the unwritten laws of the craft that Scott, Spender, Massingham and Gardiner practised and, in practising, adorned. He loved to write in headlines and in streamer headlines at that. He aimed at startling his readers. As Sir John (now Lord) Simon said when to the editorship of the *Observer* Mr. Garvin added the editorship of the *Pall Mall Gazette*:

"He used to give us an electric shock once a week, now he gives us an epileptic fit once a day."

HIS PROSE

Mr. Garvin's prose was not, like Dr. Johnson's at his worst, sesquipedalian, but he could be extremely verbose. I am among those who have conscientiously perused the greater part of his centre-page articles in the *Observer*, but I cannot help feeling that his writings would have been better for some merciless pruning. Having had at his command a concise and scholarly prose style he would, on occasion, not mind blunting his instrument in the exigencies of his polemic. It was not merely that he had given up for a party what was meant for mankind, but that he had given up sound prose for scintillating politics. With all that, however, he was when he chose (but that was seldom) as capable of controlled expression as the others on my list, and as an editor, was not far below the same class.

HIS DISCERNMENT

His discernment was unanny. Once he happened upon a review of some new novels by a Mr. "P. C. Kennedy" in a certain issue of the *New Statesman*. He was so very much struck by its brilliance that he immediately instituted enquiries with a view to harnessing that fluent and fastidious pen to his own journal. Now were his efforts unrewarded. That Mr. "P. C. Kennedy" turned out to be no other than that remarkable essayist and critic, the late Mr. Gerald Gould, and for more than a decade his fiction criticism was one of the high-lights of the *Observer*. Your first-rate editor must have a "sixth sense", as it were, for discerning merit wherever it can be found: Mr. Garvin fortunately, satisfied this test up to the hilt.

EDITING A JOURNAL

I should like to linger a little while longer on this matter of editing a journal. In our country almost every one is supposed to be able to edit a journal, whether it is a daily or a weekly or a monthly. No wonder our journals are what they are, whether they are dailies or weeklies or monthlies. In England editors take a good deal of care to make their papers as "all round" perfect as possible. A journal like Mr. Garvin's *Observer*, for example, was

a veritable feast of reason and flow of soul. Leaving aside Mr. Garvin himself (the editor), literary criticism was safe in the hands of Mr. J. C. (later, Sir John) Squire, dramatic criticism in those of Messrs. St. John Ervine and Ivor Brown and Horace Horsnell, film criticism in those of Miss C. A. Lejeune, and, in addition, there was a galaxy of stars in the shape of book-reviewers and political correspondents that made the paper (in its hey-day) the very finest of Sunday weeklies.

THE CRUCIAL TEST

Subsequently, however, the pride of place went to the *Sunday Times*, owing to such masters in their several fields as James Agate, Desmond MacCarthy, Ernest Newman, Herbert Sidebotham, G. S. Young, and others. But neither the late Mr. Leonard Rees (the first editor of the *Sunday Times*), nor its present editor, Mr. W. W. Hadley, could hold a candle to Mr. Garvin, and so the *Observer* contrived to stand the competition of that other first-rate Sunday weekly. Unless an editor sees to it that not only what he writes but also what his several contributors write is perfect of its kind a paper cannot be said to be first-rate. An editor should be able to coax his helpers to give him of their very best. Massingham was a past-master in this art. Those who wrote in his paper wrote elsewhere also but not so well as in his paper. That is one crucial test of editorship. His contributors never let Massingham down. Nor, let it be remembered, did Massingham ever let them down. It was a perfectly welded team and no journal in England could compete with the *Nation* while Massingham was its editor. When he was forced to resign from his editorship the paper first wilted and finally died.

THE DIFFERENCE

Where are such editors in India as Scott, Spender, Massingham, Gardiner and Garvin? To ask the question is to give the answer. *In India an editor wishes to shine in lone splendour*. That kind of selfishness never pays in the long run. The result is seen in the miserable papers we have. There is another trouble—the coterie system. It is extraordinarily difficult for even a first-rate writer that does not happen to belong to a certain Mutual Admiration Society to enter it, however much he may try. These inner circles simply cannot be broken into. Our journalism is so much younger than the English variety: still we have an irresistible craving to erect such unscaleable barriers around it. In the future, at any rate, this simply will not do. The spirit of exclusiveness ruins itself in the end by throwing away the baby with the bottle-water.

JUDGED PURELY AS A JOURNALIST

Before concluding this article I should like to say that, though I am a Radical of Radicals myself, I do not think any the less of Garvin for having been a trusted Conservative. I always judge a journalist, as a journalist not as a politician. I do not mind in the least the opinions that he happens to hold so long as he has cultivated the knack of expressing them in a style that is not devoid of decorum. I once wrote of the late Thomas Earle Welby in the now defunct *Week-end Review* of London

that I hugged him to my bosom in spite of the fact that he repeatedly damned us, Indians, in his leading articles in the *Madras Mail* (of which he had once been the editor)—because, though he damned us, he damned us in delightful language. In the profession of journalism Garvin's was a name to conjure with. I am not at all concerned with the fact that the causes that were dear to his heart—or that he professed to be dear to his heart—were not those that I would have espoused myself. Garvin, had he so chosen, would have been a tower of strength to the progressive side in politics. I believe that he was really at heart a democrat; and, at the commencement of his career, he had been one openly. The death of Parnell, his first hero, changed all that. Even then everything would, probably, have been well had his second hero, Joseph Chamberlain, not belonged to the opposite tabernacle. It will thus be seen that accidents play a very significant part, indeed, even in the field of journalism.

SEPARATION

No great editor has ever been able to survive the shock of being separated from the paper that he had built up with his own life-blood, as it were. Massingham's is a classic example. Within a year or so of being deprived of the editorship of his beloved *Nation* he died. Garvin also was never the same man after losing his guidance of the *Observer*. Mere flesh and blood cannot bear these

severances. Whatever I have learnt of journalism I have learnt at the feet of such masters of the craft as Scott, Spender, Massingham, Gardiner and Garvin. I bought the *Observer* for years and years. I took care to read every word of his that came my way. Garvin was the very last of those old masters. We shall never find his like again.

What he wrote of Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* after the latter's death (*The Observer*, January 3, 1932) applies equally well to himself:

"Salutary whether right or wrong Scott always lifted the argument. Some who seldom shared his opinions were amongst his devoted admirers and learned not to be unworthy of his spirit when they disagreed with his letter."

Garvin went on:

"No temptation touching profit or vanity could make him swerve. He might have said with Chamfort: 'Honour, not honours.' He received no title or additions, though no one was more worthy of the Order of Merit. Wider and higher tributes than any Government can pay showed him worthy of a nation's monument and a world's monument. Some who remember him will transmit his example to another generation so that it shall be handed on to another yet. In that sense C. P. Scott has not passed. There is

*'One great society alone on earth,
The noble living and the noble dead.'*"

—:O:—

PATHAKAM—A KERALA ART

By T. V. SUBRAHMANYAM, B.A.

AMONG the various indigenous forms of literary arts and dances of Kerala, 'Pathakam' is perhaps the earliest of its kind. Pathakam is the free recitation by the Pathakan (the only actor of the play) of epic or Puranic stories generally written in Sanskrit in a dignified semi-poetic-semi-prose style known technically as 'chambu'. The chambu literature is famous for its long sentences, impressive and resonant flow, piquant figures of speech, pregnant meanings and profuse sprinklings of assonance of vowels and alliteration of consonants. The authors of Pathakam literature are a few in number. The texts are generally taken from the writings of Hanuman, Bana Bhatt, Maghan, Harsha, Bhoja and Bhattathiripad. The last mentioned author was a great Sanskrit scholar and philosopher of Kerala.

Simple in make-up, without any stage paraphernalia but lofty in ideal, Pathakam is an art demanding originality, skill and intellectual agility in its successful performance. The actor should not only be well-versed in his art but a good scholar in Sanskrit and vernacular and more than all a self-confident and God-fearing man. Naturally we find that just like the Pathakam writers the number of Pathakam actors is also small.

Pathakam is generally performed during temple festivals in the halls of out-houses or in temporary

'pandals' erected in the open compound of the temples. The play starts some time after sunset. The audience having gathered, the Pathakan appears before them. He is dressed in a spotlessly clean white loin-cloth extending to the ankles. Around his waist is wound a folded red silk cloth with laced border. Over his forehead, chest and arms are applied sacred 'ashes' and characteristic caste marks with saffron and sandal paste. On the head the Pathakan wears a short, scarlet cap with silver embroidery. The stage illumination is done by two or more oil-fed standard bronze lamps.

The artiste commences the play by first uttering some Sanskrit slokas in low, subdued tones in invocation of Lord Vishnu. The actor then explains to the audience in impressive vernacular the underlying motive of the play how it is intended for leading men through the right path, how it teaches them not to drown themselves too deep in material thoughts and home affairs but utilize a fraction at least of the day's time in conversing with their own 'selves' which alone can convey them to the place 'where sorrow is unknown.'

The Pathakan then begins to narrate the story proper by reciting the text which he does sentence by sentence or stanza by stanza intoning every syllable and word as appropriately and effectively as possible.

After finishing each sentence which at times contains hundreds of words and takes even fifteen minutes to repeat once, the actor explains the gist in lucid vernacular. By resorting to proper gestures and signs and skilful acting he makes the meaning clear to the audience. He refers to topical and contemporary events and trenchantly criticizes the pettiness and folly of modern men whenever context and opportunity permit. Every now and again by his didactic and hyperbolic jokes he makes the audience roar in laughter. Sometimes with his vehement satire he drives a moral into the hearts of hearers. On the whole, he impresses the story so well upon the visitors that they become spiritually inclined before they leave the hall. The play lasts for about two hours and ends in a devotional prayer to Goddess Saraswati.

Materialistic civilization in its puffing speed and open-eyed blindness has made the modern man incapable of attending to or appreciating such simple but noble and sublime forms of aesthetic art which carry the humble and the pious to that source of inexhaustible happiness illumined jointly by the two glowing lamps of art and literature. Pathakam is not an art to be spurned as antique and crude but quite a refreshing and revitalizing dish of intellectual banquet partaking of which many a 'forlorn and shipwrecked brother' of ancient Kerala 'had taken heart again.' It is the duty of all the literary magnates of Kerala who are interested in the revival of ancient arts to save 'Pathakam' from its present fading condition for the spiritual and cultural advancement of man.

COTTON MILLS IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Some Facts and Figures

By SHIB SANKER DUTT & PRAMATHA NATH SIL, B.com.

In *The Modern Review* for December, 1948, we published some facts and figures about Banks in India and Pakistan. This was found to be interesting and useful by some friends and they have asked us to publish similar facts showing the relative positions of India and Pakistan in different industries. This month we are giving some facts and figures regarding cotton mills in the two dominions.

	No. of Mills	No. of Spindles in 000's	No. of Looms in 000's	Quantity of— Yarn in lbs. 000's omitted	Cloth in lbs.
India	409	10,191	199	1,295,705	902,025
Pakistan	14	163	4	19,923	17,822

Pakistan as percentage of the total	3.3	1.6	2.0	1.6	1.9
				Cloth in yds.	
				3,761,974	
				75,145	
				2.1	

In the matter of production of Raw Cotton, however, Pakistan is in a much better position, out of nearly 15 lakh acres under cotton in the year 1946-47, 11½ lakh acres are in the Union of India, i.e., Pakistan's share is 23 per cent. Of the all-India production of cotton in 1945-46, namely 34,38,000 bales, the long and medium staple (i.e., the better class of cotton for spinning purpose) constituted nearly *two-thirds*, or 22,34,000 bales; and out of this the production of long and middle staple cotton in Pakistan was 11,50,000 bales, roughly 51 per cent of the total production of long and medium staple in all-India; or 33 per cent of India's entire cotton crop.

But India is not so dependent on Pakistan as the above figures may suggest; nor is Pakistan so well provided as it may at first sight seem to be. The Indian mills (i.e., both the Union of India and Pakistan mills) were always using a certain amount of

foreign cotton for their production. The following table shows the consumption of cotton (Indian and Foreign) in Mills in India during the pre-partition days:

Year	Indian cotton (Bales of 400 lbs. each)	Foreign cotton	Percentage of Indian to total
1941-42	4,025,395	571,222	87.6
1942-43	4,306,831	568,170	88.4
1943-44	4,119,461	664,468	86.2
1944-45	4,158,664	685,212	85.9
1945-46	3,871,022	604,650	86.4
1946-47	3,150,852	708,370	81.7

The Indian Union Mills were always using a certain proportion of foreign cotton; and this percentage is increasing. If Pakistan stops all export of cotton, Indian mills will not be paralysed, although they would be put to some additional difficulty.

The distribution of cotton mills in Pakistan province by province is as follows:

Province	No. of Mills	No. of Looms
Sind	1	60
East Bengal	9	2251
West Punjab	4	2067
Total	14	4378

While Sind and West Punjab are cotton-growing, East Bengal is not; but the majority of mills as well as looms are situated in Eastern Bengal. This is a position of weakness for Pakistan.

The following facts taken from the Annexures to the Indo-Pakistan commercial agreement of May, 1948, show the relative dependence of the two countries on each other.

Requirements of Pakistan

Commodity	Pakistan's stated annual requirements	Quantity agreed to by India	Remarks
		Bales	
Cloth and yarn	4,00,000	4,00,000	One-fourth in the form of yarns

	Requirements of India		
	Bales	Bales	
Raw cotton	9,00,000	6,50,000	Medium and long staple

Thus while India can and is willing to supply the entire requirements of Pakistan, Pakistan can not do so.

The handlooms supply nearly 26 per cent of the cloth consumed in the country. The value of production of the entire mill industry at the current prices will work out to about Rs. 450 crores; while that of the entire handloom industry will work out to about Rs. 100 crores. In the matter of handlooms again India is in a much better position than Pakistan.

COMMENT AND CRITICISM

"Legislation or Agricultural Readjustment?"

By SUMANTRAI H. DESAI, B.A., LL.B., Advocate (O.S.)

DR. SAYANNA'S article, "Legislation or Agricultural Readjustment?" published in the December issue of *The Modern Review* presents an interpretation of some sections of the Bombay Tenancy and Agricultural Lands Bill which a reading of these sections does not warrant. His warm commendation of these sections is, therefore, misleading. It appears Dr. Sayanna is an economist, not a lawyer. This fact explains his lapse in interpretation. As his article may create misunderstanding, a clarification becomes necessary.

In the last paragraph of column 2 of page 482, he states:

Fifthly, out of all items of the Bill, Sections 61 to 64 concerning restriction on transfers of agricultural lands, management of uncultivated lands and acquisition of estates and lands are both commendable and direct in their approach to solve the problems of land."

He then proceeds to state:

"Secondly, free trade in land is disallowed, since sales of land are to be effected through the Agricultural Lands Tribunal at reasonable price determined under the rules laid down. The order of priority of buyers is as follows."

He intends to convey that after the Act comes into force all agricultural lands offered for sale will be subject to determination of price and the order of priority. Section 62, now being section 64 of the Bill as revised by the Bombay Legislature, which provides for the determination of the reasonable price and the order of priority is not wide enough to include within its scope all agricultural lands. It includes only land held by one person and cultivated by another, a tenant. It does not include land held by a person and cultivated by himself. This is apparent even on a cursory study of the section. The material part of the section is, "Where a landlord intends to sell any land, he shall apply to the Tribunal, etc." The word "Landlord" is defined in the Bill to mean a person whose ownership land an agriculturist holds on lease as a tenant. There is no other section in the Bill which provides that the land held by a person and cultivated by himself, when offered for sale, shall be subject to determination of the reasonable price and the order of priority. Therefore, such lands will continue to be sold to any agriculturist and at any price which, in areas where the pressure on land is intense and highly com-

petitive, will be higher than the reasonable price. In one and the same locality, two sets of prices will rule for lands of the same description and equal extent. The one set of price will be that determined under the rules of the Tribunal for land offered for sale by a landlord. The other will be that determined under the rules of demand and supply for land offered for sale by an owner-cultivator. In Gujarat including the Baroda State, a considerable percentage of the total acreage of agricultural land is held by owner-cultivators. How can it then be said that free trade in land is disallowed? How can it be said that consolidation of holdings will be effected? Dr. Sayanna could have justifiably stated, "Free trade in land by landlords is disallowed." With every holding passing by purchase under section 62 into the hands of a tenant who will, then, be able to deal with it as any other owner-cultivator, the percentage of free trade in land to controlled trade will increase.

Dr. Sayanna considers section 62 commendable, perhaps because of his interpretation that it terminates free trade in land and takes a step forward in the land policy of the Bombay Presidency. I consider it neither commendable, nor just beyond a certain extent nor satisfactory.

Section 62 is not commendable because it fails to include all agricultural lands within its ambit. Free trade in land being permitted to owner-cultivators, it assumes the complexion of a penalty provision. At least so it will strike to numberless small holders of land who being unable to cultivate their lands personally or unable to support themselves on the profits of their lands on account of small extent have had to lease them. When they see their lands sell at pre-war rates and the lands of their neighbours who may be owner-cultivators sell at market rates, they will set up a widespread discontent.

Section 62 is not just beyond a certain extent. A reasonable landlord understands that if his land is for sale, it must in the first instance be offered to the tenant and at lower than the market price. He has acted accordingly in the past. He will, therefore, have nothing to say against the section in so far as it provides for offer of sale to the tenant in the first instance and at the reasonable price. To this extent, the section is just, beyond it, it becomes unjust. There is no privity between a landlord and adjacent cultivators or other agriculturists shown in the order of priority and he is under

no moral obligation to sell his land to any one of them in preference to others. An obligation imposed by law on him to sell his land next after the tenant in the order of priority and at a price more or less determined for the tenant is bound to be viewed by every reasonable person in this country as unjust. The obligation to sell land at reasonable price and next after the tenant in the order of priority imposed in pursuance of a uniform land policy governing sale of any agricultural land will lose all its unjustness and occasion no bitter but justifiable comment. When the Government has not embarked on a policy of pre-determined price for sale of all agricultural lands and of consolidation of holdings as is apparent from non-inclusion of owner-cultivated lands in the section, the reason for its enforcement in the case of land held by a landlord is beyond understanding. The Legislature should have rested content with the provision for offer in the first instance to the tenant at determined price and, on the tenant's failure to purchase the land, leave the landlord to sell it as an owner-cultivator is permitted to sell to any agriculturist at any price.

And section 62 is not satisfactory. To be satisfactory, a section must provide for any contingency that it may, give rise to. The section fails in this respect. In the order of priority laid down, it directs that in the second instance the offer of sale shall be to an adjacent cultivator or cultivators. It seems to recognise that there may be more than one cultivator as may be inferred from the reference in it to "cultivators." Usually, there are more than one cultivator, at least one or more each on every side of the land offered for sale. All these cultivators may claim to buy the land. This is a contingency for which the section has failed to provide with the result that the landlord, assuming that he can sell to any one of them, will sell it to him who will pay him the highest amount of illegal premium over the reasonable price. And how can the premium be called illegal when there is no legal prohibition against it? Whatever it be, his moral conscience will not be shocked, considering that his neighbour, an owner-cultivator gets higher price for his land. It is interesting to note that in the same section being section 64 in the revised Bill, clause (B) of sub-section 2, which deals with the sale of a dwelling house on agricultural land, provides that in case there be more buyers than one, the decision of the Collector shall have to be obtained.

I am surprised the Bombay Legislature has failed to consider the possibility that this section 62 will be utilized by a protected tenant to evade what he will consider a hardship imposed on his purchase of the tenancy land under section 32 by section 43, a section added to the Bill during its passage through the Legislature. The section is:

"No land purchased by a protected tenant under section 32 shall be transferred by sale, gift, exchange, lease, mortgage or assignment without the previous sanction of the Provincial Government."

No protected tenant will like to be fettered by such a provision. That no person who does not cultivate land

personally should own it may be his slogan to-day, but when turned owner he will dispute it. He will want to gift the land, he will want to mortgage it, under circumstances beyond his control he will want to lease it. He will want to satisfy his sense of ownership or flatter his sense of social position. Therefore to evade the rigorous, he considers, of this section and to be independent of the decision of the Provincial Government which decision may be to his liking or not instead of exercising his right of purchase under section 32, he will induce his landlord on payment of a premium to offer the land to him under section 62. And a landlord convinced that he will have to sell the land if not under section 62 then under section 32 will, with the inducement of a premium over the reasonable price which will be the same under either section, agree to offer it under section 62. Turned owner by purchase under section 62, he will be at liberty to dispose of the land as any other owner-cultivator in the absence of a provision similar to section 43 which controls only purchase under section 32. What is the object of section 43? The Congress party policy is that no person who does not cultivate land personally shall own it. If a tenant, in pursuance of that policy, turned owner leases the land and himself becomes a landlord, the policy will be defeated. The Congress party must be assumed to be conscious of the fact that some at least of the tenants who knock at its doors with the slogan that the cultivator must be the owner will forget this slogan the moment ownership passes on to them and they will if not prevented create a new class of landlords. To obviate this possibility, it appears section 43 has been added as an afterthought. If the only object was to prevent resale by a tenant turned owner-cultivator to pocket the difference between the market price at which he would be at liberty to sell and the reasonable price which he had to pay, section 43 would have been so framed as to impose restriction only on resale without permission. Section 62 without a safeguard leaves at least a side door open to a protected tenant to escape and turn landlord.

In referring to section 63, Dr. Sayanna writes:

"Thirdly, the Provincial Government is entitled to take over management of such lands as have been found uncultivated for any two agricultural seasons owing to the fault of landowner, tenant or whatever cause. The Government can lease out such lands on a rent at least equal to the value of the land revenue assessment. To a certain extent the loss of revenue sustained by the Government on this account may be made good."

With due apologies to the learned doctor, I submit that the question of loss of revenue to the Government raised by him is beyond my understanding. The Government revenue in respect of any agricultural land is the assessment it annually recovers. Even if land remains uncultivated, the holder has to pay up the amount of assessment. If he fails, the revenue authorities will attach the land and by sale realise the arrears under the Land Revenue Code. To the learned doctor's knowledge or

information, the rent equal to the amount of assessment realised by the Government will not fully cover the loss of revenue sustained by it. That is why he has used the expression, "To a certain extent." This means, according to him, that the Government gets something more by way of revenue than the amount of assessment which is wrong. This point is, however, unimportant because the government knows how to make good any loss of revenue to it.

On a plain reading of it, section 63 does look commendable but on a careful reflection it strikes as unjust. In view of the high inadequacy of the produce of the country and the staggering burden imposed on it by the compulsory imports of grains from outside, every measure, even one stringent in extremity is a just and proper measure. But every such measure must be fair and above discrimination. Section 63 is neither fair nor above discrimination. It is not fair because for the default of one person it seeks to punish two, one of whom may be completely innocent. At this point, it is necessary to understand what the word "Default" means. I consider it necessary because I find so eminent a person as a member of the Bombay Legislature has failed to understand it as appears from an article in Gujarati he contributed in a Gujarati daily in defence of the Bill:

"Will land be permitted to remain uncultivated because of a dispute or in deference to the caprice of a zamindar? Those who deliberately keep land uncultivated commit an act of treachery to the State."

The honourable member forgets that "default" means "neglect" and has nothing to do with "dispute" or "caprice." Default in its legal acceptation means neglect and cannot be extended to include dispute or caprice or anything else. The section is to the effect that if it appears to the Provincial Government that for any two consecutive years, any land has remained uncultivated "through default of either the landlord or tenant or any other cause whatsoever the Provincial Government may assume management of the land. Now read for the word "default" the word "neglect." I can conceive of no neglect on the part of a landlord which leads to land in the possession of a tenant remaining uncultivated. And even if there be some neglect which leads to such a result, is the long arm of the law incompetent to put an end to it and save an innocent and may be industrious tenant from the forfeiture of the tenancy land? When this very Bill gives so much protection to a tenant, can it not give protection to him against the neglect of his landlord? It is understandable that land may remain uncultivated on account of the neglect of a tenant. If it does so happen, if it remains uncultivated even for one year, the landlord is entitled to terminate tenancy under section 14 of the Bill. But that is discretionary, not compulsory on the part of the landlord. Why not tell him in explicit language that if land remains uncultivated for two years on account of neglect of the tenant and his failure to terminate tenancy, his land will be taken over by the Government? The section unfortu-

nately lays down the principle that for the default or neglect of one person, another who is not privy to it and is innocent must also be punished. How can any one call such a section fair and just?

I have called the section discriminatory. The honourable member above referred to quoted the honourable Sardar Shree Vallabhbhai as saying:

"India is on the mouth of a volcano. If the produce of the country does not increase, our destruction is a certainty."

After such grave warning given by so great a leader as Sardar Shree, what is it that has prevented the Legislature from enacting in the Bill that land held even by an owner-cultivator remaining uncultivated shall be taken over by the Government? Does it mean that the neglect of an owner-cultivator is not an act of treachery to the State? The explanation cannot be accepted that this is a Tenancy Bill. It also claims to be an Agricultural Lands Bill. As such it could have provided a section to apply to a tenant cultivator. The reader will be surprised to learn that as Agricultural Lands Bill, it contains only one section which is section 61, being section 63 of the revised Bill. All other sections which deal with landlord and tenant or relate to procedural matters, it contains as Tenancy Bill. When one realises this fact and considers that a separate chapter has been devoted to sections 61 to 64 all of which except Section 61 could have been included in the tenancy chapters, one is compelled to infer that originally the intention was to extend these sections to owner-cultivators also but for one reason or another that intention was given up. Had it been given effect, no grievance nursed by landlord or tenant would have met with sympathetic audience.

I believe that the honourable member referred to dispute and caprice as included within the expression, "Or any other cause whatsoever," in section 63. That such an important and prominent cause as dispute should have been left to be searched in an unpublished list of causes which list may be short or long would be regrettable. Usually an Act tries to exhaust all causes, grounds or factors referred to in a section and then winds it up with such an expression as the one noticed above. I believe that a cause included in an expression, such as the one used is interpreted to be a cause of a like nature to any one of those specifically mentioned. If any cause whatsoever whether related to default or not is to entitle the Government to take over the land why should the choice have been fixed on the cause due to default for specific mention? Would it not have served the purpose by enacting that if any land remains uncultivated through "any cause" the Government will take over the land? Therefore, the Legislature must be assumed to have intended to refer to any cause, if any, in nature alike to default. In a dispute immediate redress by prompt approach to authorities is possible. Even if not possible, there is no reason to punish a party to the dispute whose case may be just and such as may

be upheld in any court of law. A stringent provision such as assumption of land by Government will have the effect of subduing a tenant and compelling him to yield for fear of a dispute developing and leading to his removal from the land. The law cannot leave a tenant to the mercy of his landlord and, therefore, dispute as a cause in the section must be ruled out. A separate section must be added providing steps to be taken by any party to avert a dispute or the possibility of a dispute.

Section 61 lays down that no transfer of land made to a person who is not an agriculturist shall be valid. Therefore the question arises, who is an agriculturist under the Bill? The Definition Section lays down that "agriculturist" means a person who cultivates land personally. "To cultivate personally" in the same section means to cultivate on one's own account by one's own labour, or by the labour of any member of one's family, or by servants on wages payable in cash or kind but not in crop share or by hired labour under one's personal supervision or the personal supervision of any member of one's family. This means that only that person is accepted as an agriculturist who cultivates land on his own account. An agricultural labourer with any amount of efficiency and any length of experience is excluded. A servant who on a large farm may be a graduate in agriculture is excluded. And in my opinion, if strictly interpreted, a member of a family or a joint Hindu family who cultivates land on account of the head of the family or the joint family and not on his own account is also excluded. I am, therefore, unable to consider commendable a section which excludes a large class of real agriculturists.

Once again with due apologies to Dr. Sayanna, I have to point out that he has not used that care in his writing which his eminent position requires. Writing on section 63, at one place he uses the word "landowner." He writes, "...owing to the fault of the landowner, tenant or whatever cause." The word in the section is landlord, not landowner. If landowner were the word, it would include an owner-cultivator and make the section highly commendable as considered by him. Similarly in paragraph 2 of column 2 of page 483 he wrongly uses the word "maximum" for the word "minimum" which is the word used in section 14, clause (f) of the Bill. In the same para he writes, "The clauses with regard to consolidation of tenants' holdings etc." I am not prepared to believe that he does not know that consolidation of holdings is one thing, prevention of fragmentation of a holding is another. What section 27, to which he has referred, lays down is a provision to prevent fragmentation of a holding. It has nothing to do with consolidation of holdings.

The provision relating to minimum produce has been dropped from the Bill during its passage through the Legislature. It found place in section 14, sub-section 1, clause (f) which is as follows:

"....the tenancy of any land held by a tenant shall not be terminated unless such tenant,.....has

without sufficient cause failed to grow crops according to the usage or custom of the locality and to produce in any year a minimum yield of the crops grown in the land, as determined by any officer appointed in this behalf by the Provincial Government."

In all progressive countries, the emphasis of legislation has shifted on to efficiency today to combat the short supply of food. The Agricultural Act of England provides for ousting from possession any cultivator, be he owner or tenant, who fails to attain the standard of produce prescribed for him. The Government of Madras according to newspaper reports contemplates legislation on the lines of the Act of England. Is it not, then, regrettable that the Bombay Legislature should have dropped a provision which the sponsors of the Bill very advisedly included in it as a first step in the drive towards efficiency? If the Legislature thought that most of the tenants lacking efficiency would be disturbed in their possession with consequent agitation difficult to face, the Legislature could have provided that for the first two years after the Act comes into force the failure to reach the standard would not involve termination of tenancy but that a landlord would be entitled to serve a notice through the officer concerned that if the tenant in the third year failed to reach the standard, the tenancy would be liable to termination on his application and at the discretion of the officer appointed in this behalf. Some such provision, though mild and tame, would have compelled every tenant to try to raise his efficiency. In my note submitted to the Select Committee of the Baroda Legislature before which a Bill prepared section by section on the lines of the Bombay Bill is pending consideration, I have made this suggestion and added that the right to purchase the tenancy land conferred on a protected tenant by section 32 should be made dependent on the efficiency certificate issued to him by the officer appointed in this behalf after the tenant has reached the efficiency standard. If not today, at least tomorrow the rigid provisions of the Agricultural Act of England will have to be enforced in this country. When that contingency arrives, an inefficient tennant turned owner will be saved much heart-burning on account of dispossession.

Dr. Sayanna's reference to large incomes and huge profits is unfortunate. Those who live in South Gujarat know what became the plight of sugarcane farmers with a high rise in the cost of production and a sharp fall in the price of *gur* last year. This year the plight is worse and if Dr. Sayanna entertains any doubts, he may profitably spend a few hours in any South Gujarat sugarcane village.

To conclude, I have with regret to observe that on a careful study of the Bombay Bill the impression formed inescapably is that it is a hasty piece of legislation rushed on the wings of enthusiasm for a very noble object and fails to bear the impress of a legal mind carefully guided by conditions and problems of agriculture. To quote one instance, the law relating to improvement on land by landlord or tenant embodied in the Bill not only dis-

plays careless or hurried draftsmanship but discloses ignorance of the principles of the science of agriculture or the unanimous conclusions of experienced farmers. To quote another instance, the Bill provides in section 19 that on the termination of a tenancy, the tenant will be entitled to claim compensation for the trees he may have planted but that when the termination of a tenancy is in pursuance of surrender, the tenant will not be entitled to any such compensation. The consequence will be that if the landlord declines or is unable to pay compensation, the tenant will cut down the trees, ripe for cutting or not, and remove the wood. Such planted trees being usually fruit trees, to that extent the country which is in extreme short supply of fruit will suffer. A reference to the chapter on Agriculture in Halsham's Laws of England shows that such an eventuality has been provided for in England. It is there provided that a tenant intending to surrender his tenancy will be entitled to offer another substantial tenant for the remaining duration of the tenancy and on the landlord's refusal to accept him, he will be entitled to claim compensation. Now section 41 of the revised Bill lays down that if the tenancy is terminated under the provisions of this Act, a tenant will be entitled to compensation for any improvement made by him on the land. It is silent about termination of tenancy following on surrender. Surrender being allowed under the Act, termination of tenancy by surrender must be considered as one under the provisions of the Act and, therefore, a tenant will be entitled to compensation. Why this distinction? It has nowhere been laid down in the Bill as it has been laid down in the Agricultural Act of England that any improvement on land by a tenant shall rank for compensation only if it is effected after notice to the landlord and his consent and if consent is withheld with the approval of the Ministry of Agriculture. Had it been so laid down in the Bill, it could be understood that on termination due to surrender, a tenant should be entitled to compensation. As it is, I cannot be understood why the claim to compensation has been recognised in one case and not in another. On the failure to incorporate in the Bill provisions relating to notice, consent and approval referred to above, I shall say nothing. A hasty legislation even though it intends to be just and fair, fails to be comprehensive enough to incorporate all necessary provisions and in the last analysis assumes the complexion of a party legislation despite the very sincere desire of the party in power to be above such legislation. This is what has happened to the Bombay Bill. Its object is excellent, namely, uplift and efficiency of agriculture and the economic betterment of tenants to be brought about by curtailment of the arbitrary rights of landlords. But the haste with which it has been enacted has not made it possible for it to be a just and fair legislation and to be a model one for other provinces and states to follow. Its sponsors are members of a party with high tradition for unflinching adherence to its declared policy, a policy of

equality and justice for all classes of people. Whatever savours of want of justice in the Bill is not a result of a deliberate departure from the policy of the party but is the consequence of want of care and attention which inevitably attends haste. I am fortified in this view of the Bill on a consideration of Explanation 2 to section 2 and section 38. The Bill requires that personal cultivation of land when actual cultivation is by servants or hired labour must be the cultivation under personal supervision. Explanation 2 to section 2 exempts a tenant who is a widow, a minor or a person subject to physical or mental disability from such personal supervision. Section 38 similarly exempts the heir, being a widow, minor or a person subject to disability, of a landlord who terminated a protected tenancy and took over possession of tenancy land for personal cultivation. But there is no provision in the Bill to exempt from personal supervision the landlord who after taking up personal cultivation may contract a mental or physical disability. In the absence of such a provision, the consequence will be that on the landlord's failure to carry on personal supervision on account of a brief or protracted illness, his protected tenant whom he had to dispossess will be entitled to recover possession of the land. I cannot for a moment conceive that the absence of the provision, the benefit of which has been extended to his heir, is the result of a deliberate omission in the case of the landlord himself. However, what is the reaction of such an unintentional omission? Leaders of a party must know that members who form rank and file of the party usually attempt to justify all acts of commission or omission by the party. It is not surprising if one such member propagates the view that the omission has been deliberate, intended to discourage a landlord from taking over land from a protected tenant even for the purpose of *bona fide* personal cultivation. And a landlord, who without a due appreciation of the need of the hour and blinded by his narrow outlook smarts from what he regards as wounds inflicted on him will utilize such instances of unintentional injustice, which are several in the Bill to run down the party. The Congress party is pledged to the balancing of the just interests of all classes of people. It cannot afford to expose itself to frontal attacks from any class of people for acts of unintended injustice, the result of undue haste or unrestrained enthusiasm. It is hoped fervently that the Bombay Legislature will at the earliest opportunity once again revise the Bill and give it a shape and tone as will entitle it to occupy a place of pride and honour on the Statute Book of the Province. India with her new-found liberty has emerged as a great, potential nation. Her activities are being watched with care and interest by other nations and her legislation which reflects her policy will be keenly studied by jurists all the world over. Let it not be said of India or of any province of India that it acts in haste and, having to go over the ground again, lags behind.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

A NEW HISTORY OF THE MARATHAS: By G. S. Sardesai, Vol. I—*Shivaji and His Line 1600-1707* (374 pp., price Rs. 10); Vol. II—*Expansion of the Maratha Power, 1707-1772* (565 pp., price Rs. 15); Vol. III—*Sunset over Maharashtra, 1772-1848* (534 pp., price Rs. 15) with illustrations and maps. K. B. Dhawale, Bombay.

A great literary work has been carried to completion, and on this happy result we offer our congratulations to the Maratha people and the author Govind Sakharam Sardesai. The garnered fruit of a life's study, reflection, and historic exploration by the greatest historian among the Marathas has been published in a form which will make it accessible to the vast English-speaking world. The deep erudition and painstaking research of G. S. Sardesai had been known hitherto to his own province only, as his monumental *Marathi Riyasat* in several volumes was written in his mother-tongue. But this English book will spread his ideas to all parts of India. The good paper, large type and clear printing make it a pleasure to read this book and reflect the greatest credit on the publisher Mr. Dhawale and his press.

This book, however, is in no sense a translation or even an adaptation of the *Marathi Riyasat*. It is an original composition altogether, giving a survey of the course of Maratha history with reflections and character-sketches, written in charming and fluent English prose. This historian of the Marathas is now in his 84th year and his days have not been idly spent. The mature conclusions of such a son of Maharashtra on the life-story of his nation is surely worth listening to with the deepest attention, and the literary finish of this work will ensure to it a host of readers. Should any one be inclined to suppose that ignorant racial pride has falsified history here, the character and reputation of Mr. Sardesai should at once allay such a suspicion. There is a further safeguard: the author says, "Every line in these three volumes has passed under the eyes of my lifelong friend Sir Jadunath Sarkar, in MSS. and proof alike. We two have discussed,—sometimes warmly,—every problem and doubtful point in this work; and if in many cases I have in the end adhered to my own point of view, his arguments to the contrary have always had a chastening effect on the final shape of my conclusions."

Certainly there is no Maratha chauvinism in this book. The aged author mournfully admits the defects of policy and leaders' character that led to the downfall of the kingdom built up by Shivaji and raised to imperial status by the second and third Peshwas. Even the local independence of Maharashtra land was lost in the annexation of 1818. But the author looks hopefully to the future greatness of the Maratha people in

the modern world, signs of which are already evident (Vol. III., pp. 513-522).

N. B. ROY

WHY PROHIBITION? By H. C. Mookerjee, M.A., Ph.D., Vice-President, Constituent Assembly of India. The Book House, 15 College Square, Calcutta. 1948. Pp. iii + v + 221. Price Rs. 4.

Doctor H. C. Mookerjee has come forward with an admirable manual for temperance, social service and Congress workers. It is surprising what a mass of information has been collected from medical literature within the small compass of this book. It would serve to put an end to the advocacy of those who consider total prohibition as an impracticable proposal, for one reason or another.

In the closing pages of the book, the author has dealt with the administrative aspects of the question, and shown how the control over excise has helped rather than hindered the cause of intemperance. We hope it would serve to convince legislators, who generally favour the view that total prohibition would be financially embarrassing for the government.

This reminds the reviewer of a conversation which a well-known administrator of our country had with Mahatma Gandhi a few months before we lost him. The administrator, as usual, was advocating control as practised by the government and describing Gandhiji's proposals as utopian. The latter remarked that his idea was incredibly simple. What he wanted was not that government should immediately stop all taxation over excise, but that the revenue derived from this source should not, on any account, be used for nation-building purposes like Education, as it was then being used. It should be spent solely for promoting the cause of Temperance instead.

We are sure the present book by Dr. Mookerjee will receive a warm welcome from the legislators and social workers of our country.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

MY MASTER GOKHALE: Selections from the Speeches and Writings of the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivas Sastri, with a Foreword by Mahatma Gandhi. Edited by T. N. Jagadisan. Model Publications, 50 Eldrian Street, Madras. Pp. 282. Price Rs. 6.

The late Srinivasa Sastri discharged a sacred obligation as through these speeches and writings he brought the present generation of politically conscious people in India in living touch with the world and service of men the fruits of which we enjoy today. Gopal Krishna Gokhale was one of these men and though Srinivasa Sastri concentrated attention on his "Masters" ideas and activities, it would be proper to regard him as a representative of his age. The creators

of that age in Western India were Dadabhai Naoroji, Vishnu Sastri Chiplunkar, Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Purozeshah Mehta and Balwant Gangadhar Tilak. Bombay represented the cosmopolitan strain in the evolution of Indian Nationalism, Poona, the capital of the Peshawas, the Nationalist. To this development can be traced the foundation of the Deccan Education Society which Balwant Tilak joined as one of the foundation members—all of them vowed to a life of poverty in the pursuit of the ideal of renovated India; to this Society was Gopal Krishna Gokhale drawn by Balwant Rao. This step decreed the future life of Srinivasa Sastri's "Master."

Both these men lived to disagree fundamentally in politics. Gopal Rao followed Ranade, and Balwant Rao became the leader of the "Extremist" Party in India.

Srinivasa Sastri has woven a story round his "Master" that only a master in the use of the English language can compass; a fairness and delicacy of feeling characterize what appears in the book, reaching a standard that would remain an ideal, an object of envy, to Indian writers and speakers.

The persons who helped mould Gopal Krishna Gokhale have been brought into the picture; in light strokes their features have been just indicated. But the absence of their socio-political background would explain why we cannot rightly understand the grandeur of their efforts, the failures by which they had served their country, to use words almost always on the lips of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.

The times during which (1905-45) the writings appeared and the speeches were delivered were not quite propitious for the appreciation of Srinivasa Sastri's "Master's" work. But he has left a narrative to which the student of affairs and the historian will have to turn for understanding the personal and impersonal forces that prepared the present. Our sorrow is that Srinivasa Sastri could have given us many of these of more value and insight.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

RECOLLECTIONS AND REFLECTIONS: By Sir Chimanlal H. Setalvad. Published by Padma Publications Ltd., Bombay. Pp. 530. Price Rs. 12-8.

The many-sided activities of Sir Chimanlal who passed away only the other day are described here in the form of an autobiography in which the writer takes the reader into his complete confidence. As a famous lawyer, a prominent legislator, an eminent educationist, and a well-known man of affairs, Sir Chimanlal has given us his reminiscences in nine parts containing nearly forty chapters.

After giving a short account of his early days, Sir Chimanlal devotes the second part, comprising more than 150 pages to his experiences as a lawyer at the Bombay High Court. He has so many interesting things to say that even the lay reader belonging to other areas of India will find this part of his reminiscences interesting. The part he played as an educationist and the work he did as a member of the Senate and as Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University are described in the fourth part. Those familiar with the subject will notice the modesty with which he has referred to his achievements in this particular sphere.

Equally interesting is his account of his activities in the Provincial and Central Legislatures from 1893 onwards. But no student of public affairs in India and especially those interested in the progressive realisation of self-government in our motherland and in the evolution of the demand for Poorna Swaraj can afford to neglect the sixth part of Sir Chimanlal's auto-

biography comprising some two hundred pages in which he gives his interpretation of events from the appointment of Lord Ripon down to the Sapru Conferences. He has many things to say about the negotiations carried on behind the scenes in the Round Table Conferences and much of which has not been made public except in the book under review.

Sir Chimanlal's account of the Indian States with which he became connected as a lawyer and as adviser in constitutional matters is also interesting showing as it does the difficulties which had to be overcome by the Hon'ble Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel whose valuable services in persuading them to throw in their lot with the Indian Union have not yet been fully realised.

Above all, throughout this big book, the reader becomes intimately acquainted with a champion of Indian claims who, in his own way, has served our motherland with as much distinction as many of those who are more well-known to the public.

The index at the end of the book will be appreciated by those readers who are unable to find time for going through all its five hundred odd pages, while the twenty-two illustrations add the final touch to the personal character of the book.

H. C. MOOKERJEE

THE MATRIX OF INDIAN CULTURE: By Dr. N. Majumdar. Pp. 248. Sri Mahadeo Hari Wathodkar Foundation Lectures, Nagpur University, 1946. Lucknow 1947.

Written by a thoroughly competent scholar who is fully conversant with the most up-to-date works on his subject, and has himself undertaken frequent and fruitful field investigations in different parts of Northern India, the present publication is a very welcome addition to the literature of Indian anthropology. Of the three parts of which it consists, the first describes the development of cultural anthropology in general and of Indian anthropological studies in particular from their dim beginnings down to modern times. The second part deals sympathetically with the problems of population and vital statistics, of taboo and similar devices, of the impact of alien cultures and influences (specially since the last World War) and of rehabilitation, in relation to the aboriginal tribals of India. In the third chapter the author discusses the problems of race, of increase of population, of migration and immigration, of polygamy and hypergamy, of the survival of the unfit and so forth not only with reference to the tribals, but also in relation to the general population of this country. A number of tables and diagrams, a select bibliography and two indices add to the usefulness of the present volume. It is to be hoped that in a future edition more attention will be paid to the tribes of Southern India who have been almost completely ignored in the present work.

U. N. GHOSAL

SANSKRIT

JIVANANDANAM OF ANANDARAYA MAKHIN: Edited by Vaidyaratna Pandit M. Duraiswami Aiyangar, A.K.A.C., Ayurvedabhusana, Ayurvedacharya. The Adyar Library Series No. 39. The Adyar Library, Adyar, Madras. Price Rs. 20.

We have here a beautiful edition of the allegorical Sanskrit drama *Jivanandanam* of Anandarayamakhin who lived in Tanjore towards the end of the 17th and the beginning of the 18th century. The edition is based on two previous editions: one published in Mysore in 1881 and the other in Bombay in the Kavyamala series in 1891. The former edition in

Telugu script which does not appear to have been used in preparing the latter has considerably helped the learned editor in correcting and improving the text of the present edition. A number of emendations also seem to have been suggested by him. But unfortunately there is no indication given to distinguish the emendations from the readings of the Telugu edition. We have instead a long list of the improvements made in the editions upon the readings of the Bombay edition. Curiously enough no manuscript of the work was utilised in preparing the edition though at least two are reported to exist in two well-known manuscript Libraries—Madras Oriental Manuscripts Library and Alwar State Library. A search and collation of available manuscripts is essential in properly editing, and determining the correct text of any old work. The learned editor's own commentary is elaborate and lucid. Being a specialist in Indian medical science he has had the privilege of being able to bring out the significance of the numerous passages relating to the doctrines of the Ayurveda which the drama incidentally seeks to propound. The two long introductions—one in English and the other in Sanskrit—give much useful information about the author and his allegorical dramas, especially in comparison with other works of the same type.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BANKER KATHA: *By Anath Bandhu Dutta. Published by General Printers and Publishers, Ltd., Calcutta. Pp. xiii + 137. Price Rs. 3.*

This book is welcome as a valuable contribution to banking literature in Bengali. The author has admirably succeeded in expressing in simple Bengali all the necessary information with regard to banking law and practice prevailing in our country. The book will prove useful to all who have bank connections. The banking public and students will find it helpful and informing. The price appears to be a little too high for our common readers.

P. C. GHOSH

PRATHAM PRASNA (Second Edition) : *By Raimohan Saha. Sree Guru Library, 204 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4.*

Sj. Raimohan Saha's novel *Pratham Prasna* or 'The First Question' created some sensation in Bengali literature when it was first published a decade ago. The book which is different from the commonplace fiction displays the author's originality of thought and conception.

In our Hindu society there are many evil social customs which have created a gulf of difference between man and man. It cannot be denied that the caste system is one of the main causes of our racial and national degeneration. Pamu, the hero of the present novel, is a talented young man of a very go-ahead spirit, with progressive ideas. His life's mission is to bring revolutionary changes in our social life. He is inspired with the idea of creating a new society wherein there will be no distinction of caste and creed, and the introduction of intercaste marriage in our society is one of the main items of his nation-building work. Bina a highly accomplished girl of an aristocratic Hindu family is attracted towards Pamu, the prince among men. But alas, when Bina comes to learn that her lover is the son of a cobbler her idol is shattered to pieces and her heart is filled

with abhorrence and hatred towards Pamu only because of his low origin. Such is the power of prejudice!

The writer has shown great skill and ability in depicting Pamu's character and has given such a realistic touch to all other characters that the reader finishes the book with a vital question haunting his mind. He broods over the evil effects of social injustice done to human beings from the remote past and amidst encircling gloom he sees a ray of hope when he thinks that a new society of Pamu's conception may materialise in future.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

HINDI

SITAR-MARG (Part II) : *Shripada Bandyopadhyaya. Vani Mandir, Premnagar, Sabziman-ḍi, Delhi. Pp. 259. Price Rs. 5.*

VITAT VADYA-SHIKSHA (Part I) : *Shripada Bandyopadhyaya. Vani Mandir, Premnagar, Sabziman-ḍi, Delhi. Pp. 58. Price Re. 1-4.*

The author is a well-known writer on Indian instrumental music, almost a pioneer in the field of pertinent literature. The two books, the first a continuation of his previous scholarly study on the difficult art of playing on the *sitar*, and the second, the first in the series of his proposed booklets dealing with the technique of handling *ṣṛaj*, *dūtṛuba* and *violin*,—can serve as very helpful tutors to all students of Indian instrumental music. The author's treatment of the subject is both deep and detailed. Proof-correcting, however, needed greater watchfulness.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **SHRI JAMNALAJI** : *By Ghanshyam Das Birla. Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price six annas.*

(2) **BEHENOHE** : *By Karimbhai Vora. Paper cover. Pp. 44. Price six annas.*

(3) **RACHANATMAK KARYAKRAM** : *By Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi. Paper cover. Pp. 48. Price six annas.*

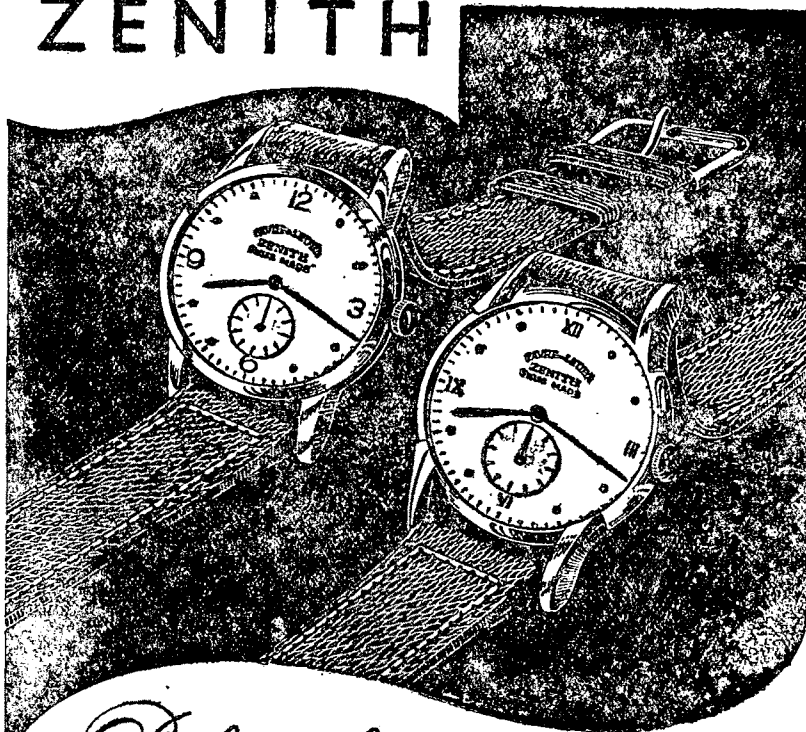
(4) **HAZRAT MOHAMMAD AND ISLAM** : *By Pandit Sundarlal. Paper cover. Pp. 152. Price Re. 1.*

All four published by the Navjivan Prakashan Mandir, Ahmedabad. 1946.

Birlaji's life of the late Jamnalaji written in easy Hindi has been translated into equally easy Gujarati by a Muslim writer Karimbhai Vora. All leading incidents in the life of this "adopted son" of Gandhiji have been described in a most matter-of-fact and therefore interesting way. It is full of information. Karimbhai Vora has equally well acquitted himself in translating Rajkumari Amrit Kaur's *To Women*. She has been at pains to point out how her sisters can render useful social work, both in towns and villages. Her own experience in the line has furnished her with the means of her advice and guidance. Gandhiji's work on reconstruction, its secret and its proper place, is running its fourth edition and its eighteen chapters are a store-house of materials, which can be utilised by any social worker, big or small. Pandit Sundarlal's work in Hindi, *Hazrat Mohammad and Islam*, has furnished the basis of the text of this book by Mr. Mashruwala. It is a comprehensive and detailed work and brings out in strong relief the good and humanitarian points of the great creed and its fundamentals as propounded by the prophet.

K. M. J.

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Some Inevitable Consequences of India's Partition

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha observes in *The Hindustan Review* :

It is generally said, and perhaps believed, that the late Punjabi poet, Sir Muhammad Iqbal, first started the idea of Pakistan in his presidential address at the Allahabad session of the Muslim League, in 1930. This is not at all correct, as such a proposal had been made by many leaders, both Hindu and Muslim, long before that year. That great leader, the late Shri Lajpat Rai of Lahore, was one of them. When it became clear to him that the Muslims would not give up their separate electorates, he felt that such separatism would inevitably lead to a separate Muslim State, particularly because there were in India certain Muslim-majority areas, both in the Punjab and Bengal. He wrote accordingly in 1925:

"Let those who demand communal representation, with separate electorates in all the representative institutions of the land, honestly confess that they do not believe in nationalism, or in a united India. The two things are absolutely irreconcilable. Mr. M. A. Jinnah is the latest recruit to this party, and I really cannot understand how he calls himself a nationalist still. My suggestion is that the Punjab should be partitioned into two provinces, the Western Punjab with a large Muslim-majority area to be a Muslim-governed province; and the Eastern Punjab with a large Hindu-Sikh majority to be a non-Muslim-governed province."

He contemplated, however, a federation for both of them, and not their existence as independent Sovereign States, as now carried out.

Being in favour of the creation of separate Muslim State but united with Hindu States under a national federal government, Shri Lajpat Rai went on to say: "Under my scheme Muslims will have four States: (1) the Pathan province, or North-West Frontier; (2) Western Punjab; (3) Sind and (4) Eastern Bengal. If there are compact Muslim communities in any other part of India, sufficiently large to form a province, they should be similarly constituted. It means a clear partition of India into a Muslim India and a non-Muslim India."

But at the time he wrote (1925) nobody, including the Muslim Leaguers, and not excepting even Mr. Jinnah, could give any serious thought to Shri Lajpat Rai's proposal. The Muslims were obviously, at that time more or less sufficiently attached to the conception of India, as a whole, as their country, and had not enough courage to envisage a separate political existence and to fend for themselves.

However, Mr. Matlubul Hasan in his book on Mr. Jinnah, asserts that it was Shri Lajpat Rai who heralded the idea of a partition of India, such as was carried out, in an even larger measure, in August, 1947. It has been stated by me, in a number of contributions to the press, that none of the propounders of the theory of the partition of India, nor those who acquiesced in its implementation, had the faintest notion of its very grave consequences,

which had ensued since, and which need no recounting now.

But the partition having been carried out let us hope, not for all time) it behoves us to study carefully the effects of the economic and political disruption brought about, so as to be able to appreciate whether there can reasonably be inferred from unimpeachable data, facts and figures, any prospect of the re-malgamation of either the eastern area (in Bengal), or the north-western area, or of both, or none. Such attempts had already been made by some Hindu and Muslim publicists, of which the most notable are those by Shri Ghanshyam Das Birla, and Professor Nafis Ahmed. The former tried to show, soon after the partition was achieved by the Muslim League, that as compared with the Union of India, the industrial equipments, economic resources, and mechanical contrivances, of Pakistan were not worth the name. This elicited the obvious retort from the Leaguers, and their supporters, that it was just because of it that Mr. Jinnah and his followers had insisted upon, and successfully brought about, the partition of India, so that in the Muslim-majority areas may flourish (by their growth, development, and expansion) industries, to which greater—or rather much greater—attention would be paid by the new Government of Pakistan.

Muslim League publicists had betrayed an almost deplorable anxiety to establish that Pakistan was, even at present, economically a thoroughly sound proposition.

It would emerge before long as a State wholly independent of the Indian Union in things and matters industrial, and become quite as prosperous as the Sister Dominion. Of the numerous publications on the subject, perhaps the most ambitious and the most pretentious is a book written by Professor Nafis Ahmed, called *The Basis of Pakistan* (Thacker, Spink, and Co., Calcutta). The author, who claims to be a geographer, had discussed in it the question under consideration, and sought to establish the conclusions mentioned above.

Unfortunately, his book labours under a grave disadvantage. Its last page had been printed off on 5th February, 1947—that is, nearly four months before the scheme of partition, as agreed to was announced on the 3rd June, and more than six months before it was actually carried out on the 15th of August of that year, under the terms of the Radcliffe award. In the circumstances, the author's discussions of the subject are not so much factual as speculative.

A far better expositor of the economics of Pakistan is a Parsee Professor of Karachi, who now prides in calling himself a "Pakistani."

It is Professor Maneck B. Pithawalla, whose book—called *An Introduction to Pakistan* (Kartar Building, Victoria Road, Karachi)—raises before one's mind's eye visions of a great economic and industrial renaissance in the new-born Dominion achieved by Mr. Jinnah, provided

the Government conceive and execute the various plans suited to the terrain, and to the genius of the people of Pakistan which, he says, they are well set to undertake. He attributes the present undeveloped and almost famished nature of these erstwhile parts of India to the British treating the whole country as a single unit, and not developing every region or part of the country intensively—as perhaps the author himself would have done had he been the sole ruler of India. The result, he says, was that industries in India had been concentrated in certain areas only, to the neglect and detriment of such other areas as had been now grouped in the two blocks constituting Pakistan. His study of this Dominion's resources has led him to conclude that "it is only idle and false economists who indulge in vague calculations, and whose feet are not firmly fixed on the earth in Pakistan, who can say that it will be an economic failure."

As the author is (a) a Parsee who takes pride in Pakistan as a Paikstani, (b) a Dean of the Faculty of Science in the University of Sindh, (c) a specialist in Geography and Geology, and (d) a dabbler in current Indo-Pakistan politics, in full sympathy with the separatist ideologies of Pakistan, it is worth while listening to him in preference to any other Asiatic. He says:

"There are two separate Pakistans, without much compactness, and also without a corridor, excepting the sea; and that too right round the whole Indian peninsula. The boundary between West Punjab, belonging to Pakistan, and East Punjab, belonging to the Indian Union, is about 200 miles long." Pakistan "happens to be the largest Muslim State in the world. Its western zone is larger in area than France and Germany combined. There are four Provinces (1) Sind, (2) West Punjab, (3) North-West Frontier Province, and (4) Baluchistan. There is no natural frontier, but rather an unnatural disruption of water course, and other lines of communications, about 500 miles long."

"Both the western and eastern sectors of Pakistan have in general, certain natural disadvantages. Both Western and Eastern Pakistans cover 2,33,100 square miles, of which 1,779,000 square miles belong to the former, and 54,100 to the latter. This comes to only about 15 per cent of the total area of India. Eastern Pakistan (only about 54,100 square miles in area) is less than one-third of Western Pakistan in extent"—though it is larger in population.

Having given the general sketch, quoted above, Professor Pithawalla goes into the following details:

"The North-West Frontier Province is largely a hilly country. Its total area is nearly 38,665, out of which only about 14,300 square miles are inherited by the Government of Pakistan, the rest belonging to the different hill-tribes. The Dandot Colliery (in the West Punjab) is in a very poor condition, and the mines are not at all worked on any modern scientific principles. Iron and coal generally go together, and so in the Dandot mines, pyrites is also found but in the same condition as the coal seams. The output of coal (as shown in official records) was only 95,000 tons during the year 1933. Since then the colliery has deteriorated." As if this statement was not sufficiently pointed, and with a view to emphasise it further, the learned Professor adds: "The prospects of mineral resources of the Dominion of Pakistan, especially of key-minerals and metallic ores, are, on the whole, poor." We are then told: "Agriculture is the mainstay of the whole dominion of Pakistan. Western Pakistan, being dry land, has very few forests and forest products in consequence. On the whole, Pakistan has not only 9,000 square miles of reserved and protected forests against some 70,000 square miles of them in the Indian Union. The only possible connection between Eastern and Western Pakistan, for all heavy cargoes, is the sea route from Karachi to Chittagong, but the distance is not less than

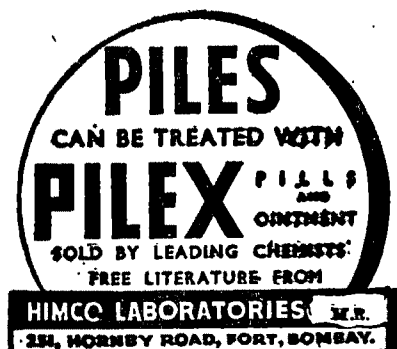
3,000 miles. The population of Pakistan forms 16.9 per cent of the total population, while it possesses only 14.7 per cent of the total Indian area. The total Muslim population in Pakistan is nearly 47.8 million, and an equal number of people, that is nearly half of the (Muslim) community, is still living in the Indian Union."

To condense the above statements in a few lines: (a) the two portions of Pakistan are divided by an enormous "foreign" area of about a thousand miles extending over five Provinces of the Indian Union—East Punjab, Delhi, the United Provinces, Bihar, and West Bengal—with no corridor facilitating inter-communication between them, (as was at one time desired by Mr. Jinnah) except by a sea route of 3,000 miles between Karachi and Chittagong; (b) Pakistan's population is but 16 per cent, and area only 14 per cent of that of India, while her forests are only 9,000 as against 70,000 square miles of India's; (c) Pakistan contains (roughly speaking) but half the Muslim population of undivided India—so it has not at all been able to solve the problem of Muslim minorities in India, or of the Hindu minority of 13 millions in East Bengal; and (d) the whole country is purely agricultural and there are no industries anywhere, at present, worth the name—the only coal mine, at one particular place being in a deteriorated condition. These salient points sum up, in brief, the admissions of Professor Pithawalla about the present economic and industrial condition of the largest independent Sovereign Muslim State of Pakistan, the fifth amongst the States of the world, which he assures us "only idle and false economists" declare will be "an economic failure." But do his data and facts support his view?

A much more informing exposition of the economic and political conditions of Pakistan is furnished in a contribution to a Madras weekly, by a "British officer."

The officer was in the service of what he had chosen as the designation of his article—"The Fifth Largest State." He writes:

"The impression I gained in Eastern Pakistan was that the Muslim has not, in fact, escaped from Hindu dominance, as he thought he had. The great majority of the shop-keepers, bankers, landowners are Hindus, and the Muslim's economic servitude is nearly as complete as in former days. In the first enthusiasm for Pakistan the Muslim cultivator had imagined that his economic dependence would be removed by Government action. But the economic chains in question are more



the result of religious principles than anything else. The Hindu has never deliberately set out to put his Muslim counterpart into a position of economic dependence on him. Rather has it been done by the Hindu's business sense not having been stifled by his religion. Other factors in favour of the Hindus include the joint family system, and their better organised philanthropy with its beneficial effect on their education. So, in spite of his jubilation, the Muslim of East Pakistan has not escaped from Hindu influence in reality, and this fact he is only just beginning to realise."

"Another impression is that East Pakistan has lost its heart and its mouth. Its brain has been much improved by having its own provincial Government, and an influx of efficient Muslim administrators from all over India. But any organisation or body finds it most inconvenient to have no heart and no mouth. Calcutta represents these two vital parts, and East Pakistan feels their severance as would any other living organism. Unless a heart and a mouth can be reconstructed within a year or two, East Pakistan will suffer the fate that one would expect when such vital organs are removed. Chittagong is East Pakistan's hope. But Chittagong has got to be expanded by a Pakistan in economic childhood. It will be many years before Chittagong can become East Pakistan's heart and mouth. Can the province, without two such vital necessities, last so long?"

As regards some other impressions of Eastern Pakistan and her people, the British officer records his views as follows:

"The Pakistani, (the Muslim in Pakistan) is still an Indian, through and through. If educated, he thinks (himself) an 'Indian' automatically, and then remembers that he is not one. So many of his ideas, interests, background, hopes, and ambitions (personal and national) are impregnated with a completely Indian complex. If real social, political and economic equality between communities could be achieved, then the Muslims of Pakistan would quickly be tempted back in the fold of a united India. The achievement of that equality is the task of the Hindu."

Will the Bengal Hindu, who succeeded, in 1947, in getting Bengal divided, by means of a strenuous and vehement agitation for the separation of Hindu majority areas, prove himself equal to the occasion?

The "British Officer" concludes his observations on Pakistan as follows:

"There is much looking back over the shoulder, and Pakistan is a very impecunious country, and not able to pay its servants the salaries that they have had in the past. The most sturdy and experienced political faction or party—the Red Shirts of the North-West Frontier Province—are in deadly opposition. Strong repressive action may send that party underground, but will never kill it. The members of that party do not fear Hindus, and want a share of India's prestige, and they will get it. Pakistan appears to have fewer friends on the North-West Frontier than she imagined. Much of the North-West Frontier is antagonistic to Muslim League dominance. Sind unwillingly loses its capital."

"The Hindu and Muslim areas of India are interdependent. Not only would Hindus need some of the resources of Pakistan for industrial life, but Pakistan would desperately need great quantities of the resources of Hindustan"—so wrote, in 1944, Professor Charles Behre (of the Columbia University of New York) in a penetrating analysis of the subject, in one of the leading American quarterlies, called *Foreign Affairs*. Mr. Jinnah when confronted with a similar argument, two years previously, had told the representative of the *New York Times*:

"Afghanistan is a poor country but it gets along; so does Iraq. If we are willing to live sensibly and poorly

so long as we have freedom, why should the Hindus object? The economy will take care of itself in time."

That was his line of argument—a good retort, but not at all convincing.

Though a nation can become wealthy by the development and expansion of industry, as may be some day the natives of the Union of India, no sensible person should forget that a simpler method of acquiring wealth is by appropriating by force the outcome of the labours of your more industrious and wealthier neighbours. Solon is said to have told Croesus—the proverbial richest man of his time—that the person who had more iron at his disposal would ultimately come to possess all the accumulated gold of others.

Will There be a Third World War?

The hopes of lasting peace are fast receding, and human beings aghast at the prospect of another devastating world war. F. W. Corbett writes in *The Indian Review*:

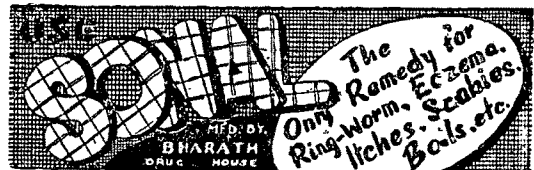
Today, fully two years after the termination of the war, we are still chasing after that elusive peace, and the whole world lives in a state of constant tension in strongly opposing camps, on the very brink of the precipice of another war into which it may be hurled, at any moment.

This is because the causes of war lie deeper than the bellicose creeds and imperialistic ambitions of Hitler, Mussolini or Tojo. To end war, we must destroy Hitler and Hitlerism in ourselves also. Because, contrary to common belief, each one of us unconsciously harbours Hitler and Hitlerism in our hearts, and practises Hitlerism in our daily lives, by our selfishness, arrogance, greed, and lack of consideration for the needs and the feelings of those we call our fellowmen.

Let us consider a few of the main indictments against Hitler and Hitlerism in language understandable by the average man.

The first is, that Hitler and his henchmen sought to depose God and to destroy religion. In this scientific age, there is a great gulf between the precept and the practice of one's religion, and Christians, Hindus, and Muslims alike scoff at age-long religious beliefs as so much superstition, and, like the Hitlerites, invent new and convenient forms of religion for themselves.

The next indictment is race arrogance. Here also, the Nazis openly called themselves the Herrenvolk, and sought to subject all 'inferior races' to their service. But is there not race arrogance, and, to a greater extent, class



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arrogance among us 'democrats' not only as nations and groups, but also as individuals? We consider as inferiors all those who do not happen to be of the same colour, race, language, or way of thinking as ourselves.

There are as rigorous class distinctions in Europe and America, as there are caste distinctions in India, and, in India there are minor caste distinctions even among the 'depressed classes.'

This is the cause and the lesson of the perpetual strikes that now afflict the whole world, in Europe, America, Africa or Asia? And this is the true significance of the bloody struggles now going on in France, Greece, Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China and elsewhere. It is the eternal upsurge of class against class, of the labourer against the stranglehold of the employer, and of the subject race against the domination of the Imperialist.

The next indictment against Hitler and Hitlerism is that they sought to enslave the weaker nations to work for the comfort and wealth of the master Nordic Germans. What about the victors in this war for freedom? Are there still not subject races under their heel in Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, Africa and elsewhere, all struggling helplessly to shake off the exploiter? Are they different from the weaker nations of Europe because of their colour? And what about ourselves? Do we not, each one of us, in a greater or lesser degree, exploit the weaker brethren of our own race and kind by making them work long hours for our comfort or profit at an adequate wage?

The last indictment we will consider is the systematic starving of the weaker and subjugated peoples. Here again, it was openly stated, that whoever starved, it would not be the German people. They, at least, had the excuse that they were starving their enemies, but retribution has already overtaken them. What of ourselves in regard to our own people?

Today, all over India, and practically all over the world, there is dire distress owing to the high cost and the scarcity of food, and we glibly blame the profiteers and black-marketsters, who cannot carry on their nefarious trade if we did not buy from them.

Let us pause here, and consider, whether we have, however unintentionally, followed the precepts of Hitler and Hitlerism, rather than the precepts of our respective religions.

We may then begin by restoring God and religion to their proper places in our individual and corporate lives. We can, at the same time, eschew class and race arrogance, and cease exploiting our weaker brethren, each in our little way, for our pleasure or profit.

And, having done this, we can use our influence with our respective Governments, to set their policies in the right direction.

In the international sphere we can see that no people or country is exploited or subjugated because it is weak, or because any of its natural resources are coveted by the stronger. Rather that it be given the help and guidance for the development of these resources for the benefit of themselves and others.

As long as millions of human beings are struggling for their freedom in Malaya, Indonesia, Indo-China and elsewhere, and are being ruthlessly put down by the armed might of the imperialistic powers who have learnt nothing from the last war, but cloak their imperialistic designs by calling these people communists, there can be no peace. As long as a handful of interested "Powers" impudently decide that the former Italian colonies and other territories are not fit for self-government, and proceed to apportion them among themselves in pursuance of their own power politics, and without consulting the wishes of the people concerned, there can be no peace. As long as minorities are deprived of their rights because of their colour in South Africa, America and elsewhere, there can be no peace. There can be only constant conflict, which must inevitably lead to the third world war.

It is idle to pretend that we can totally abolish war. We can only localise it. Conflicts between neighbouring states and peoples there will always be, but they can, and must be localised.

To-day, we stand, not at the parting of the ways, as the old saying goes, but are being rushed, in spite of ourselves, to the edge of a precipice. Beyond lies the third world war, with all its horrors. One step forward, and we are in it.

Retrace a few steps, difficult at first, but easier as we go along and we reach the heaven of universal world peace, and brotherhood. The step forward lies through the continued exploitation of the weak, by the individual, the group, and the nation. The retracing steps are the eschewal of exploitation, race arrogance, and class arrogance by the individual, the group, and the nation. One leads through a policy of patience, tolerance, justice and mutual readjustment, to an era of harmony, goodwill, and universal peace. The other, through a policy of intolerance, repression, exploitation, and the insistence on the maintenance of the *status quo*, in favour of the strong, to the third world war, more devastating than the first two put together, which will destroy, perhaps for ever, all that remains of civilisation as we know it to-day, and yet, not usher in the millennium. The Choice is ours.

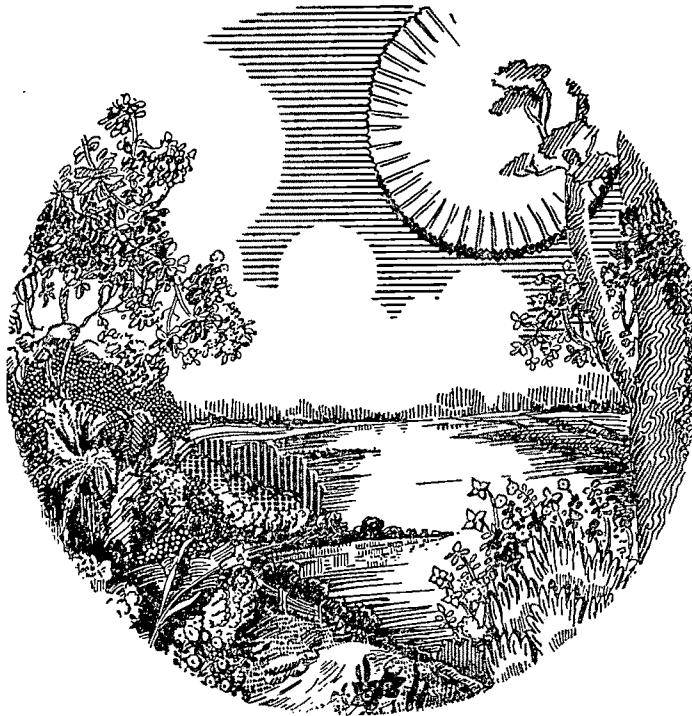


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FOREIGN PERIODICALS



Leo Tolstoi

F. Golovenchenko writes in the *Pravda* on Tolstoi at the 120th anniversary of his birth:

One hundred and twenty years ago, on September 9th, 1828, in Yasnaya Polyana, Leo Tolstoi, the great Russian writer and patriot, was born.

The name of Tolstoi is one of the most popular in world literature and is dear to the heart of every Soviet person. In a conversation with Gorky, V. I. Lenin once said about Tolstoi:

"What a rock! eh? What a colossus! There, old man, is an artist. And do you know what else is astounding? Before that count the real muzhik did not exist in literature.... Who in Europe can be placed alongside him?"

And he answered himself: "No one."

Stalin placed Tolstoi's name among those that form the pride and glory of the Russian nation.

Leo Tolstoi's ideas as artist and thinker were formed in the period between 1861 and 1905. His great works give a faithful portrayal of old pre-revolutionary Russia. As Lenin pointed out, "Tolstoi in his works succeeded in posing so many great problems, in rising to such artistic power that his works have taken one of the first places in world belles lettres. The epoch of preparation for revolution in one of the countries oppressed by the advocates of serfdom stood out, due to the inspired interpretation of Tolstoi, as a step forward in the artistic development of all humanity." Lenin's articles contain a profound analysis of the great writer's work, revealing the grandeur and force of his talent.

Tolstoi belonged by birth to the upper aristocracy, but he broke with his class, with "all the customary ideas of that milieu, and in his later works hurled passionate criticism against all state, religious, social and economic systems based on the enslavement of the masses, on their poverty, on the ruin of the peasants and petty property-owners in general, on the violence and hypocrisy which from top to bottom pervade all contemporary life," wrote Lenin in 1910.

CONTRADICTIONARY WORK

Tolstoi's work is exceedingly contradictory. His writings express a passionate and outspoken protest against oppression and violence, against the tsar, land-owners and capitalists; they contain devastating criticism of the bourgeois bureaucratic regime; they ridicule the court and the church. On the other hand, Tolstoi gives false and worthless recipes: instead of active struggle against evil he calls for evangelical humility, non-resistance and aloofness from politics. He seeks for an answer in the "eternal truths" of morality, turns to the false sources of Christianity, Buddhism, Confucianism, turns away from the struggle for emancipation being waged by the proletariat.

Lenin pointed out that Tolstoi is ridiculous as a prophet disclosing new recipes for the salvation of mankind, but he is great as the exponent of the ideas and moods which were rife among the millions of Russian peasants at the time of the advent of the bourgeois revolution in Russia. Tolstoi succeeded in masterfully

transmitting the mood of the wide masses of the peasantry, in describing their life and expressing their instinctive feeling of protest and indignation. Lenin called Tolstoi the mirror of the Russian revolution because he "amazingly lucidly embodied in his works—both as artist and as thinker and preacher—the features of the historical peculiarity of the whole first Russian revolution, its strength and its weakness." The leader of the Russian revolution highly valued the critical element in Tolstoi's work and saw the distinctive feature of his criticism, its historical significance, in the fact that it expressed the collapse of the ideas of the widest masses in Russia with a force inherent only in great artists. According to Lenin, Tolstoi's works reflect "the great human ocean, stirred to its very depths, with all its weakness and all its strong points."

TOLSTOI, THE PEAK OF 20TH CENTURY REALISM

Western literature of that period knew no such great writer as Tolstoi, so firmly bound to the masses of the people. The work of the bourgeois writers of Europe and America was negatively affected by the decline of bourgeois culture, its separation from the people, its departure from realism. Despite all the contradictions of his philosophy, Tolstoi was firmly convinced that art gains force only when it serves the interests of the people and is accessible to them. Tolstoi erred in swerving from the road of the revolutionary democrats, Belinsky and Chernishevsky, but being a great realist, he succeeded in reflecting in his work an event of world-historical significance—the brewing of the Russian revolution. Lenin plainly pointed out: "His world significance as an artist, his worldwide fame as a thinker and preacher, both one and the other, reflect each in its own way, the world significance of the Russian revolution." The genius of Tolstoi marked the peak of the development of 20th century realism.

A LOVER OF COUNTRYMEN

World literature knows no other writer who could depict human nature, almost imperceptible psychological processes, with such faithfulness and power. A national writer in the truest sense of the word, Tolstoi strikingly embodied the essential traits of the Russian people: a clean, broad mind, will-power and character, a profound love of labour, inexhaustible energy, a striving toward happiness and freedom on earth. All his great works are imbued with these ideas, above all, *War and Peace*, *Anna Karenina*, *Resurrection*, the folk tales.

"My favourite subject is the Russian people, the genuine Russian peasant people," wrote Tolstoi.

He retained a love for the Russian working people to the end of his life. He understood the psychology of the Russian peasant, his life and his fondest dreams. He admired the endurance of the Russians, their perseverance and fortitude at work, their urge for justice, their bravery in danger.

The great writer was indignant against authors who falsified the history of the Russian people, belittled their dignity and historical merits. On April 4th, 1870, he wrote in his memorandum book:

"I am reading Solovyev's *History*. Everything, according to this history, was outrageous in Russia prior to Peter: brutality, plunder, coarseness, stupidity, inability to accomplish anything....

"But besides that, in reading of how people plundered, ruled, fought, destroyed, one involuntarily comes to the question: who plundered and destroyed? And from that question to another: who produced what was destroyed? Who and how fed all those people with bread? Who made the brocade, the cloth, the clothing and precious stones in which the tsars and boyars paraded? Who hunted the silver foxes and sables which were given in gift to ambassadors? Who extracted the gold and iron; who bred the horses, cattle and sheep; who built the houses, the palaces, the churches; who transported the goods? The people live."

As a participant in the defence of Sevastopol, his first-hand observations convinced Tolstoi that the basis of the greatness and power of Russia lies not in the ruling classes, but rather in the labouring people.

He was amazed by the heroism and fortitude of the defenders of Sevastopol. The story, "Sevastopol in the Month of December," is a genuine hymn to the Russian soldier-hero, who modestly, unaffectedly, passionately loves his country and is ready to give up his life for it. "The main, comforting conviction," wrote Tolstoi, "is the conviction of the impossibility.... of anywhere undermining the strength of the Russian people...."

"WAR AND PEACE"

The novel *War and Peace* occupies an exceptional place in the history of Russian literature. Tolstoi turned to the period of 1812 after the defeat of tsarist Russia in the Crimean campaign and set himself the aim of showing the moral forces of the Russian people. The novel depicts the strength and power of the Russian people and at the same time gives a picture which exposes the representatives of the higher classes, the upstarts and careerists. It reveals the emptiness, corruption and stupidity of the high society of the period, shows nobles who in the midst of blood and battle are motivated by personal gain and sacrifice the national interests; it depicts the terrible calamities resulting from the quarrels and petty pride of chiefs, from the absence of a firm ruling hand.

The true hero of the novel is the people. In the rough draft of the work Tolstoi wrote, "I tried to write a history of the people." And further, "for a work to be good one must love the main, the basic idea in it; thus in *War and Peace* I loved the folk idea due to the war of 1812."

Tolstoi showed that the war of 1812 was a people's emancipating war. The folk idea pervades Tolstoi's entire great work. The author depicts the patriotic upsurge of the populace which from Smolensk to Moscow went off into the interior of the country upon the approach of the French leaving their belongings behind and destroying what could be destroyed.

And Kutuzov is dear to Tolstoi for the very reason that he is a Russian and the leader of a people's war. The genius of Kutuzov lay in his ability to understand the popular interests, the popular feelings in all their fullness, to merge with the striving of the people to resist the enemy.

However, the portrayal of Kutuzov also brings out the weak points of Tolstoi's philosophy. Tolstoi attributed to the great commander the qualities of an advocate of non-resistance and belittled the role of initiative and will-power in his character. He depicted Kutuzov not as a great strategist, but as a man lacking initiative, who believed that in war everything takes place of itself, that all historical events are predetermined by the powers above. This is fatalism and is foreign to the scientific

understanding of the role of personality in history. Such an interpretation is in contradiction to the truth; it distorts the figure of the great commander, who, according to Stalin's profound analysis "brought Napoleon and his army to destruction by means of a well-prepared counter-offensive."

THE REACTIONARY ASPECT

Even more strongly is fatalism personified in the figure of Platon Karatayev. This figure reflects the traits of the patriarchal, down-trodden peasant, but Tolstoi idealized these traits, admired them and tried to pass them off for the national character. Platon Karatayev reflects most strongly the reactionary side of Tolstoi's ideology. He is the personification of passivity, humility and non-resistance to evil. He is indifferent to everything about him, takes the good and bad in life in the same way, trusts himself to god and rejects a rational solution of problems, holding that everything takes place "not as man proposes, but as god disposes." In this character is contained a clear expression of Tolstoyism, the birth of a blind, slavish principle against which the advanced representatives of the Russian people waged such a relentless struggle.

The great writer, however, also portrayed the heroic character of the Russian people, which appeared so vividly in the Patriotic War of 1812. He showed that the Russian peasants did not submit to the enemy, that they declared a holy war against Napoleon and emerged victorious from it. Tolstoi called guerilla warfare a folk cudgel which indiscriminately, regardless of tastes and rules, rose and fell, belabouring the French until it drove them from Russia.

Tolstoi is great in his criticism of the old world, a world of violence and slavery. He proclaimed idleness, exploitation, private ownership of the land, odious crimes. He declared that the capitalist and land-owning classes had no justification for existence in the eyes of the people and kept their positions exclusively by force, cunning and craft.

The works of Tolstoi are brilliant documents, exposing tsarist Russia, the evils from which it suffered. "With his lips," wrote Lenin in 1910, "speak all the many millions of the Russian people who already hate the masters of contemporary life but who have not as yet arrived at a conscious, consistent, implacable struggle to the end with them."

Tolstoi tore off "all and every mask" not only from the oppressors of his people. He described with all his immense power the hypocrisy, falsehood and bestial greed of the western European and American bourgeoisie. When a certain American agency appealed to Tolstoi to

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help the Boer representatives "get into the good graces of America," Tolstoi telegraphed in reply: "The good graces of America can only consist in threats of war and I, therefore, regret that I cannot comply with your request."

In old tsarist Russia Leo Tolstoi was persecuted; the synod anathematized him; his writings were forbidden. In an article on the death of Tolstoi in 1910 Lenin wrote: "Tolstoi, the artist, is known to an insignificant minority even in Russia. For his great works to really become the property of *all*, we need struggle and struggle against a social order which has doomed millions and tens of millions to darkness, neglect, drudgery and poverty; we need a socialist revolution."

Indeed, only after the great October Revolution did the great works of Tolstoi, the artist, become accessible to millions. The name of Leo Tolstoi has the love and profound veneration of all the peoples of the USSR.

In the years of the Soviet power 27.5 million copies of the works of the great writer have been printed in 59 languages of the peoples of the Soviet Union. The true popularity of Tolstoi became possible only after the Soviet people, led by the party of Lenin and Stalin, had built up a free, happy life.

Tolstoi, the great artist, who gave such incomparable pictures of Russian life, such first-class works of world literature reflecting the grandeur and talent of his people, is dear to all their hearts.—*Tass-News Agency of the U.S.S.R.*

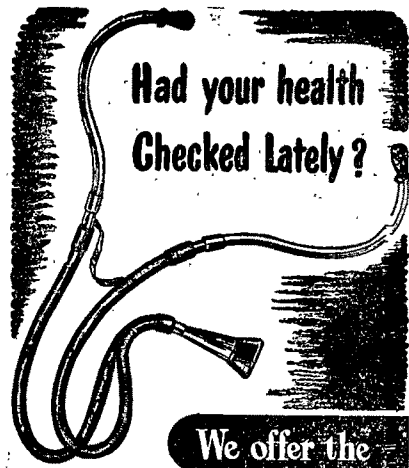
India Necessary to Marshall Plan's Success

Louis Fischer, Vice-President of the India League of America, delivered a speech, at Willkie Memorial Building, New York City, on December 14th 1948, excerpts from which are given below:

"Without the Indian market, the Marshall Plan and the economic rehabilitation of Japan will be seriously handicapped," Louis Fischer, who visited India this summer (1948), told the Eleventh Annual Meeting of the India League of America at Willkie Memorial Building of Freedom House. "Within a very short time," Mr. Fischer stated, "many European countries and Japan will be searching for new large markets, and the only one available is India. The Marshall Plan authorities therefore should begin immediately to blueprint the integration of India's economy with that of the seventeen Marshall Plan countries."

Mr. Fischer also asserted that India was the only solid, solvent stable democracy of any size in all of Asia. "With China doomed either to communism or chaos," Mr. Fischer stated, "the Western democracies would do well to regard India as the most reliable democratic anchor in Asia. India is democracy's second line of defense on the Asiatic Continent."

Speaking of Indonesia, Mr. Fischer urged immediate consultations between New Delhi and Washington. "If Holland denies Indonesians their independence," Mr. Fischer stated, "they will gravitate toward communism, and not only Holland, but Burma, Siam, and India will lose thereby. Indonesia therefore is no longer a Dutch problem. It is a world problem. The Dutch are experts at building dikes against water, but in Indonesia they are playing with fire." Mr. Fischer declared that the views of the American and Indian Governments on Indonesia were "very similar."



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U.S. Papers Discuss Pandit Nehru and the Abolition of Untouchability

WASHINGTON, DEC. 3.

Pandit Nehru and the abolition of untouchability are discussed this week in several prominent American newspapers. One, the *Baltimore Sun* sees a unique place for Nehru in India and for India in the Commonwealth. The *New York Herald Tribune* praises the action of the Constituent Assembly in ending untouchability which it terms only another manifestation of prejudices which, deplorably, are world-wide. Other papers comment in similar vein.

The *Sun* said: "India has a population of 360,000,000 people, and this population is increasing so rapidly that every year's surplus of births over deaths amounts to millions. In such a land, life is cheap and it is not easy to think in terms of individuals. Yet in his current series on India, Mr. Price Day saw fit to devote his entire third article to a single individual, the present Premier, Jawaharlal Nehru. The emphasis is not excessive."

"Those who try to make some sense out of the great changes now taking place in the world will be wise to find out all they can about this remarkable man. Mr. Day's sketch . . . provides a useful introduction. Perhaps it will persuade some readers to go on to Nehru's autobiography, a product of one of his numerous long terms in prison during the days of British rule. Those who do will not be disappointed. For Nehru is a man of many talents, and among them is the command of a clean and effective English prose style. Most Americans have no picture at all of India, and find it all but incomprehensible. Nehru's autobiography is not only a remarkably candid and warmhearted account of his own life but an understandable introduction for Westerners to the mystery of India."

"In his sketch, Mr. Day dwelt mainly on the position of Nehru at home—his position as heritor of Gandhi's authority with the masses of the Indian people, as the steel backbone of the Indian independence movement, and as the man who has managed to bring India through the first severe trials of independence and has still prodigious domestic task ahead of him."

WHAT NEHRU MEANS TO NON-INDIAN WORLD

"For the non-Indian world, interest in Nehru is going to be concentrated more and more on his position as a statesman whose influence for good and evil in the community of nations is almost incalculable. India attained her independence. But no one yet knows for certain what the position of India in the world is to be. Nominally, she is still a Dominion, a member of the British Commonwealth of nations. But India (meaning Nehru) has reserved decision as to ultimate status."

"She may cast loose from the Commonwealth and determine to go her way alone. That would be what might be expected as the normal reaction to the long years under direct British rule. On the other hand, old hostilities die fast when wise men are willing to let them die. There is the possibility that, under Nehru, India may take a longer view and determine to cast her lot with the other nations in what used to be called the British Commonwealth."

"If India takes this second course, then the character of the Commonwealth is profoundly changed. Hitherto the most conspicuous characteristic of the Commonwealth has been the identity or tradition—the English-speaking, White Man's tradition—of all the member nations. If India joins permanently, then the centre of gravity shifts in the direction of a dark-skinned Asiatic people—a people whose social institutions are basically different from those of the other Commonwealth nations—except

as certain of these institutions (law, Western modes of industry, Western science, Western notions of political freedom and the English language) have been imposed and have begun to take root. In terms of population, as Mr. Day pointed out in an earlier article the shift in the centre of gravity would be very great, for India's millions are double those of all the other Dominions combined."

"The position of Nehru today is such that his own decision on this immensely important question may well prove to be decisive. It would be hard to exaggerate the importance of the position in the world today of this gentle, soft-spoken, wise and steel-willed little man."

BAN ON UNTOUCHABILITY PRAISED

The *Tribune* said: "The people of India have good cause to be proud of the progress they have made in the field of government since the end of British rule, and especially of one of the clauses approved for their new constitution by the Constituent Assembly. This clause provides that untouchability is abolished and that its practice, in any form, is forbidden."

"While complete acceptance of abolition cannot be expected at once, and there may be difficulties in enforcing it for a long time to come, many of the Hindu leaders in India support abolition so strongly that the religious, social, and economic restrictions now affecting 40,000,000 untouchables seem to be in process of destruction."

"The abomination known as untouchability has been nothing more than a variation, in a peculiarly rigid form, of patterns of discrimination that exist almost everywhere. Except for the formal character of his intolerance, an upper-caste Indian who regards an untouchable as a person who can defile others merely by contact is not unlike a Caucasian who regards a Negro as racially inferior. Neither form of prejudice has justi-

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fication and fortunately both seem to be held by fewer and fewer men as time passes. The change can be seen both in heart-warming instances affecting individuals, such as the election of a Negro as captain of the football team at Yale, and in the writing of laws raising the status of millions of people, such as the clause in the new constitution of India. All these developments give hope that the day is coming when men will be judged solely for their worth as individuals and not on the basis of their caste, or their race, or their religion."

The *Boston Herald* said, in part: "We are a long way from India in miles, but we can rejoice that this has been written into the fundamental law there, for whatever maintains the dignity of individual humanity anywhere in the world is close to us. We welcome India into the fellowship of free nations."

"We must not expect that the Indian constitution will automatically make touchable the untouchables, any more than our 14th Amendment gave the Negro equality, but it places the official seal of the Government on the ideal. What untouchability exists hereafter will represent the drag of social custom and prejudice behind the enlightenment of the sovereign power. We know what that drag is."

Allentown, Pennsylvania, *Morning Call*: "The long and brave fight which the martyr, Mahatma Gandhi, waged for India's 40,000,000 untouchables has been won. . . A great victory has been achieved for humanity in the name of a great man. That victory points the way to other peoples who have their untouchables in larger or smaller degree. India has set an example to nations throughout the world in which there are other untouchables although not known by that designation."—*USIS*.

India's World Role Discussed in Baltimore Sun

WASHINGTON, DEC. 3.

The results of India's first year of independence and their effect on the general world picture are discussed in two of a series of articles on India by Price Day, currently appearing in the *Baltimore Sun*.

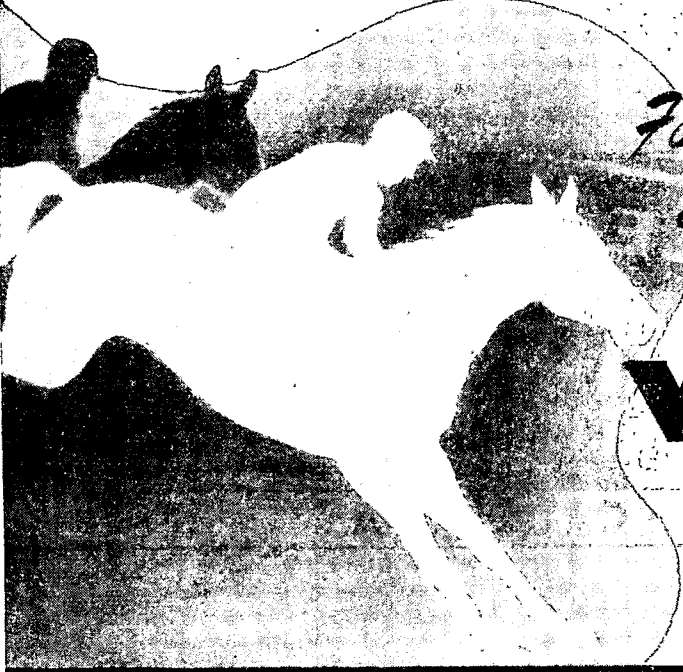
Day maintains, in one article, that India holds the key to the future of the Commonwealth of Nations and that, by remaining part of the association, she can play a vital role in that community of nations. India's participation, Day says, will mean the end of the old "British" Commonwealth and will bring about a new type of organization of independent but closely knit countries.

Pointing to the fact that, in manpower alone India is the world's most potent nation, the article says that she will account for seven-tenths of the Commonwealth's population if she remains in the association.

The new India, Day holds, shows "surprising vitality." Already she has "substantially solved the riddle of the princely states" and has stepped up industrialization. "India's statesmen see their country already as the moral leader of Asia, and believe that it is on the way to becoming the material leader as well."

OPINION IN LONDON

"Many sober thinkers in London," Day continues, "are saying that the value of close association between the chief nation of Western Europe and the chief nation of Asia is self-evident." Official London seems to be convinced that the "political future of much of Asia can depend on India; that India can be counted on as a great, stable mass resistant to the expansion of Communism."



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Most Englishmen, Day believes, now think of India as a great and independent nation.

Discussing India's attitude toward the Commonwealth, Day notes that Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, at the recent London Commonwealth Conference, made clear that his country wants to remain in close association with the group, but wants to do so subject to her pledge to become a sovereign, independent republic, owing no allegiance to the British Crown.

India's position, as emphasized by Nehru, is that she should not isolate herself in the world, Day comments.

At the conclusion of the London conversations, the article continues, "Nehru could say that India now wished for an arrangement under which the urges and feelings of her people could be satisfied and under which, at the same time, the Commonwealth link, sufficient to enable co-operation in many fields, could be maintained." India, Day says, needs technical and economic assistance, which can be supplied through the co-operation of the Dominions, and she needs the aid of the Commonwealth in stabilizing the situation in the Middle East, in Malaya and in Burma.

INFLUENCE OF PAST BRITISH RELATIONSHIP ON INDIA

In the other article, Day discusses the influence of the past relationship with England on the India of today. Holding that, although the outward marks of British rule are disappearing, certain aspects of Britain's influence will remain, the writer indicates that the form of the new Indian Government is drawn from the West, above all from England.

Another lasting contribution of the English is the "sense of the dignity of the individual which is one of the fundamentals on which new India is based."

The freedom the Indians won, Day maintains, "is the sort of freedom Englishmen understand. Because they do understand it, most people in England today perceive the justice of India's case, and think that India had the right to be free."

Even intensely nationalistic Indians admit, the writer says, "that the kind of economic and social progress India hopes for is based to a great extent on Western developments which came to India through the British."

"Now that freedom is a fact, thoughtful Indians recognize that their country still needs Britain commercially and technologically, and perhaps for defense," Day declares. "India today, conscious of the difficult way ahead, seeks to become fully independent and still remain in the Commonwealth to the extent that it may share the benefits of that group of nations. It appears, already, to share the responsibility.—USIS.

U. S. Editorial Praises India's Self-Rule Plan for Villages

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN, DEC. 3.

The editorial page of the *Milwaukee Journal*, a Midwestern U. S. newspaper, describes the self-rule plan for villages in India, calling the system one of the oldest forms of democratic self-government. The editorial said, in full:


"Villages of the United Provinces in India are shortly to try an 'experiment' that dates clear back to the city-states of ancient Greece.

"Under a self-rule act passed recently by the Provincial Assembly, village assemblies and village courts will be set up in communities with populations of 1,000 or more. Smaller villages can also set up such bodies by joining together.

"The assemblies will consist of all village adults, 21 or over, both men and women. They will elect an Executive Council. There will be one village court for four assemblies; the courts will hear minor cases. They will have no power of imprisonment but can impose fines up to 30 dollars.

"The United Provinces has 54,000,000 inhabitants; there will be about 35,000 village assemblies and 8,000 courts.

"Once again, as in ancient Greece, the villagers will meet in the 'agora' to thrash out problems of their communities. One of the most ancient forms of democratic self-government will again live in India."—USIS.




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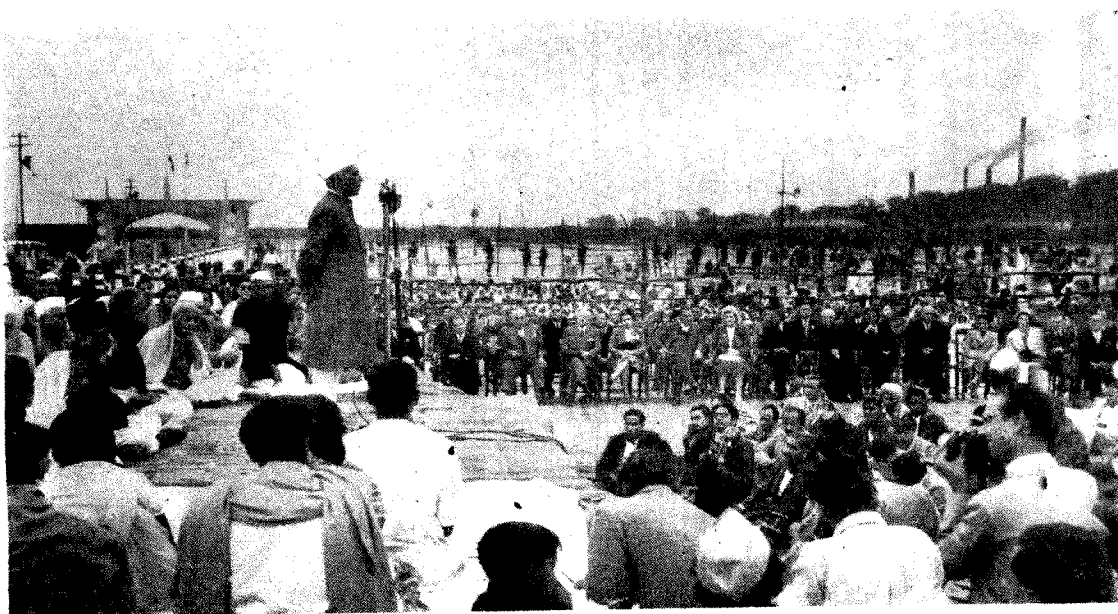
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Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru inaugurating the 38th Annual Session of the Indian Science Congress at Allahabad on January 3, 1949



Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru speaking on the occasion of the opening of the Gandhi Mandala Exhibition at Rajghat, Delhi, on January 31, 1949



EKALABYA BEFORE THE IMAGE OF DRONACHARYA

Prabasi Press, Calcutta

By Chitraniya Chaudhuri

THE MODERN REVIEW

MARCH



1949

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NOTES

Ideals and Moral Values

Sardar Patel has made much play with the question of the deterioration of "moral values" in public life. Indeed ever since the Jaipur session of the Congress, our spokesmen of the Government have bombarded the public with accusations of like nature. So much so that the public has reason now to ask, is it possible for our leaders to follow the noble example of the Mahatma and devote a day a week for self-examination?

The public, the Man-in-the-street and the Man-in-the field, have to listen to these tirades and jeremiads in silence. They have no means of letting their leaders know what is their reaction. For today, in the absence of the Mahatma, there is no contact whatsoever between the public and their "chosen leaders." The conditions today are getting worse and worse and may soon become as bad as the worst days of British Imperialism.

A little over a fortnight back a prominent Bag-Baron declared before his admirers that he had rubbed the noses of the Cabinet into dust for daring to oppose Capital. We acknowledge that he had every reason to say so, for it seems to us these plans of Nationalization—and incidentally all talk of mass-uplift as spoken by the Congress Governments—are made of the substance that dreams are made.

Labour has become intransigent and so special laws are being drafted to protect essential services and industries. What a confession of defeat, what a humiliation for our Congress leaders! Security measures have to be reinforced so that the masses may not be disrupted! May we ask, *who prepared the soil for the seeds of disruption?* And may we remind our leaders of that ancient saw, "example is better than precept" when questions are raised about "moral values" and sermons are delivered about the Ideals of Nationalism?

Economics and Politics

In his budget speech before the West Bengal Assembly, Sri Nalini Ranjan Sarker, the Finance Minister, made the following statement:

"May I also submit that at this nascent stage of our freedom we shall be restricting the scope of our doing good to the people if we were to be tied to the apron strings of 'isms'? 'Isms' are the 'cliches' of the day. If we were to be the blind followers of a particular 'ism,' without considering its bearing on our own problem, we may easily be led into a oneway traffic of thought leading us nowhere. In the realm of economic ideologies various theories, *e.g.*, capitalism, socialism and communism are in vogue at the present moment. It is not essential for us, I think, in the present stage of our development, to accept 'in toto' any ideology that has its spell on the public mind as the solvent of all our ills. If doing good to the largest number of people is our ideal, it will be prudent for us to accept with discrimination the good points of every 'ism' and discard the bad. What is best designed to serve our purpose will always be the best for us irrespective of what label it bears, and no slavish adherence to abstract dogmas should govern our constructive activities. One such dogma—if I may also call it an illusion of our age—is the false dogma of equality. There should, of course, be in any free and democratic society, various types of equality such as social equality, equality of political rights, and, in the economic sector of our lives, there should also be a minimum standard for all. This minimum should not be too low either, below which no citizen should be allowed to slide down. But what I think is a questionable strategy is to take by taxation from those who have more than the average not merely for the common service of the community but just to effect a

more equal distribution of wealth. But a process of forcible redistribution of national wealth, apart from encouraging the slacker and the parasite, is, in my opinion, sure to defeat its object sooner or later by destroying all healthy incentives, the incentive to excel, the incentive to save—all worth preserving. A dogmatic insistence on the virtue of equality leads in practice to another mischief. It leads to the idea that the standards of the community as a whole can be raised all round by merely securing a more equitable distribution of existing wealth. This is a mistaken idea which further destroys the incentive to produce more wealth. "If we are not able to level up, let us level down"—this seems to be at the core of this doctrine of equality which, I fear, may result only in the process of levelling down without being able to level up. Subject to the over-riding consideration of larger social welfare and the limit set by this criterion, progress must essentially depend upon the desire to better one's condition by the best of one's endeavour and to keep the fruits of one's industry to oneself—that is to say the profit-motive, which is a fundamental law of nature and cannot be negated as long as any vestige of individual freedom remains.

In this country, as in others, the drift towards socialism is unmistakable and I also feel that our ultimate goal should be larger socialisation. But having regard to the condition of our country and the stage of development in which we stand today, the most practical course for the next few years should be to hasten, by concerted efforts of every section of the community and every school of thought, material prosperity of the nation. Till then it will be, I feel, a prudent policy for the country to put ideological differences in cold storage for some time and formulate a national policy based upon the greatest common measure of agreement between all parties."

But there is one basic principle that Sj. Sarker has missed. Today the reason these "isms" have flared up so prominently in the public mind is because there is so much of exploitation. The profit-motive has been regenerated into illicit-gain motive, and the "justice for the labourer" slogan is being utilized by the disruptionist with ease because of that.

Prevention of Strikes in Essential Services

A Bill called the Essential Services (Prevention of Strikes) Bill was introduced in the Indian Parliament by Sj. Satya Narain Sinha, Chief Government Whip, on behalf of Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Home Minister.

The Bill, which is an emergency measure, provided for the prevention of strikes in certain essential services and would remain in force only up to March 31, 1950.

The Bill declares prohibited strikes to be illegal and provides for enhanced penalties for persons parti-

cipating in such strikes as well as for persons instigating such strikes.

The proposed legislation will extend to all the Provinces and also to every acceding State to the extent to which the Dominion Legislature has power to make laws for that State.

It defines "essential services" and authorises the Central Government and in certain cases Provincial and State Governments to prohibit strikes in such services.

According to the Bill "essential services" means (1) any railway service, (2) any postal, telegraph or telephone service, (3) any service of the Central Government engaged in the manufacture, storage or distribution of arms, ammunition or other military stores or equipment, (4) any industry which supplies power, light or water to the public, (5) any industry engaged in work in connection with the loading, unloading, movement or storage of cargoes in a major port.

It empowers the Central Government to prohibit strikes in any essential service specified in the Bill by a Gazette notification within such period as may be so specified provided that the period so specified shall not, in the first instance, exceed six months, but may, by a notification, be extended by any period not exceeding six months if, in the opinion of the Central Government, public interest requires such extension.

Upon the issue of such notification no person employed in any essential service to which it relates shall go or remain on strike, and any strike declared or commenced, whether before or after the issue of the notification, by persons employed in any such essential service shall be illegal.

As regards the penalty for illegal strikes the Bill provides that any person, who commences or continues an illegal strike, shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to six months, or with fine, which may extend to Rs. 200, or with both.

Any police officer may arrest without warrant any person who is reasonably suspected of having committed an offence in this connection.

Any person who instigates or incites others to take part in, makes any preparation for, or otherwise acts in furtherance of an illegal strike shall be punishable with imprisonment for a term which may extend to three years, or with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000 or with both.

Prohibiting people from giving financial aid to such strikes the Bill provides that any person, who knowingly spends or applies any money in direct furtherance or support of a strike which is illegal under this Act, shall be punishable with imprisonment which may extend to three years, or with fine which may extend to Rs. 1,000, or with both.

The statement of objects and reasons of the Bill says: "The Government have gone to the utmost limits possible in a very difficult inflationary situation to meet the genuine demands of labour, and this has

been recognised by most sections of employees themselves. But there are certain subversive elements, which seem determined to foment strikes in essential services, with the object of disrupting the country's economy and causing confusion and chaos. It is necessary that the Government should have power to meet the emergency created by such attempts, and to ensure the maintenance of services which are essential to the life of the community. The Bill is an enabling measure."

The Hindu Code

The Hindu Code is before the Central legislature and a great deal of clamour is being caused by opposition groups. The main points of controversy were dealt with by Dr. Ambedkar as follows:

In order to clear the misapprehension from the minds of people, Dr. Ambedkar referred to the points of controversy and made a general observation. He said there were three points of controversy, namely, abolition of caste restriction for valid marriage, proscription of monogamy, and permission for divorce.

As regards the abolition of caste restriction for valid marriage, Dr. Ambedkar said that so far as this Bill was concerned what it did was to establish a sort of compromise between the new and the old. The Bill said that if any member of the Hindu community wanted to marry in orthodox system which required that marriage should not be valid unless the bride and the bridegroom belonged to the same caste, sub-caste and *Barna* there was nothing in the Code which could prevent to give effect to his wishes and to give effect to what he regarded as his *Dharma*. In the same way if one Hindu did not believe in caste, sub-caste, etc. and chose to marry a girl outside his caste, sub-caste and *Barna*, law regarded this marriage also as valid. There was, therefore, so far as the marriage law was concerned no kind of imposition. Orthodox and Vaidik Hindus were free to do what they thought right according to their *Dharma*. Similarly, people who did not regard *Dharma* and followed reason and conscience were also free to follow their conscience. What would happen in Hindu society so far as marriage law was concerned, it was difficult to say. He hoped that those who were following the new path would win subsequently.

With regard to monogamy, he said that what the Bill provided was nothing new. He did not think that any member in the House would be able to point out that the *Shashtra* at any time gave Hindu husband unfettered and unqualified right to polygamy. That was never the case. Even today in certain parts of South India there were people whose custom did not allow the husband to marry a second wife unless he obtained the consent of the wife. Secondly, when the consent was obtained, he must allow her certain property. That property became her absolute property so that if after her consent the husband married and ill-treated her, she had the economic means in her own hand to lead an independent life.

Giving the second illustration he referred to Kautilya's *Arthashastra* and said that the right to marry a second wife had been restricted and limited by Kautilya. In the first place no man could re-marry for the first ten or twelve years because he must be satisfied that the woman was not capable of producing a child. Secondly, the husband was to return to the wife all the *stridhan* she had acquired at the time of marriage. Only under these conditions Kautilya permitted a Hindu husband to marry for the second time. Thirdly, in our own country under the legislation that had been passed in various provinces monogamy had been prohibited. That way they were not making any radical or revolutionary change. They had precedent before them of what they were doing both in the laws that had been passed in various States in India and also in the *Shastras*. They had today the precedent of the whole world which recognised monogamy.

As regards the controversy about right to divorce, Dr. Ambedkar said that this was in no way innovation. Everybody in the House knew that the community which was called *Sudra* had customary divorce. The *Sudras* formed practically 90 per cent of the total population. The regenerated class formed only 10 per cent. The question he was asking was whether they were going to have the law of the 90 per cent of the people as general law of the country or they are going to have law of the 10 per cent of the population and impose the same on the 90 per cent people. Unfortunately, anti-social customs had been allowed to trample the *Shastras*. Dr. Ambedkar's submission, therefore, was that so far as the law of marriage and divorce was concerned whatever had been laid down was both just and reasonable, supported by precedent not only of our *Shastras* but experience of the world as a whole.

With regard to the adoption there were three points of controversy, said Dr. Ambedkar. "Like the old Hindu Law we do not make observance of caste conditions as requisite condition for valid adoption. We follow the same rule we have followed with regard to marriage. Here again if a Brahmin wants to adopt a Brahmin boy, or a *Sudra* wants to adopt a *Sudra* boy he is free to do so. If a Brahmin is so enlightened as not to adopt a Brahmin boy but to adopt a boy of another community, he is free to do so."

The Bill also limits the right of the adopted son. The adopted son, however, cannot deprive her mother of the right of property. Otherwise the adopted boy, he said, could divest the mother of the property and make her dependent on him as he liked.

Another important change which had been introduced in the Bill was in regard to succession rights, Dr. Ambedkar said. In this regard, he said, the Select Committee had made no alteration at all. In the matter of recognition of the degree of *agnates* and *cognates*, the Select Committee had made certain changes. It did not recognise the legal right of an heir of the 14th degree to claim any property of a deceased.

If the deceased had been interested in his 14th degree heir, he could have made a specific provision in a will to the effect that such and such portion of his property should go to him. In the absence of such specific indication or document, the present Hindu Code provided for recognition of no such right.

In the matter of inheritance also, Dr. Ambedkar said that the present bill had made a change. The original bill said that a daughter got a share of the property which was equal to one half of a son's share. Son usually inherited the entire property of the father. But now the daughter still got one half of a son's share, while the son was entitled to get only one half of the property leaving the other half under the management of mother. This was in his opinion an equitable distribution of property.

Coming to women's property, Dr. Ambedkar said that he did not know how many members of the House were fully familiar with the ramifications of the subject. Women's property was an intricate and complicated subject. They had to consider whether a woman's property was the property to a maiden or that of a married woman. Then again they had to take into consideration whether such property was *streedhana* or property inherited by her as a widow. Even in the disposal of such property they had to consider whether the Mithila School or the Benares School of Law would apply and so on and so forth. But one thing which was clear from the existing Hindu Law was that women enjoyed absolute right over the *streedhana*. But the widow's property was not absolute property. Why there should be such a difference, Dr. Ambedkar asked. If the women could have absolute right over one category of property, he could not understand why they did not enjoy the same absolute right over the disposal of the widow's property. No satisfactory answer to this question was available in Mitakshara School. The Select Committee, in his judgment, had come to the conclusion that women should have absolute right over their property whether *streedhana* or "widow property."

No Nationalisation for Ten Years

Dr. Syamāprasad Mookerjee, India's Minister for Industry and Supply, presiding over the first meeting of the Central Advisory Council of Industries, referred to the question of nationalisation of industries and said, "While I recognize that meticulous interference by the Government may well hamper industrial progress and must be avoided, it will, I feel, be agreed that in order to implement a progressive national policy, the Government must take the power to regulate and develop those industries, which are of all-India importance and are covered by our statement of policy." Dr. Mookerjee added that the Government were considering the lines on which legislation should be undertaken to implement that policy. The Council was constituted in September last and was holding its first meeting which was addressed by

the Industries Minister. It consists of the representatives of the Central-Provincial and State Governments, of Commerce, Industry and Labour and non-officials totalling about 60.

The functions of the Council are to advise Government generally on industrial policy, review periodically production in the major industries and suggest measures to secure the best use of the existing capacity, to advise Government on the allocation of materials in scarce supply and on the import of capital equipment and raw materials needed by the industry. The Council will also deal with specific problems which the Government might place before it from time to time.

Dr. Mookerjee explained the Government policy on nationalisation in the following words which ought to be sufficient to remove all fears from the minds of our industrial magnates so that a serious effort may now be made by them to increase production. What is called the fear of nationalisation had so long been put up as one of the major impediments in the way of increasing production. This has now been completely removed and the Government policy on this important question has been fully clarified. Dr. Mookerjee said, "The policy of Government is specific that existing undertakings will not only remain with private enterprise for at least ten years, but that they will be assisted to increase their efficiency and expand their production. The question of their acquisition by the State will be a matter of review at the end of this period of ten years in the light of circumstances then prevailing. Even as regards future undertakings in this field it will be open to the State to unite the co-operation of private enterprise wherever it is found that by so doing industrial development will be accelerated."

He added, "The idea seems to exist in some quarters that the Government have put an undue restriction on private enterprise to develop industry on its own initiative. Nationalisation, as ordinarily understood, means the complete seclusion of private enterprise from the nationalised field. On this definition our policy, as announced, does not contemplate the nationalisation of any industry except those which are already under Government direction and management, viz., Arms and Ammunition, Railways and the production and control of Atomic Energy. The State has, however, assumed primary responsibility for the development of new undertakings in six other industries, viz., Coal, Iron and Steel, Aircraft Manufacture, Ship-building, Manufacture of Telephone, Telegraph and Wireless Apparatus and Mineral Oils."

Dr. Mookerjee said that the Government policy as regards the rest of the industrial field which was a very wide one was equally clear. "No monopoly by the State is intended and private enterprise is free and welcome to play its due role in this sphere. The State may, of course, find it necessary to undertake the establishment of new industries which are important from the national standpoint or where private enterprise is slow to come into the field. State enterprise of this character should not create any prejudice or hostility in the minds of

anyone interested in the progressive development of the country."

In this connection Dr. Mookerjee referred to U.S.A. which country was wedded to private enterprise and said that the necessity for State intervention in industry under certain circumstances was recognised there.

Dr. Mookerjee's pronouncement has been confirmed later by Sardar Patel. This concession made by the Government of India has been regarded as a victory by the capitalist group campaigning for the control of India's potential. Indeed the leading luminary of that group boasted that he had forced Pandit Nehru's Government to bow down before him. It is likewise regarded as a major defeat by all those who would like to see India's destiny to be guided along the path of a socialist democracy.

It is too early as yet to pronounce judgment on this move, but we must confess to a considerable measure of scepticism regarding the chances of any favourable reaction from either Capital or Labour or from those ultimate beasts of burden, who are always ignored, the Man in the Street and the Man in the Field.

Railway Budget

An increase of Rs. 14.5 crores in the gross earnings of railways over the original estimate for the current year and an expectation of a further increase of Rs. 5.5 crores in 1949-50 was forecast by Mr. Ayyangar, Railway Minister in presenting the Railway Budget for 1949-50 in the Indian Parliament. The surplus for the current year is now estimated at Rs. 15.83 crores, an increase of about Rs. 6 crores on the original estimate. Despite the further increase in earnings anticipated in 1949-50 the surplus for that year is, however, expected to decline to Rs. 9.44 crores. This drop is mainly due to the increase in the Wage Bill.

The Budget reveals a record expenditure on the renewal of rolling stock, especially of average locomotives. We believe that there is need for great caution in this sphere. Mr. R. K. Siddhwa, during the debate on Railway Budget, wanted to know how many of the 1476 locomotives which were under repair had been actually repaired and whether it was true that some of them were sold away at Rs. 250 each. We do not find any refutation to this allegation in Mr. Ayyangar's reply. Regarding the engine position it has been stated that on March 31, 1949, there will be 1291 overage locomotives; against these 863 locomotives were ordered abroad. Arrangement is being made to manufacture 120 locomotives and 50 boilers in India, and still it will be necessary to import 400 to 500 locomotives.

The Budget reveals a record expenditure on the renewal of rolling stock. The charge to the Depreciation Fund on renewal account in the current year is Rs. 22.91 crores and in the Budget year Rs. 33.86 crores. Among the major works for which provision has been made is the locomotive building project at

Mihijam. The name of Mihijam is being changed into Chittaranjan.

For the Budget year, the estimate of gross traffic receipts has been placed at Rs. 210 crores and gross working expenses estimated at Rs. 172.12 crores.

There has been a marked improvement in the punctual running of the trains and measures are being taken to improve in particular the conditions of third class travel by providing electric fans in third class waiting halls, covered platforms at important stations, increase in sitting accommodation, cleanliness of coaching stock and of station premises, adequate supply of drinking water, and appointment of special guides to assist class III passengers. Special compartments and seats are now reserved for long distance passengers travelling over 300 miles. It has been revealed during the debate that the main cause of overcrowding was an increase in travel by about two and a half times over the pre-war figure. On March 31, 1939, there were 32.4 million passengers travelling every month on Indian railways. On March 31, 1948, 88 million passengers travelled.

On the side of goods traffic, 329 broad-gauge special trains were run during December, 1948, for the movement of traffic in full train loads. The wagon loading on broad-gauge improved from 9,800 in June to 12,670 in December, 1948; the turn round of wagons over the same period showing a decline from 15 03 a day to 12.21 a day.

Referring to the mounting demand by railway labour for large addition to wages, the Minister reaffirmed Government's desire to deal justly and even generously with labour, but pointed out that the Central Pay Commission scales of pay, the Rajadhyaksha Award, the new rates of pay and allowances to running staff and the increases in the Dearness Allowance recently sanctioned, had added considerably to the financial strain on the railways and therefore, on the community as a whole.

Continuing, he said: "It will not help the railwaymen to get their spending power increased when it is unaccompanied by increased production all round. In the circumstances in which we find ourselves placed today in the country, there is need for austerity and sacrifice on the part of every section of the community. The Government are committed to a long-term policy of raising the standard of life of every one in the country."

"But a higher standard of life is no matter merely of higher wages. It is essentially one of higher productivity. The present situation thus offers a challenge to our capacity and sense of responsibility as well as to the objectives that we must place before ourselves. I have always felt that, in the long run, labour will rise to the height that it should in promoting the welfare of the country as a whole and in avoiding everything that is likely to conflict with peace and the attainment of that welfare by everybody."

"I have good reason to think that responsible leaders of railway labour, including those in the All-India Railwaymen's Federation, are fully alive to the disastrous consequences of taking a decision which will cause direct injury on a colossal scale to the national interest, and I do trust that they will not allow themselves to be misguided and overwhelmed into taking a wrong course by those who attempt to exploit them and their clientele not for legitimate trade union interests but for purposes of self-aggrandizement or of winning political party advantage."

Government were anxious that in the administration of the biggest nationalised industry in the country, which the railways constitute, labour should increasingly feel that it was participating with the management in raising to the maximum the public service which the industry renders to the community, both in quantity and quality.

In spite of the need for economy and the difficulty of obtaining materials at reasonable prices provision is included in the budget for constructing houses for the lowest income groups of staff, other expenditure in this sphere is on items of staff amenities like provision of hospitals and dispensaries, maternity and child welfare centres, schools and institutes, etc.

In a determined drive to put down corruption amongst Railway staff, a scheme has been evolved recently to co-ordinate the activities of the special police establishment and railway administration and to tighten up the executive machinery, both police and railways, dealing with the detection and investigation of cases. Up to the end of December, 1948, the number of cases investigated by the Special Police establishment was 837 of which 389 were sent up for trial to courts or tribunals, 282 persons were convicted and 188 acquitted. 163 cases were referred back to the railway administrations for departmental action.

The question of corruption among Railway staff was discussed through a cut motion. Mr. Santhanam, Minister of State Railways, replying promised greater efforts to remove corruption and said that "new" forms of corruption like illegal gratification for booking berths and sale of tickets and abuse of grain-shop facilities had been "mastered." Progress was being made in checking "older" forms of corruption like ticketless travel and tampering with freights. A year ago Mr. Matthai, while presenting the Railway Budget had claimed that allegations of corruption against railwaymen were baseless; Mr. Santhanam today says that corruption by the staff has been "mastered." The experience of the public is that the Railways are surcharged with corruption from top to bottom. A serious effort for eradicating corruption will not only bring about a great deal of relief to the travelling public but working expenses, specially under the capital heads, will also be brought down to a substantial extent. We wonder what makes our Ministers ignore this cancer.

Increasing India's Power Production

Power engineers from all over India recently met at New Delhi to co-ordinate schemes aimed at doubling the present power production in the country within the next ten years. The plans envisage an additional generating capacity of 1.9 million kilowatt. The estimated cost of the development of power and of those industries which will utilise the power is placed at Rs. 162 crores a year. Bombay and Calcutta, constituting three per cent of the total population of India, at present consume 48 per cent of the total power production. Emphasis has therefore been now laid on the development of rural electrification.

Mr. Gadgil, Minister for Works, Mines and Power, revealed that even on the basis of the rate of progress made during the war years the aggregate cost of the power equipment that would be needed during the next ten years would be about Rs. 300 crores. Clearly, he said, an outlay of this magnitude called for co-ordinated planning at a very high level.

Mr. Gadgil recalled that it was at the Power Engineers Conference held in Calcutta in 1944 that India's power development programme was for the first time reviewed as a co-ordinated whole and that the resolutions passed by that Conference had formed the basis of Central policy not only in the sphere of development but also in the sphere of organisation. The present Conference, he said, proposed to review these resolutions, as a first step to the larger and more comprehensive review of power projects throughout this country.

Mr. Gadgil added :

"The essence of the new policy was to exploit the waterways resources of the country not on a single purpose but on a multi-purpose basis and to integrate the utilization of water and power, and consequential facilities like navigation into a co-ordinated scheme of economic and social betterment for an entire region. When I say that this was a new policy, I should make it clear that it was new only in its application to this country.

"This policy involved two major changes in our traditional methods and forms of organisation: First, a radical change in the technique of project planning; and secondly, a corresponding change in the character of the administrative organisation necessary for the integrated and unified development of an entire region.

"The possibilities of the new policy caught our fancy in a manner as no other post-war development scheme apparently did. The cry went out everywhere for rapid and increased power development—particularly for hydro-power development. Our two Central organisations were inundated with requests for investigation into all manner of power schemes, while the Provincial Governments and some State Governments embarked on similar plans of their own.

"This buoyant and expensive mood served us well in the immediate post-war years. It enabled us to lift ourselves out of the rut of conventional thinking, infused courage and self-confidence into our administrators and technicians and created an appropriate psychological milieu in which alone any

large programme of reconstruction and development can be launched with any reasonable hope of success.

"This phase of our development psychology is now over, and we now find ourselves up against what hard-headed realists call 'brass tacks'. That is I felt that we had reached a stage in our development plans when it was incumbent on us to pause and take stock of our position in the light of our human and material resources and our essential requirements."

We agree with the Minister when he says that it should be easy enough for us to correct the present mal-adjustment in our planning if only we take an over-all view of our development plans and proceed to process them realistically in the light of our foreseeable requirements. Little benefit can be derived from planning when it becomes unco-ordinated. On the side of costs, we should break them down into yearly figures commensurate with our capacity to spend and on the side of benefits we should undertake a detailed analysis of our capacity to consume the end-products of our schemes. At the present stage of our development plans it will not be enough to indicate merely the aggregate quantity of power that we can generate and distribute from a particular scheme, but it will also be essential for us to know how the power will be consumed in different lines of agriculture and industry.

The Chartered Accountants Bill

The Chartered Accountants Bill has been introduced in the Indian Parliament and has been sent to a Select Committee. The Bill is due to come up for discussion very soon. There is little doubt that the Bill provides a much-needed and long-overdue reform in the field of Accountancy, and it removes many of the existing defects. But there is yet room for further improvement. In this connection the proposal of the Accountants' Association of India to incorporate the following clauses in it deserves careful and sympathetic consideration:

"The Council of the Institute shall have the power to recognise in fit cases, persons who have passed the G. D. A. Examination and who have put in at least 10 years' responsible service in the Accountancy profession, in Government, semi-Government or in business houses as either responsible Assistants or Accountants or Secretaries. Such a recognition will be at the absolute discretion of the Council and the Council will have the power to enroll such persons as Associate Members of the Institute, provided such applications are made within a period of five years from the date of coming into force of this Act.

"2. The Council of Institute shall have power to admit in the examinations in fit cases, persons who have served for a certain period of years (as at present prescribed in cases of Adult Clerks under Registered Accountants) as a practical Accountant in the Income Tax, and Sales Tax Departments, under Trust bodies, or under any other Public bodies or Government departments. Such recognition will be at the absolute dis-

cretion of the Council and the Council will have the power to enroll such persons, provided such applications are made within a period of ten years from the date of coming into force of this Act.

"Such persons having passed the final examination will be admitted as Associate Members of the Institute."

In consideration of the great dearth of qualified accountants in the country, specially in these days of increasing trade and industry, the above suggestion seems to be a fit case for consideration.

We are happy that the Government is going to add a clause to the Bill which provides that the Public Accountants are to refund the premium charged to the Articled Clerks during their period of training. We know that accountancy firms in Western countries are much more liberal in the matter of charging premiums from the Articled students. Here in this country, this practice has been followed as a lucrative side business and it has the effect of shutting out poor meritorious students from the field. It is also gratifying to note that the Government is considering the incorporation of another Clause in the Bill on the lines of the bye-laws of the Incorporated Accountants Rule, which provides that persons serving as Accountants in the Government and semi-Government bodies, will be eligible to appear at the Examination. This will serve to provide an opportunity to deserving meritorious men to enlist as public accountants and thus remove the present dearth of properly qualified men.

All Quiet on the Kashmir Front ?

Since the "Cease Fire" decision was found acceptable by the Indian Union and Pakistan and entered on January 1, 1946, Kashmir has receded from public view. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's department appears to have decided to stabilize this indifference. But the Pakistanis have other purposes in view. Through their Prime Minister, Janab Liaquat Ali Khan, recognises that relations with India constitutes "key question in Pakistan's foreign affairs," and "friendship" between the two States was desirable for mutual advantage, and that only Kashmir "stands in the way" we have no evidence to believe that the Pakistanis have retired from their overt campaign against the Indian Union. During the third week of February last, at Karachi, a Pan-Islamist Congress was held which afforded a new opportunity to spout out venom against the people of the world who happen to have the misfortune of holding creeds different from Islam's. The daily Press of India has not served its readers well in failing to report the proceedings of this Congress in which Hyderabad, Junagadh and Kashmir appear to have figured as points for attack against the Indian Union indulged in by speakers not all of them Pakistani citizens. We hope Pandit Nehru's department has not been as complacent with regard to this Congress as the "conspiracy of silence" on the part of the Indian Press would lead us to believe. Those who have had any idea of the Pan-Islamist inspiration of Muslim

separatism in India would be cultivating indifference to its peril to their country's unity and integrity.

We have reasons to believe that the fate and future of Kashmir engaged the minds of the delegates of this Pan-Islamist Congress to no small extent. And we would not be surprised to learn that Muslims from the so-called "Azad Kashmir" area participated in it; whether or not any Muslim from Kashmir and Jammu trickled into Karachi on the occasion, we cannot say for certain. But Pandit Nehru's department should be alert and watchful during these times when foreign statesmen have been called upon to decide the future of this area which can be a threat to the Indian Union or a bulwark against possible enemies. The Premier of Kashmir-Jammu, Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah and the Deputy Premier, Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad, have been assuring the world that the coming plebiscite would cement the existing relations between Indian Union and this State. We would be happy to accept this assurance. But knowing the mind of the general mass of Muslims we would require something more than assurances to confirm our faith in the evolution of India as a "secular State" to which Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru has set his heart and which these two leaders of Kashmir appear to share. The division of India on the basis of differences of creed—Hinduism and Islam to be precise—has raised this issue in Kashmir to a new importance. This division was effected in the teeth of the deeply-held beliefs and sentiments of the vast majority in India. And the loud protestations of Pakistanis that they do not desire to have a division of the State raise suspicions that some mischief is afoot.

It has been known since January 1, 1949, that Pakistanis have been concentrating attention on converting the State into a unit of Pakistan. For this purpose they have already been raising the cry of "Islam in danger"—the religious cry that could not be raised under the terms and conditions of the plebiscite as disclosed during negotiations between the U.N.O. Commissioner, Dr. Lozano and India's Prime Minister. But Pakistanis will break these conditions, and the "innocents" sent out by the U. N. O. will find no difficulty in turning the blind eye on the defiance. We have had experience of these tactics during the Sylhet Referendum. The areas held under "Azad Kashmir" authorities may become the spring-board of Pakistani infiltration into Kashmir-Jammu when the Referendum will be held. And we do not know of any human cleverness that can halt it, specially when "Local authorities" might be terrorized into submission by threats of *haram* under the laws and practices of Islam. These are contingencies against which only the Abdullah Government can provide. We have no independent evidence to tell us that this is being done. And we have a feeling that both the India Government and the Kashmir may be taken unawares and unready by the Pakistani fanaticism to which the Muslim soldiery of the Kashmir State had betrayed

their country in October-November, 1947, and when only Dogra and Sikh troops of the State stood between the Pakistani hordes and the State's existence as a self-respecting unit of the Indian Union.

This history has to be recalled today as a warning. The U. N. O. Commission cannot be of any use as a defender of India's special interests in Kashmir. Much is being said of Kashmir's strategic importance to the Indian Union; but we do not know as yet how the Nehru Government propose to instruct their public with regard to this matter. Without that knowledge the public in India cannot be expected to appreciate the many implications of the various issues involved. Kashmir's position in the neighbourhood of the Soviet Union and Pakistan creates certain problems for us on which Pandit Nehru's department can help to instruct the Indian public unused to reading the map with its strategic meanings. Pakistan's adventure in Kashmir has jostled us out of our complacency, and we have started to study the map with a new mind and with a new purpose. And it will profit us more if we devote a certain amount of attention to what the British friends of Pakistan have been telling the world to convince it that Kashmir is a necessity to this new State carved out of India. An article appearing in the *Army Quarterly* on "Some Strategic Aspects of Pakistan" puts us wise on the subject. The writer is Lt.-General E. N. Coddard. Though we do not know his *locus standi* in the matter, we may not ignore the lessons implicit in this article. The two extracts published below reveal how the mind of a section of British strategists has been moving in the matter and how Pakistanis are being coached to regard it.

"The purely strategic value of Kashmir depends on whether that value is regarded for offensive or defensive aspects. Kashmir could only be of defence value to India as a protection against attack by either Pakistan or Russia.

"... It is difficult in the light of these considerations to avoid agreeing with Pakistan, that while Kashmir is vital to the security of that country, it is of no strategic value to India, except as a base for offensive, military, economic and political action against Pakistan."

British newspapers have not ceased to trouble us with their interest. The summary of two articles wired by *Reuter's News Agency* on the same day, on the 3rd of December last, throws further light on the British game. We print it below.

The *Times* in an editorial today suggested that India and Pakistan should accept some partition as inevitable as a solution to their dispute over Kashmir.

"In the longer term, it is clearly impossible for either India or Pakistan to secure complete victory for their respective partisans without a frightful cost and the imminent risk of open war between them," the *Times* said.

"The sensible course for both sides might be to accept some partition of the country as inevitable and to give the United Nations Commission a free hand to arrange the preliminaries fairly.

'There is, in any event, no way out, short of war, except by larger concessions by both than either has yet shown the slightest sign of accepting.'

The left-wing *New Statesman* in a feature column, which is generally understood to be written by its editor, Kingsley Martin, said, 'It was already clear enough when I visited Kashmir, nine months ago, that the only possible solution was partition.'

Poonch, Gilgit and most of the mountain area of Kashmir obviously had become, in fact, part of Pakistan, while Jammu was clearly Indian.

The writer added, 'India has now put forward a proposal for a commonsense partition, which Pakistan is reported to have turned down, I hope and believe not irrevocably.'

'What Pakistan can hope for, better than an acceptance of partition on the basis of the present lines already held by the two armies, I really cannot imagine.'

Kingsley Martin's story that on behalf of the Indian Union a "commonsense partition" of Kashmir-Jammu had been offered and rejected by Pakistan makes nonsense of the elaborate machinery of the U. N. O. being forced on India. And the Indian public are being fed on the thesis that all is quiet on the Kashmir Front! The Government of India has been observing a discreet silence; Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah has been loud in expressing fealty to the idea of a secular State in India and in Kashmir-Jammu as a unit thereof. Does he realize that on the result of plebiscite in Kashmir-Jammu depends the hope of India developing into a secular State of modern conception? If the 3 to 4 crores (30 to 40 millions) of Muslims in India cannot pull their full weight in the Kashmir-Jammu plebiscite on the side of this ideal, Pakistan will have got not only a territory but dealt again the hardest blow on the composite nationalism of India. This is the real issue in the Kashmir plebiscite. Do they all realize its importance?

Mr. Liaquat Ali on Indo-Pakistan Amity

Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's Foreign Minister, in a foreign policy statement, has said that relation with India "is the key position in Pakistan's foreign affairs." "India and Pakistan," he said, "have to go shoulder to shoulder with each other, and it is very important that our relations should improve."

Meanwhile, Pakistan's Hindu policy is being followed on the lines discussed in the preceding note and preparations for a common Muslim front is being organised at Karachi. Just as Pakistan had "nothing to do" with the Kashmir raid, here also the Pakistan Government have officially no connection with the World Muslim Conference that is being held at Karachi. It is significant that Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had himself joined that Conference and addressed it. The motive of the Conference may better be realized from the following statement of some Afghan leaders:

Poona, February 24.—"It is the political idea of Pakistan Government to have a front prepared if war breaks out," say the Afghan Sardars, viz.,

Sardar Hafizullah Khan, Sardar Inayatullah Khan, Sardar Habibullah Khan and Sayeed Mohomed Yakub Khan, in a joint statement to the Press in connection with the recent Muslims World Conference convened by the Pakistan Government of Karachi.

They add: "In that Conference Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Pakistan's Prime Minister, made a speech wherein he said that the Afghan nation is a friend of Pakistan."

"The Afghans must remember that this is a no prepared by the Pakistan Government taking advantage of religion. If the Afghans do not care to listen, their country will turn into a battle-field if the third war breaks out, in which case the whole Afghan nation, its wealth, people and all, will be destroyed."

Warning the Afghans against entering into any agreements with Pakistan, the Sardars urge their countrymen to "remember that already about five millions of Afghan people are slaves." They refer to the detentions of Frontier leaders, Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, Dr. Khan Sahib, Khan Abdul Samad Khan and the plight of the Fakir of Ipi.

They add: "We have heard of a resolution passed in the Muslim League Assembly that the Frontier tribesmen are a part of Pakistan nation. We fail to understand how the Pathans could become Pakistan nationals, when one remembers that Pakistan is a new-born country whereas Afghanistan existed as a nation for centuries."

Maintaining that "a big force is working at the back of the Pakistan Government," the Afghan leaders say: "The Pakistan Government is trying to put the whole of Asia into danger. It is the duty of Asians to see and fight the old enemies who put us into untold troubles. The first duty of Asians is to drive them out. The second is to unite the whole of Asian nations."—U.P.I.

Communal Policy of Pakistan

A resolution providing that the Pakistan Government should discourage communal organisation engaging themselves in political activities was moved by Prof. Rajkumar Chakravarty, Secretary of the Pakistan Congress Party, in the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan. Moving the resolution, Prof. Chakravarty said, "If the Government extends recognition to one communal organisation, it will be rendered irresistible for the Government not to recognise others; this forms a vicious circle and the result would be that the Government develops a communal outlook."

Pakistan is inhabited by various communities. If every communal organisation gets a free hand and acts in a manner advantageous to one community it is bound to hamper the progress of the State. If the Government extends recognition to one communal organisation, it will be rendered irresistible for the Government not to recognise others: this forms a vicious circle and the result would be that the Government develops a communal outlook.

In illustration of his view-point, Prof. Chakravarty quoted the example of the Muslim League. Admitting it as a great organisation, he observed that instead of the Muslim League, the State and its inhabitants

comprising of all the communities, needed a League. He appealed to the leaders of the country to change the name of the Muslim League so that it may assume a non-denominational colour and when next elections are held on the basis of joint-electorate its platform may prove common for all the communities.

Referring to the nature and character of Pakistan Constitution he deprecated any loose talk on the subject. When some people clamour for an Islamic State, it would imply, he added, the idea of establishing a Theocratic State and that it would be a Government of the Muslims by the Muslims and for the Muslims.

Concluding he stressed that despite all differences, linguistic and religious, the people could be welded into a nation as it happened in Russia.

He observed that communal organisations should keep aloof from politics.

Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar and Dr. Qureshi opposed the Resolution. Mr. Noon characterised Prof. Chakravarty's observation that Theocratic State was anti-democratic as a "loose thing." He said, "In England, where the State religion is Christianity the most democratic government flourished. Islam guarantees full protection to the minorities."

Sir Firoz Khan Noon's outburst and simile is so farfical that they do not call for any reply. But, in this connection we cannot lose sight of a few significant and very recent facts. Mr. Sri Prakash, Indian High Commissioner at Karachi, had been prevented to go and Mahatma Gandhi's statue because such an act was repugnant to Islam. The Advisory Board of Education of Pakistan has recently passed the following resolution which will mean a complete cultural annihilation of the Hindus in that Dominion. This may be contrasted with India's guarantee for the script, language and culture of Muslims, in this country and our leaders' anxiety to have Hindustani, written in Nagri and Urdu scripts, as our national language. The resolution runs: "This Board is of the opinion that in the interest of national unity and solidarity, and the rapid advancement of general education in Pakistan, it is necessary to have all the regional languages of Pakistan written in the same script; the Arabic script is most useful for this purpose as it is already in use in many parts of Pakistan, and ample facilities exist for typewriting and printing in it. This Board therefore recommends that the Central Government may appoint a committee of experts to examine the script and consider the changes which may be necessary in order to make this script fully adequate and suitable for all the regional languages of Pakistan. The Committee is to report to the next meeting of the Board (to be held in June)."

India has so far paid very very dearly in her desire to gain the good graces of the communal Muslims. This has not yet stopped and Pakistan is taking full advantage. A complete cultural annihilation of Hindus in Pakistan is being carried on with meti-

culous care and attention. The Governor-General of Pakistan has publicly declared that Pakistan will be an Islamic State. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, in opposing Prof. Chakravarty's resolution, has upheld the doctrine of Theocratic State. The equal citizenship right of a Hindu in Pakistan has nowhere been admitted; only promises of generous treatment to the minorities have been held out. The hollowness of such promises of generosity to minorities, specially idolators, in an Islamic State, stands thoroughly exposed in history. Islamic psychology, like Islamic democracy and Islamic economics is all integral parts of the religion of Islam. By the theory of its origin, the Muslim State is a theocracy. Civil law is completely subordinated to Religious law and indeed merges its existence in the latter. Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the highest authority on Islamic history of India, gives the following account of the position of Hindus in an Islamic State: "The conversion of entire population to Islam and the extinction of every form of dissent is the ideal of the Muslim State. If any infidel is suffered to exist in the community, it is as a necessary evil and for a transitional period only. Political and social disabilities must be imposed on him. . . . A non-Muslim cannot be a citizen of the State; he is a member of a depressed class; his status is a modified form of slavery. . . . In short, his continued existence in the State after the conquest of his country by the Muslim is conditional upon his person and property being made subservient to the cause of Islam."—(*History of Aurangzeb*, Vol. III, Chapter XXXIV).

Governor's Rule in West Punjab

The Lahore correspondent of the *Statesman* reports that although officials are reluctant at the moment to make forthright statements, all seem convinced that present indications point to a long period of Governor's Rule in West Punjab.

Prolongation of Governor's Rule in the province will be necessitated chiefly by the length of time required to prepare for the new elections and for the Elections Inquiry Committee, appointed by the Governor, to complete its work.

At his Press Conference last week, Sir Francis Mudie pleaded for time to get the administrative machine into thorough working order. This was another indication that the Centre is not constrained at the moment to hurry the elections, and it is prepared to allow the Governor to lead the province "out of the wood."

Though there have not been many outward manifestations of sweeping changes or improvements since the Governor took over the administration, there has been a general all-round improvement in governmental offices. Discipline, so singularly lacking since partition of the province, is now being rigidly enforced and heads of departments know that they have the backing of authority in disciplinary action against officials or subordinates. Pawns in the deplorable political game

which had played havoc with the administrative machine of the province, Government servants are gradually realising that nepotism, corruption and indiscipline will not pay in the long run, and certainly will not be tolerated when the province is under Section 92A Rule.

Normally, all are looking forward to the new elections and hoping that wise and honest men will be returned to the Assembly so that when democratic rule returns all will be assured of a square deal. As for the elections, the Inquiry Committee has a complicated and difficult task to perform. Public opinion has to be consulted and, more important, the basis on which the people of the province will be enfranchised has yet to be decided. This will be a labourious process and may take many months.

An innovation introduced under Section 92A is the change in "visiting homes" at the Secretariat. The order says that visitors are requested to call at the Civil Secretariat between 3 and 4 p.m. only on working days and not to disturb officers of the Secretariat at all hours of the day. It says it has been noticed that visitors pour into the Secretariat throughout the day and seriously interfere with official work. The rush is sometimes so great that it is impossible for officers to work undisturbed for any length of time.

General Election in West Punjab

The Governor-General of Pakistan has dissolved the West Punjab Legislature and ordered a fresh general election. This drastic step has been taken because public life has been demoralised there by corruption and the discipline of the services has been destroyed by intrigues. A U.P.I. message states prosecutions will be launched against the former Education and Revenue Ministers. The following is the full text of the Governor-General's communique:

"The Governor-General has viewed with growing concern the state of public administration in West Punjab about which he has kept himself fully informed and he is satisfied that the stage has now been reached at which his intervention is essential. He has no doubt that public life has been demoralised by corruption and that discipline of the services is destroyed by intrigues. The administration has been carried on for the benefit of a few and no attention has been paid to the hopes and needs of the people.

"Many causes have contributed to this state of affairs. But in the Governor-General's opinion the main cause is the failure of the members of the Legislative Assembly elected in different circumstances, to arise to the greater responsibility which independence brings.

"The Governor-General has, therefore, decided in accordance with the Provision of Sec. 92A of the Constitution Act to direct the Governor to assume charge of the Province of West Punjab on his behalf. The Proclamation under Sec. 92A will remain in force until the election has been held and it is possible for the Governor,

in accordance with the constitutional procedure to appoint Ministers having confidence of the Assembly.

"The Governor-General has taken this step with regret. He has done so only because he considers it essential in the interests of the purity of public life in West Punjab. He hopes that party factions will now be forgotten and that everyone will try to ensure that only persons of undoubted honesty are elected to the Assembly.

"He has instructed the Governor to ensure that the election is fairly held and that no official influence is brought to bear, for or against any candidate. On this election the future of democracy in West Punjab, and indeed, in Pakistan, depends. The Governor-General is confident that the people of West Punjab will do their duty as free men rejecting unhesitatingly any candidate, who, in their opinion, is seeking election for ulterior purposes and electing only those whose object is to serve their people and their country."

Oriya-Biharee Relations

The shooting on Adibasi crowds at the instance of the Orissa Administration that took place in a subdivision of the recently-merged Mayurbhanj State has brought to the fore again the conflicting ambitions of the Oriya and the Biharee. The former has been sore since 1948, that Seraikhela and Kharsawan should have been included by the States Ministry in Bihar, the latter with the fact that since January 1, 1949, Mayurbhanj is being administered by Orissa. The Finance Minister of Bihar, Shri Anugraha Narayan Singh, informed the world on February 16 last that before the Mayurbhanj State had been merged with Orissa, "the Bihar Government had made a reference to the Central Government" for merging it with Bihar; but since the Central Government has willed otherwise, "the Bihar Government had no other alternative but to acquiesce." The words reveal the seat of the mischief—the tension between the Oriya and the Biharee—which has been responsible for the shooting at Seraikhela last year and of this year's shooting at Mayurbhanj. The Bihar Minister has repudiated the charge that officers of the Bihar Government on the border areas have been at the back of Adibasi demonstrations—a charge that has been made in the Oriya Press.

This shows that Sardar Patel's department has been able to satisfy neither the Oriya nor the Biharee with their handling of these areas.

But Adibasi dissatisfaction would not allow the matter to be solved by bullets. For the last twelve years and more, there has been a movement amongst the Adibasis of the areas concentrated in Bihar, Orissa and the Mahakoshal area of the Central Province for a separate administration where their special habits and institutions would have opportunity to develop in response to modern conditions. Adibasis trained by Christian missionaries have taken the lead

in this matter; the names of Mr. Jaipal Singh and Mr. Hayward of Bihar have appeared as leaders of this movement; and the Jharkhand Province idea is the expression of this Adibasi ambition.

By agitating for the merger of Mayurbhanj with Bihar, sponsors of Jharkhand seem to be aiming at consolidation of Adibasi areas under one province, to press at a later stage for the formation of this amalgamated area into a separate province.

The total population of Mayurbhanj according to 1941 Census was 990,977 of which 714,954 were Adibasis. The agitation for the merger of the State with Bihar is the strongest in the Bamanghati Subdivision on the north-western side of the State bordering Bihar. The population of this Subdivision is 200,000.

The recent firings upon Adibasis ought to have set the Government thinking for adopting other means for tackling them than showering bullets upon these people. An important factor in this major problem of dealing with the Adibasis is an appropriate handling of the group heads and leaders of these unsophisticated people who collect in thousand trekking long distances of even 50 to 60 miles for any gathering that are held by these leaders, carrying their food with them. Meetings sometimes last throughout day and night. They often develop into melas, accompanied by dance and song. At one of these gatherings held at Baripada in January, the opening song took as long as 45 minutes; the gathering was 5,000 strong and loud-speakers had been installed. The President of the Adibasi Sabha, Mr. Sonaram Majhi, with his eight girl bodyguards and two of his lieutenants, sang the opening song. Political forces are at work for the utilisation of these simple folk and it should be the duty of the Government to meet them on a plane where bloodshed will not be necessary.

The Sikh Position

A section of the Sikhs under the leadership of Master Tara Singh and organized in the Akali Dal have been moving towards a position that is hard to distinguish from that followed by the All-India Muslim League. The same cry of "safeguards," of "weightage," of parity between majority and minority in the East Punjab Province and the East Punjab Union is being raised on their behalf. In this it would be difficult to accept the contention advanced by Sardar Baldeo Singh, India's Defence Minister, that the Akalis represent an irresponsible element in the great Sikh community. And it is not easy for non-Sikhs to understand the differences that divide the Akalis from Nationalist Sikhs, from the Shiromani Gurdwara Parbandhak Committee, for instance. Except in change of emphasis, it can be said that the demands made by Master Tara Singh are shared by almost all the Sikhs; the "extremist" position has ever made an appeal to all the elements that constitute a society. Congress leadership should be able to appreciate this element of the Sikh position.

We cannot at present say that we understand Master Tara Singh's methods of political action, and what he has been doing or threatened to do that has led to his detention. The advertised meeting at New Delhi may be the proximate cause of the Nehru Government's action. But behind it must have been lurking developments that have forced the hands of the Government. What these are we do not know. We accept the position that the areas in the Indian Union's north-west frontier where the Sikhs have been forced to concentrate constitute a danger-spot; that both the Government and the Sikh leaders should be considerate to each other's needs. Owing to their recent experiences on their trek from West Punjab, the Sikhs have developed a sensitiveness that is not quite natural to a sturdy community. As fellow-sufferers from the partition of the Punjab and Bengal, we can respect this feeling. But we do not think that dwelling on these misfortunes is the way of overcoming their effects and re-establishing one legitimate place in the Indian Union. From the correspondence columns of a Calcutta daily under non-Indian control we find that our Sikh friends find pleasure in ventilating their grievances; and by imperceptible degrees the writers move into positions that are not quite healthy. A certain amount of stoicism would be more dignified in the community that was vitalised by Guru Govind Singh.

All the same, it is necessary to understand the feelings and fears that have been moving the Sikhs. We are enabled to do so by what appeared in a Delhi daily sometime at the beginning of this year. The demands embodied in the Memorandum are nothing new; these constitute the current coin of all minority demands, and it is part of the duty imposed on their leaders and the Governments to reconcile these particularities with the general interests of the country. This Memorandum will enable our readers to appreciate the Sikh position; it is moderately expressed with valid reasons given to support the demands made in it. We do not understand why adjustments have not been found possible, and we find it hard to believe that the Nehru Government or the Constituent Assembly would refuse to appreciate the Sikh position. There may be crudities inherent in one or two demands made here that cannot be met. But these can be discussed at a round-table.

We publish below a summary of this Memorandum:

A four-point safeguards has been submitted to the Minority Committee of the Constituent Assembly of India by a committee appointed by Sikh representatives at a meeting on December 19 under the chairmanship of Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh.

The four demands are: (1) Adoption of Punjabi in Gurmukhi script as the official language and the medium of instruction in East Punjab; (2) Joint electorates with reservation of seats; (3) Appointment of impartial Minority Commis-

sions; and (4) Formation of a Punjabi-speaking province.

At a Press conference this evening, Principal Gurmukh Nihal Singh and other members of the committee explained at length the Sikh problem as it exists today.

Pointing out that the Sikh problem "has been assuming a very serious and menacing form," the Memorandum says: "We all believe in the idea of a national secular State and wish to make a constructive contribution towards its achievement and realisation."

"Unfortunately," it adds, "there exists an acute mistrust and suspicion between the Hindus and Sikhs in East Punjab. The practice of discrimination against Sikhs has given the Sikhs a persecution-complex and has made them fall an easy prey to communal propaganda. It is in this context that we wish to make some constructive suggestions for the solution of the Sikh problem."

Referring to the language question, the Memorandum says: "Punjabi is the mother-tongue of all Punjabis, irrespective of their religion. It has given to the Punjab a rich literature and a distinct culture. It should, therefore, be made the official language and the medium of instruction in the Province. As far as the question of script is concerned it is an undeniable fact that the real script of the Punjabi language is Gurmukhi. Phonetically this script is one of the most scientific scripts."

"We have no desire to impose the Punjabi language on the non-Punjabi speaking people of the Province. We feel equally strongly that a common national language should be taught as a compulsory subject in the schools and colleges throughout the country."

With regard to joint electorates with reservation of seats, the Memorandum says: "We firmly believe that the system of separate electorates is undemocratic and harmful." The Memorandum makes the following suggestions in this connection: (a) Reservation of seats on population basis under a system of joint electorates but with the right to contest additional seats; (b) Continuance of the conventions of parity between Hindus and Sikhs in East Punjab Cabinet and inclusion of at least one Sikh in the Central Cabinet; (c) Establishment of a convention that the posts of the Governor and the Premier in East Punjab should be held by members of the different communities; (d) Accord of the same generous treatment to Sikhs in Provinces other than East Punjab and at the Centre as is meted out to Anglo-Indians; (e) Fixing of a specific quota for Sikhs in proportion to their numbers *vis-a-vis* the members of other smaller minorities in the Central services; and (f) Grant of the same privileges to Mazhabi, Ramdasia and other backward classes amongst the Sikhs as is given to the Scheduled and other backward classes.

Referring to the third demand, the Memorandum says that the appointment of impartial Minority Commissions "is the best means so far devised of allaying the apprehensions of the members of minority communities and of preventing discrimination and of protecting minority rights and safeguards."

The fourth demand, *i.e.*, regarding the formation of a Punjabi-speaking Province "is a part of the larger question of re-dividing the country into provinces on linguistic basis," the Memorandum says. The question, it adds, should be referred to

the Committee set up by the All-India Congress Committee at Jaipur recently.

"Refugees" from East Bengal

We fully appreciate the difficulties that have been created for the Government by the "refugee" problem—an off-shoot of the partition of India for which nobody appear to have been prepared. We know that Mr. Mohammad Ali Jinnah was the first outstanding leader of public opinion who started the idea of "exchange of population" to make it possible for the Hindu and the Muslim to live in their own particular enclaves or States as and when Pakistan was born. Mr. Jinnah first began to talk on this idea when in Bihar things happened to Muslims on a more extended scale than what had happened to Hindus in Noakhali-Tipperah, proving his thesis that Hindus and Muslims could not live any longer as neighbours. He returned to the topic in May, 1947, when the partition of India had been as good as effected, the Congress having been forced by the logic of the Wavell strategy to accept this bitter remedy. He unburdened his mind to a British correspondent, and suggested that the Government should take responsibility for this "movement of populations." Babu Rajendra Prasad as Congress President gave support to the idea. We do not know if any or both of them used their influence with Lord Mountbatten to arrange for such an exchange. Evidently they did nothing on the matter; and when August 15, 1947, came with the formal withdrawal of British power from the Indian sub-continent, the masses, the ultimate masters of Governments took the law into their own hands to assert and establish their right to this title.

In West Punjab, in the N.-W. Frontier Province, the Muslim majority went ahead with implementing the plan envisaged by their Qaid-e-Azam; in Delhi Province, in East Punjab, the Hindu majority followed suit. And by an outburst of supreme cruelty, the two of them between themselves so arranged matters that no Hindu and Sikh remained in Western Pakistan to darken the domain of the "faithful"; and in Delhi and East Punjab, the Muslim became a rare bird. We do not propose to dwell on or recall to our people the holocaust, worse than beastliness, that characterized those days in August-September-November, 1947. The moving hand has written these lines in India's history, and not all the sensitiveness of kindly souls or the lamentations of the sufferers can erase a line of this horrid experience. The Pakistan Government has told the world in response, to a U. N. O. enquiry that 65 lakhs, 6½ millions, of Muslim "refugees" have taken shelter in Western Pakistan; we have seen an estimate which said that as many Hindus and Sikhs have sought and found asylum in the Indian Union from Sind, Baluchistan, the Western Punjab and the N.-W. Frontier Province. We have long felt that the Hindu, the Sikh and the Muslim have simplified for their

Governments the problem of minorities who have had to leave their historic homes owing to neighbours' cruelty to neighbours.

But in the other realm of Pakistan, in East Bengal, the process of dispossession has been more prolonged; it has not been dramatized as crudely and cruelly as in Western Pakistan. The Central Government of India has, therefore, taken things easy so far as the 30 lakhs "refugees" from East Bengal were concerned. Delhi is too far off to these "refugees" both mentally and materially; they have been "out of sight" of the Government, and have been almost "out of (their) mind." The "refugees" from Western Pakistan have been too much in evidence at Delhi, and, therefore, there has been a difference in the treatment of these two sets of people. It is useless to make a grievance of this difference. Many things happen that cannot be fully explained. Shri Mohanlal Saxena confessed as much on February 16 last when he had been subjected to close cross-examination by members in the Central Legislature.

"As a matter of fact, so far as refugees from East Pakistan are concerned, there is a slight difference. First of all, the policy of the Government has been to create conditions in East Pakistan itself to stop exodus from there and also to encourage those who have come to go back. After that as many as are left we are going to do all that we can to rehabilitate them."

This difference of treatment has a queer ring; and the Prime Minister intervened in the discussion with a view to remove the impression left by Shri Mohanlal's exposition of the Government policy. Pandit Nehru disclaimed any idea of "differentiation" whatever in regard to help given to any refugees whether from West or East." But there is a "slightly different footing" in regard to "rehabilitation." What is this difference due to has been sought to be explained by saying that the Government of India has been "functioning as far as possible through the West Bengal Government." We cannot say that we are satisfied with this reply; the Government of India has been rehabilitating the "refugees" from Western Pakistan through the "agency" of Provincial and States' Governments. The real reason for this differentiation is what we have referred to above—the "refugees" from West Pakistan are very much in evidence and give no rest to the Central Government while the "refugees" from East Bengal are distant figures; the Central Government cannot ask the West Pakistan Government to take their "refugees" back while they can expect the East Bengal Government to create conditions that may make it possible for these people to return, to halt and stop the exodus.

This is one side of the problem. The other is that the Central Government of India has been a helpless victim of non-co-operation adopted more or less by the Ministries and the Administrations of Bihar and of Assam. The ruling *junta* of these areas have refused to accept responsibility for accommodating these "refugees"

from East Bengal and to help them to build anew a dignified and satisfying life for themselves. We understand their difficulties; they are afraid of the Bengali as a citizen, to put the matter bluntly. The spirit of their intransigence was blatantly demonstrated in the conduct of the Bardoloi Ministry of Assam who refused to honour the pledge given by the Central Government to officers who had "opted" for service in the "rest of India." Sardar Patel, who knows this ugly story has not been able to control and modify the attitude of the Assamese chauvinists.

This episode high-lights the "differentiation" that Pandit Nehru disclaimed. Submerged by their own problems the Central Government has been confusing in their activities and contradictory in their utterances. The Prime Minister's statement of 16th February last is an example of the state of affairs. And the feeling is hard to suppress that in the matter of East Bengal refugees his Government has been cultivating a spirit of defeatism; they are afraid to tackle the problem; they cannot even help these people to set themselves up in new surroundings. The way in which they have played with the Purbachal Pradesh idea, consisting of Manipur State, Lushai Hills, the Tripura State and the remnant Bengalee-speaking areas of the Surma Valley, has been an instance of this supineness. The organizers of this movement have assured us that more than 20 lakhs people can be accommodated in this province-to-be. The Congress Working Committee accepted the proposal for a Purbachal Pradesh; then withdrew support to it a month later. Why, it has never been explained. And the Nehru Government is being subjected to criticism that is hard to stop; the Purbachal Pradesh adventure has become a subject of ugly interpretations that is sorrowful to hear. We cannot help in putting matters right, because the High Command of the Congress and the Central Government have been less than explicit in their policy with regard to this particular matter. Perhaps, they do not care for any criticism and interpretation. Thereby they are actually undermining the basis of their own usefulness. We can only watch and wait for better counsels to prevail.

New Principles for Provincial Boundaries

The Aikya Kerala Convention held recently at Alwaye under the presidency of Sri K. Kelappan, the veteran Congress leader of Kerala, is a turning point in the history of the Province of Madras. The Convention which discussed about the future of Kerala in the light of recent developments including the Dar Commission's Report reiterated its demand that Malabar, Cochin, Travancore and other areas should be unified into a separate province and that this province should be included in the new Constitution when it comes into force.

The resolution passed by the Convention relaxed the stress on the linguistic factor and stated that "in

view of the geographical unity of Kerala, the economic and cultural advancement of its people, and also in view of administrative convenience, Cochin, Travancore and Malabar and the neighbouring places which should integrate with them, must unite to form a province."

Mr. K. P. Kesava Menon, Editor of *Mathrubhumi*, who moved the main resolution, said: "In a province there can be people, who speak different languages. A province is formed for administrative, geographical and economic resources. Here too we have to adopt such a position."

Another important factor was the whittling down of the demand on territories. Till now, the Aikya Kerala leaders has been demanding that South Canara, Coorg, Nilgiris, Gudalur and other places shall be included in the Kerala Province. But now, the resolution does not state what territories shall be included in the province except vaguely hinting at "the neighbouring places which should integrate with them (Malabar, Cochin and Travancore)."

This change, it seems, has been wrought under pressure of two recent developments. First, there is great opposition from the leaders of the Central Government to the immediate redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis. And secondly, the Aikya Kerala leaders fear that Cochin and Travancore will be merged into a States' Union, which in their opinion will delay the formation of a United Kerala.

Sri Sankarrão Deo who opened the Conference, in his speech, said that *the redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis was a principle accepted by the Congress long ago. It must be treated as a task of national reconstruction. The establishment of homogeneous units was a 'sine quo non' for the successful working of democracy*, he said.

But, Sri Deo said, the Convention should not pester the Central Government by putting forth all kinds of demands. It must feel satisfied with a general resolution on the unification of Kerala, leaving the details to be worked out by the Central Government.

Simultaneously with the Kerala demand for the creation of a new province on considerations of administrative, geographical and economic advantage, comes an exactly similar suggestion for the re-formation of the Indian provinces on "economic, geographic, administrative and strategic considerations" put forward by the All-India Manufacturers' Organisation. The Conference called them "geo-nomic" provinces and a resolution passed by them claims that the creation of such provinces would offer "a vast scope for a balanced and full development of the country's resources in men, money and material and a healthy growth of 'united nationalism'."

As examples of economic delimitation of provinces, the conference suggested for consideration the creation of a maritime province along the west coast, comprising the various peoples inhabiting this region having common interests amongst themselves but widely

different from the interests of the people living beyond the Ghats.

Similarly, the resolution stated, the agricultural tracts of the Gangetic plain could be constituted in allied provinces; Assam and Rajputana provinces would have to be based on strategic considerations; and the present iron and coal producing areas, and the neighbouring industrial areas depending upon these materials in the provinces of Bengal and Bihar, could form an industrial province.

These diverse claims on new grounds of expediency tend to cloud the real issue, namely, the creation of linguistic provinces to which the Congress stands committed for a long time. The Dar Commission has submitted its report and a High Power Committee set up by the A.-I. C. C. is at present considering this question. Claims based on a principle must have precedence over those built up on considerations of opportunity and expediency. Amidst the cloud of conflicting and interested claims, the just demand of Bengal, it seems, is going to be buried. "Unity in diversity,"—is the foundation of Indian civilisation and it is the creation of linguistic provinces that can bring about this fundamental unity.

Madras North and Madras South

During his latest tour through the Madras Presidency and the neighbouring area Indian Union's Deputy Prime Minister was confronted with the demands of a linguistic re-arrangement of the Indian Provinces. He has not met these squarely but has tried to put off the day by harping on the complexities of the problems that will have to be hammered out if these popular demands are to be satisfied. But these will pursue Indian leadership and give it no peace. The sooner Sardar Patel realizes this, the better for all concerned.

In this connection a New Delhi news is significant for more reasons than one. It was sent out on February 19 last. The news said that an ingenious plan is afoot to split Madras Presidency into two administrative divisions—Madras North and Madras South. The plan seems to be that Madras will continue under one Governor and one High Court but will have two Cabinets and two Secretariats resources will be equitably distributed. Influential South Indian politicians are said to be reacting favourably to this idea. It is being felt that popular satisfaction at having "a virtual Government" of their own will out-balance the disadvantages. A major gain in such an arrangement will be that the dispute for Madras as capital of the Tamil and Andhra Provinces-to-be will thus be removed, and the expenses of building a new capital will be avoided. But this leaves the problem of the Kerala and Karnataka Provinces unsolved.

This piece-meal solution of the problem of linguistic provinces may appeal to harassed politicians. But when linguistic chauvinism as in Bihar and

Assam, for instance, is in the ascendant, we hope our ruling authorities will not succumb to this temptation. The way in which the Ministries in Bihar and Assam have been invading the realms of Bengali as a vehicle of expression of millions of Bengalees who have the misfortune to live under their jurisdiction will not be halted by Maulana Abul Kalam's directives, to respect the mother tongue. He may issue these from New Delhi without the least response from Patna and Shillong. And Patna and Shillong have also learnt how these Central directives can be carried out on paper and broken in practice. This chauvinism is not confined to Bihar and Assam; it has attained the proportion of an all-India evil. This development should call forth the highest courage of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel. Procrastination is dangerous. This they will find to their cost, if they decide to sit on the volcano of crude ambitions and the angry reaction against it. Outraged feelings find outlets sooner or later.

Adult Education in India

The Bengal Government have finished arrangements for starting the scheme of adult education that has been engaging the special consideration of the Central and Provincial Governments since August 15, 1947. There have been so many conferences and committees set up in this behalf that the general public has come to regard it as one of the stunts that the bureaucracy loves to fly in the air taking advantage of the occasional and fitful enthusiasms of heads of administrations. The Ministry of Education in West Bengal appointed about seven months back an Adult Education Committee with representative men and women who desire to see illiteracy removed from their Province. An interim report was submitted in September-October last. It has taken the Ministry or perhaps its Directorate more than four months to give shape to these. We cannot definitely say whether or not the Finance Ministry has been at fault—holding out hopes that were withdrawn almost as soon as the assurances had been given. Members have told us that this hide and seek technique has already provided ample material to feed one's cynicism on.

However, like everything else the waiting and watching has ended. And the Bengal Ministry propose to go ahead with their plan of removal of illiteracy, of drawing out the adult people from their apathetic contentment which is part of "social education" on which the Central Education Minister, Moulana Abul Kalam Azad, has been holding forth with such persistence. We can only hope that the West Bengal attempt will justify itself. The Directorate is at present engaged in training primary school teachers, male and female, with the help of their Guru Training experts—most of them holding Bachelor of Teaching degrees. While wishing them all success we cannot refrain from giving expression to the feeling that no

significant progress has ever been made by bureaucratic "know-alls"; it is non-official pioneers, individuals or institutions, that have ever been standard-bearers of all progress in all departments of life. We will be glad to be assured that the West Bengal Education Directorate recognize the limitations of their own being.

In Bengal, we know of two organisations that have been doing pioneering work in the spread of Adult Education—the Bengal Adult Education Association with Shri Bilash Chandra Mukherji of the Baptist Mission as its Secretary, and the Nari Siksha Samiti of which Lady Abala Bose has been the founder-Secretary. The latest report of the Association says that in "the last two years, 1947-48, we did not receive any Government grant;" but still they carried on through the sheer enthusiasm of the workers of the Association. The Nari Siksha Samiti has been more fortunate; it has for the last ten years been carrying on its work of adult female education with the help of the interest of a trust-fund of Rs. 1 lakh made available by the trustees of Acharya Jagadis Chandra Bose. The Partition of Bengal has adversely affected the work of both these organizations, of the latter specially. It happened that in East Bengal the Nari Siksha Samiti in their Adult Female Education work found the women more responsive than their sisters of West Bengal. The West Bengal Government would be required to concentrate more attention on breaking the many taboos that stand in the way of women's education, if progress is desired.

We have seen a statement that says that there are about 90 lakhs of men and women in West Bengal who will have to be made literate and socially conscious in the modern sense of the words. Other Provinces have been tackling the problem; the example of the Central Provinces and Berar is said to have inspired the West Bengal Directorate in many of their methods and practices. We should like to have more information, on this subject gathered during the Director's tour through the Province. And while wishing all success to this experiment, we will expect him to enlist more non-official support and agency than has hitherto been the practice. Keeping people on the dole is not the best way of drawing the best out of them. The West Bengal Education Ministry should have these words blazoned on their office chart. Then only can they hope to succeed in their Adult Education venture.

Happenings in Burma

Indian Union's Prime Minister did well in extending the sympathy of our people to Thakin Nu's Government fighting a desperate fight against internal malcontents and external conspirators. Among the former the Karens have been in the news as fighting for a Karen State. This the Burma Government has already conceded; the daily papers of 24th February last told us that the Regional Autonomy Commission

appointed with Chief Justice of Burma High Court as Chairman has recommended the setting up of a Karen State as a unit of the Burma Federation. The detailed recommendations are not before us as we write. But we have a certain feeling that this particular demand conceded by Thakin Nu's Government, there should be no difficulty in the return of peace to Burma, if the mischief-makers behind the Karen insurrection are isolated.

Of these a class of British adventurers have been prominent. They appear to be beyond the control of the British Government even. The following story related by the Burma Government lifts a part of the veil from over these mysterious goings-on. It was embodied in a statement made public at Rangoon on the 19th of November last. We publish it below as described by *Reuter's News Agency* on November 20 last:

Alexander Campbell, *Daily Mail* correspondent, who has been in jail here for more than two months, will be deported from Burma, it was learned from usually reliable sources here yesterday.

Campbell, who served as a Major in "Force 1366" in Burma during the war, was detained on September 18 under Section 5 of the Public Order Preservation Act, which enables the Government to detain people without immediately announcing specific charges.

The British Consul has engaged British legal advisers to act on Campbell's behalf.

The Burmese Government in a statement yesterday giving reasons for detaining Campbell, said: "They had been aware for some time of the activities of Col. J. C. Tulloch in connection with instigating rebellion in Burma by a section of the Karen nationals.

Col. Tulloch is alleged by the Burmese Government to have organised the Karen revolt from Calcutta.

The statement said, in addition to information from certain Karen nationals, the Government had received a "friendly warning" from the British Ambassador in Rangoon in early September about the activities of Col. Tulloch.

According to the statement, the complicity of Mr. Campbell was revealed in a letter from him in Rangoon to Col. Tulloch in Calcutta. A copy of this letter was handed to the Burmese Ambassador in Karachi by Mr. I. D. Symons, a B.O.A.C. flight steward, to whom the letter had been entrusted by Mr. Campbell for delivery to Col. Tulloch. The letter was dated September 9.

The statement added that Mr. Symons was a British Socialist, who "abhors the subversive activities" of certain British nationals in the internal affairs of Burma.

This letter, extracts of which were published by the Government, was stated to have told Col. Tulloch that the Karens in Burma "would be content if allowed to keep what territory they have so far occupied," and that they were short of arms and ammunition and were expecting Col. Tulloch to provide more arms and ammunition.

The statement also published extracts from other papers said to have been seized from Campbell at the time of his arrest.

One letter suggested that Col. Tulloch was asking for funds to be sent to him by the Karens.

Campbell's letter said, according to the statement, "My impression is that they (the Karens) expect your contracts to cough us money for them and its transportation, but that I only surmise.

"You probably know what you contracted to supply them and on what terms."

One thing that has to be noticed by us is that Col. Tulloch had his base of operations in Calcutta. We should like to know if the Calcutta Police had made any attempt to spot out this conspirator who had been carrying on activities inimical to a friendly neighbour. Since reading the above statement we have heard rumours that the office of an English-language daily had been the centre of this conspiracy against Burma. And we have a feeling that India's Central Intelligence and its Bengal branch have been at fault.

Indian Communists have also been playing a decisive role in the happening in Burma. A son of Bengal, Ghosal being his family name, has leapt into prominence in this connection. But the main attack on the Burma Government is being manned by Burmese Communists. Thus the Karen-cum-Communist revolt has been laying waste the country that was devastated by two offensives—once in 1942 when the Japanese broke down all the superstructure of British rule over Burma, and again in 1944-45 when the Anglo-American counter-offensive drove the Japanese out.

Truce between Israel and Egypt

Dr. Taraknath Das, the patriot-exile from Bengal who has made his home in the U. S. A., has challenged the wisdom of the Indian Union's policy of refusal to recognize the State of Israel. By his insight into international affairs acquired during forty years of life passed in Europe and America, Dr. Das has a right to be heard by his people. The points urged by him have gained force by the truce which has just been signed between Israel and Egypt. By this act an Arab State, and a Muslim State at that, recognizes Israel which it has been the purpose of the Arab League to liquidate. And if Pandit Nehru's Government persist in their policy, it will have to be assumed that the Indian Union is a more enthusiastic supporter of the Arabs than the Arabs themselves!

The truce demonstrates that the 4 crore Arabs are no match for the 9 or 10 lakhs of Jews organized under the leadership of the State of Israel. The offensive started by Egypt three months back has been beaten back and its objective of depriving the Jews of Negev, the large and perhaps oil-bearing, unpopulated area forming fully two-thirds of the area allotted to Israel by the U. N. O. partition plan, has been defeated.

A publication issued by the American Zionist Emergency Council describes its material potentialities. The southern end of Negev is true desert. But at its northern end it is "made up of loessal soils which only need water that can be brought from northern Palestine. Some 200,000 acres can thus be irrigated . . . sound range or grass-land management is suitable for the remainder of the southern part of Negev . . .

some 22,50,000 acres." When the Bernadotte plan proposed to deprive Israel of these development possibilities, the Jews refused to accept it. Today they have made good their claim.

The policy hitherto followed by Britain and the U. S. A. is being understood by the Jews as intended to keep "Israel militarily chained while subjecting it to incessant economic and political pressure." It has been defeated by Jewish resourcefulness and organized might. And we will watch with interest how British and the United States Governments accommodate themselves to the smouldering state of opinion prevalent in Israel. They have gained nothing by their underhand support of the Arab League's cause.

Syed Hossain

The death at Cairo of the first ambassador of the Indian Union to Egypt removes from our midst a publicist and public man who had his training under Benjamin Horniman, the first editor of the *Bombay Chronicle* and the builder of our contemporary's traditions of intrepid public service. A son of Nawab Syed Mahommed, Inspector-General of Registration in Bengal before its first partition, a brother-in-law of Janab Fazl-ul-Huq, ex-Chief Minister of Bengal (1937-41), Syed Hossain could not accept a "settled" life, and for about twenty years he had been in America battling against British imperialism in defence of his country's dignity and interests. His fellow-workers in the United States have told us that it had been a tough job fighting the machinations of Britain's reactionary politicians and their stooges like Catherine Mayo and agents of the British Embassy. As Working President of the India Freedom League which had Ananda Coomaraswamy as its dignified head and Sardar Anup Singh as Secretary, Syed Hossain had been at his best as a controversialist during World War II of the 20th century.

Kiran Sankar Roy

The departure of Kiran Sankar Roy from the field of his mundane activities has cut short a life whose work lay in the future. Born and bred in a zamindar family of East Bengal, Kiran Sankar developed in his youth love of literature of which Rabindranath Tagore was the shining star. His possibilities as a literary master were first nourished under the spacious eyes of Pramatha Nath Chowdhury who in his monthly *Sabuj Patra* (Green Leaves) broke new grounds in Bengali literature touching the traditions built up by Rabindranath but exceeding these in certain other respects. Kiran Sankar returned from England and joined the Presidency College as a professor. But fate decreed that this leisured life was not to be his; at the height of the Non-co-operation Movement, he bade goodbye to the old life and plunged into politics. Many a time has it appeared to us that Kiran Sankar was not made for a political and revolutionary role; he was more fitted for the role of "the power behind the throne"; the crown of thorns of the martyr and

the hero was not his to aspire; he could best frame the State's decrees and advise its actual administration. That vista August 15, 1947, opened out before him. And it remains a tragedy with Bengal's life that in the plenitude of his maturity as a public man, death should have called him away from us.

Dr. S. Sinha on Manbhum

Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha has prepared a memorandum controverting Bengal's claim to the Bengali-speaking tracts now in Bihar. The Memorandum consists of 12 chapters. In Chapter II, Dr. Sinha writes, "The areas claimed by West Bengal—Manbhum district, Dhalbhum sub-division of Singhbhum district and certain parts of Santal Parganas are all physically integral tracts of Chotanagpur plateau and had integrated to it for centuries." He has further stated therein that the extracts quoted by him "are unimpeachable authority in support of his contention that the areas known at various times as Kokra, Jharkhand or Chotanagpur had been beyond a shadow of doubt an integral part of Bihar for now nearly four centuries." The New Bengal Association refutes this statement and affirms that Dr. Sinha has attempted to build up his case on "unrealities."

In view of the urgency and importance of the case under review, we make no apology to reproduce in some detail extracts from the New Bengal Association's Rejoinder to Dr. Sinha's Memorandum:

Dr. Sinha has quoted the following, as first authority, from page 59 of *Bihar and Orissa First Decennial Review, for 1921-22, of the Administration and Development of the Province*, which was compiled during the term of office of Dr. Sinha as a member of the Executive Council of Bihar: "In the time of Emperor Akbar, Kokra or Jharkhand (as Chotanagpur was then called) formed part of Suba Bihar, and when in 1765 the Diwani of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa was granted by Emperor Shah Alam to East India Company, Chotanagpur came under British influence as an integral part of Bihar."

The author of the *Review* made the fundamental error that in the time of Akbar (A.D. 1556—A.D. 1605) the territory covered by present Chotanagpur (of five districts) used to be called Kokra. In reality Kokra (corruption of Khukra) was the name of the principality of Nagbansi Rajas whose capital was at Chutia in Pargana Khukra which up till now exists as a small village near present Ranchi. The principality was also called Chutia Nagpur or Nagpur. Its territory, including that of the subordinate estate of Ramgarh, roughly spread over the tracts of present Ranchi, and Hazaribagh Districts and part of Palamau. It has nothing to do with present Chotanagpur. Modern Chotanagpur was formed and named for the first time in 1854, covering the areas of five districts by Act of 1854. The Rajas of Ramgarh had, on each occasion of succession to the Gadi, to take "tilak" from the Nagvansi Raja's "big toe." (Hunter's *Statistical Account of Hazaribagh*, page 118).

Professor Blochman, the famous geographer, wrote in an article at pages 111 to 128 of vol. XI, 1871, of the

Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal:—"The fifth report on Bengal Finances under the East India Company by Grant has still Chutia Nagpur. On Rennell's maps we find Chutia Nagpur, and only in modern times do we find Chotanagpur, as if it was lesser Nagpur in contradistinction to the Nagpur of the Central Provinces. But Chutia (near modern Ranchi) was the residence of the old Rajas and was selected as capital by the fourth in descent from Phanimukut, "the serpent-crowned", the legendary ancestor of Chutia Nagpur Rajas. Abul Fazal called Chutianagpur by its old name Kokra, which is still the name of one of its Parganas. Kokra was known at the Moghul Court for its diamonds, and it is evidently this circumstance which led the generals of Akbar and Jahangir to invade the district."

Ramgarh estate threw off its allegiance to Chutia Nagpur about the time that a new district called Ramgarh was formed in 1780. When, in 1816 or 1817, magisterial powers were withdrawn from the Chutia Nagpur Raja, his estate also was made a part of Ramgarh district, and Regulation XIII of 1833 speaks of the following as parts of Ramgarh district: "Chota Nagpur, Palamau, Khuruckdiha Ramgarh and Koonda", making it perfectly clear that the expression "Chutia Nagpur" or even "Chotanagpur" up to that time was something very much less than the 27,000 square miles of country that went to form Chota Nagpur Division in 1854.

The author of the *Review* also made a clear mistake by stating that Jharkhand was the name of present Chotanagpur at the time of Akbar. Jharkhand means forest land. Three or four hundred years ago, the vast continuous jungle land of Orissa including Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, etc., West Bengal, present Chotanagpur, and several States, like Sarguja, Jashpur etc., further west of Chotanagpur States, was known as Jharkhand. The passage from *Manbhum District Gazetteer* quoted by Dr. Sinha says: "The whole of modern Chotanagpur and adjoining hill states was known as Jharkhand." So it is wrong to say that in the time of Akbar, Jharkhand was the name of present Chotanagpur. Properly speaking, present Chotanagpur was only a part of Jharkhand which extended far beyond the boundaries of present Chotanagpur. There was no definite name for the region formed by the five districts together which now constitute Chotanagpur. In those days, different tracts of present Chotanagpur were known by different names, e.g., Raj Palamau (roughly Palamau district), Khukra *alias* Chutianagpur *alias* Nagpur (roughly Ranchi District), Ramgarh (roughly Hazaribagh district), Porahat Raj and Kolhan (roughly Singhbhum district minus Dhalbhum) and Mandaran Sarkar (Manbhum district, Dhalbhum Sub-division within present Chotanagpur and other areas outside present Chotanagpur). Not only these tracts, but also forest areas of Orissa, including Sarguja and Jashpur States as stated above formed what is called Jharkhand.

From what has been discussed above, it is completely proved that Kokra *alias* Chutia Nagpur, which territorially was roughly identical with the present districts of Ranchi and Hazaribagh and a portion of Palamau district, within

vast forest land called Jharkhand, was a part of Suba Bihar. Nobody disputes that. But the rest of Jharkhand was not in Suba Bihar: Mayurbhanj, Keonjhar, Seraikala, Kharswan, Porahat, Bonai, Gangpur, Jashpur, Sarguja States, all parts of Jharkhand, were not in Suba Bihar. Manbhum and Dhalbhum, also in Jharkhand, were not in Suba Bihar. Dr. Sinha's first authority fails, therefore, to prove his case.

Subdivision Dhalbhum within Midnapur District of Bengal (1760-1833)—present Manbhum—corresponded with part of jungle Mahal Zilla of Bengal (1805-1843). Both were parts of South-West Frontier Agency (1833-54) and of Chotanagpur (1854-1912). All were under Government of Bengal (1765-1912), but never an integral part of Bihar.

The second extract on which Dr. Sinha relies is from Mr. Bradley Birt's "Chotanagpur—a Little known Province of the Empire." It runs as follows: "The famous compact of 1765 brought us first into touch with Chotanagpur, which was included in Bihar when the Diwani of that province, Bengal and Orissa was ceded by Emperor Shah Alam II. When first seriously taken in hand, (about 1780), a district was formed, and known as the Ramgarh Hill tract. It was a huge district including all Hazaribagh and Palamau with parts of Gaya, Monghyr and Manbhum. In 1833 Hazaribagh, Manbhum and, a few years later, Singhbhum, were formed into separate districts with their own local headquarters and Government officials." In 1854 the designation of the area was altered from the South-West Frontier Agency to Chotanagpur and the Agent to the Governor-General became the Commissioner.

The first portion of the extract has already been dealt with while scrutinising the similar observation made in the Decennial Review.

The latter portion of the extract does not contain any material to show that Manbhum and Dhalbhum were included in Bihar. It only shows the process of several stages of distribution of tracts for administrative purposes, by which eventually Manbhum and Singhbhum were formed into separate districts, but judicially linked with districts Bankura and Midnapur right up to 1910 as districts of Bengal Presidency, as stated previously. Here it must be mentioned that quotations from Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer* and *Agra and Calcutta Gazetteer* amply prove that after the grant of Diwani in 1765 the territory of present Chotanagpur was not included in Bihar as Bradley Birt wrongly writes.

Mr. Bradley Birt speaks of Ramgarh Hill Tract which, according to him, included Hazaribagh, Palamau, parts of Gaya, Monghyr and Manbhum. It is curious that Mr. Bradley Birt omits the biggest portion of Ramgarh Hill Tract viz. the district of Ranchi (then known as Lohardaga). Ramgarh is described on page 503, Vol. I of the Fifth Report as "an elevated region which forms part of Suba Bihar containing nearly 18,000 square miles." The aggregate area of Hazaribagh (7,016 square miles), Ranchi (7,159 square miles) and Palamau districts (4,901 square miles) being 19,076 square miles, it is for the reader to judge whether Ramgarh Hill Tract of 18,000 square miles had room for portions of Gaya, Monghyr, and Manbhum.

Why expect history from Mr. Bradley Birt who specialised in stories and romance?

Dr. Sinha has said that Emperor Jehangir in his Memoirs has described Kokra (or Jharkhand) as being under the control of Bihar and Patna—"in Walayet Taaba Suba Bihar wo Patna ast."

It has already been shown that Kokra which was in Suba Bihar corresponds roughly with territories of present Ranchi and Hazaribagh districts and a portion of Palam, and lay within Jharkhand. So the Emperor was perfectly right when he wrote the above. Dr. Sinha wrongly considers Kokra is identical with Chota Nagpur.

Lastly, Dr. Sinha has relied upon extracts from *Gazetteer of Manbhum District* edited by H. Coupland (1911) in support of his case. The only relevant extract out of them is:

"It is stated in the Pad-e-shah-nama that in 1633, Bir Narayan, Zamindar of Pachet, a country attached to Suba Bihar, was a Commander of 300 horses."

As Mr. Coupland has observed, geographical information was very vague in the Mughal Court at that time; and he has cited the instance of Sherghati being described as being in the mountains of Jharkhand, although Sherghat is in plain country within 25 miles of Gaya. The overwhelming evidence of long periods before and after Jehangir's time, showing that Pachet was in Suba Bengal, and not in Suba Bihar, leaves little doubt about the inaccuracy of the incidental remark in the Pad-e-shah-nama about Pachet being attached to Suba Bihar. Pad-e-shah-nama was compiled by courtiers of Shah Jehan.

Ain-i-Akbari affirms that Mandaran Sarkar included 16 Mahals amongst which were: Birbhum, Dhawalbhoom, Sainbhum, Shergharh commonly called Sikharbhum (the other name of Pachet at the time of Akbar). Niagar (misreading for Nawagarh).

Ain-i-Akbari (See Jarret's translation, vol. II, page 141) shows that Mandaran Sarkar has been described

- (i) as appertaining to Suba Bengal;
- (ii) as the Frontier Sarkar of Suba Bengal;
- (iii) as consisting of several Mahals of which Dhalbhum was one.

Ain-i-Akbari shows that:

- (i) Sikharbhum which is another name of Panchkote Raj appertained to Mandaran Sarkar;
- (ii) within the ambit of present Manbhum district, Panchkote was by far the largest Raj.

Mandaran Sarkar was a Mahal within Burdwan Chakla, carved out of Suba Bengal by Murshid Kuli Khan. (Firminger's Edition, Fifth Report, Vol. II. Page 189).

Farrukshyar made Murshid Kuli the Subadar of Bengal, who ruled from 1719 to 1727. In order to facilitate collection of revenue, Murshid Kuli Khan divided Suba Bengal into several sub-areas called Chaklas. One of those Chaklas was Burdhaman (Burdwan) chakla. This Burdwan chakla consisted of Sarkars Sarifabad, Mandaran, Peshkosh, greater portion of Satgaon Sarkar. The prosperous zemindari of Burdwan Raj, one-third of Birbhum and two of the revenue paying Rajas of Bisnupur and Panchkote were within Burdwan Chakla.

Pachet Raj paid revenue in Murshidabad Treasury.—Garur Narayan of Pachete (Panchkote) paid revenue Rs. 13,203 into the Murshidabad Treasury from 1727 to 1747 (Hunter's *Statistical Account of Manbhum*, page 323) and payment of this revenue by Panchkot Raj continued till 1793, the time of Permanent settlement.

Firminger's edition Fifth Report vol. II.—It is stated in page 198, that the western boundary of Panchkote was Chutia Nagpur and Ramgarh which finds corroboration with the recital in *Ain-i-Akbari* quoted before; in pages 248 and 249, that Panchkote has all along been in Bengal; in page 398, that Panchkote appertained to Sarkar Mandaran of Burdwan Chakla. Lastly, page 128 shows that, according to Shore's Report dated 18th June 1789, Panchkote was within the ambit of Muhammad Reza Khan's (the Naib Nazim of Bengal) settled mehals.

J. Rennel's maps (1779) conclusively prove that whole of Manbhum and Dhalbhum were parts of Bengal and that they were never in Chutia Nagpur or Ramgarh;

Map No. VII shows that Dolboom, Burrahboom, Manbhoom, Patcoom, Pachete, Jaldoe, Juriaghar and Niagar were within Bengal;

Map. No. II shows that Dumka and Jamtara were within Birbhum;

Map No. III (which is of South Bihar) completely excludes Dhanbad, Jharria.

From the above unimpeachable evidence (see also pp. 4 to 6), it is clear that Manbhum and Dhalbhum were parts of Suba Bengal in the time of Akbar (1556-1607), and continued to be so during the time of Murshid Kuli Khan (1685-1727), and when Grant wrote his successive Reports on Bengal's Finance and Rennel prepared his maps in 1779 for Governor-General Warren Hastings till Shore's time (1793-1798). After the Diwani Grant (1765), in the absence of any overt act, the component parts of Suba Bihar remained in Bihar, and those of Suba Bengal remained in Bengal. This condition was disturbed for the first time in 1912 when Manbhum and Dhalbhum (which were parts of Suba Bengal) were transferred to the Bihar Administration by the creation of the New Province, Bihar and Orissa. This was at once followed by continued opposition by the people of Bengal and those of the transferred tracts. Hence the questions of Res Judicata or of adverse possession do not arise as Dr. Sinha is prompted to remark.

In 1912 Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha, jointly with four other prominent leaders of Bihar (Deep Narayan Singh, Parmeswar Lal, Muhammad Faqrudin and Nand Kishore Lal) made the following public statement:

"The whole district of Manbhum and pargana Dhalbhum of Singhbhum district are Bengali-speaking, and they should go to Bengal, the rest of the Division (Chota Nagpur) remaining in Bihar. * * Such tracts in the Santhal Parganas where the prevailing language is Bengali should go to Bengal, and the Hindi-speaking tracts of the district remain in Bihar. * * If these arrangements are carried out, they would meet with the approval of both Bengal and Bihar."

SOME SALIENT CHARACTERISTICS OF FEDERAL GOVERNMENTS

By R. N. PARIKH, M.A., LL.B.

A federation is a peculiar form of association of States. Certain conditions must exist for its formation as well as its success. As for example, a feeling of Common Nationality must pervade the citizens who must 'desire Union, and must not desire unity.' If they desire unity, the background will be for a unitary State rather than for a federal State. As Dicey says:

"The sentiment . . . which creates a federal state is the prevalence throughout among the citizens of more or less allied countries of two feelings which are to a certain extent inconsistent—the desire for national unity and the determination to maintain the independence of each man's separate state. The aim of federalism is to give effect as far as possible to both these sentiments. A federal State is a political contrivance intended to reconcile national unity and power with the maintenance of State rights."

Thus, being a typical association, a federal State has certain peculiarities—both in theory and practice. It gives rise to certain unusual problems, as for example, division of powers, interpretation of Constitution, amendment of the Constitution, etc., which are totally unknown to a Unitary State. In fact, in a federation the powers are so dispersed and divided that it is very much difficult to locate sovereignty. As Laski says, it is an impossible adventure. Hence a Federal Government differs from a Unitary Government in many respects. So far as the general organisation of a federal government is concerned, certain common principles must be observed in framing a federal constitution.

SUPREMACY OF THE CONSTITUTION

First of all, the constitution must be supreme, whether it is written or not. This obviously follows from the fact that both the Central and Regional Governments should derive their powers from the Constitution itself. To this extent, at least it should be supreme. As a corollary to the supremacy of the constitution it follows that it should be written to ensure definiteness. All modern federal as well as quasi-federal constitutions have been reduced to writing.

The supremacy of the constitution has been expressed in Article VI(2) of the Constitution of the U. S. A. which reads:

"This Constitution and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every state shall be bound thereby, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding."

As Chancellor Kent says:

"Every Act of Congress and every Act of the Legislatures of the States, and every part of the Constitution of any State, which are repugnant to the Constitution of the United States are necessarily void."

The Constitutions of Canada and Australia do not contain similar declarations, none the less the principle of supremacy of the constitution has been recognised. As their Constitutions were created by the Parliament of the United Kingdom they were supreme laws. Even the Statute of Westminster did not grant the right of repealing the Constitution to the dominion concerned.

It was said in the Imperial Conference of 1930 about Australia that

"The continued authority of the Constitution is essential to the maintenance of the Federal System."—*Report of the Conference on the Operation of the Dominion Legislation.*

In the case of Switzerland, laws passed by the general legislature (Federal Assembly) are treated as valid. Though it may go beyond its sphere no court can take action. Thus the supremacy of the constitution has not been realised. It is clear that the power of amendment should not be left exclusively either with the general Government or with the Regional Government. Both of them should have their say in the matter. This has been observed in the case of the U.S.A.

IMPORTANCE OF JUDICIAL TRIBUNALS

As the division of powers is indispensable in a federation, there should be an independent body to act as a custodian and watch-dog of the exercise of these powers. This principle has been recognised in all the federations but is not strictly followed in practice. As a rule, the judicial courts are entrusted with these functions. The courts which have this power are given wide powers of interpreting the whole of the constitution. That is not quite necessary.

Canada has a unique arrangement in this regard inasmuch as the constitutional disputes are decided by an outside authority—the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. But this practice may not last long.

In Australia, disputes regarding the division of powers are decided by the High Court of Australia. Its judges are appointed by the Central executive and are removable on an address of the two Houses of the Parliament of the Commonwealth. The High Court can permit an appeal to the Judicial Committee, but so far it has done once only. In the U.S.A., the Supreme Court is the deciding authority. Its Judges are appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate and may be removed by an impeachment of the House of Representatives before the Senate when two-thirds majority of the Senators present is necessary.

In the case of Switzerland, though the laws of the General Legislature cannot be declared invalid, 30,000 citizens or eight cantons may demand to submit the law to the referendum of the people. Thus the electorate has the final authority.

As the power of appointment of judge is vested

in the general executive, it may some time happen that those persons who are in favour of a strong Centre as against the Units may be appointed as judges, as for example, the appointment of Senator Hugo L. Black in 1936 made by President Franklin Roosevelt in the U.S.A.

In the U.S.A., there has been only one case of impeachment of a judge of the Supreme Court. Samuel Chase was impeached in 1804-5, as an attempt by the Republicans to belittle the status of the Supreme Court. It, however, failed as Justice Chase was acquitted. The Senate has the power to disapprove the appointment of any judge. In 1930, the Senate disapproved appointment of Parker made by President Hoover as it felt that he was a Conservative and would interpret the constitution in that spirit. Though as a rule, President's nominees have been accepted, up to 1944, there were in all twenty-one disapprovals.

As a matter of fact, the Supreme Court should not be dependent either upon the regional or Central Government. Its independence however does not necessarily mean a good or a perfect federal Government.

The function of a judicial tribunal to act as the interpreter of the constitution is not universally accepted. Some people may argue, why the court which constitutes one of the divisions of the government should have control over the other branches? It may be also argued that the Courts themselves may act unconstitutionally in which case there is no legal remedy. According to another view, the functions which the Supreme Court in the U.S.A. exercise today have not been assigned to it by the Constitution but they have been more or less assumed by the Court. These arguments are not sound. As Alexander Hamilton in the *Federalist* writes:

"The interpretation of the laws is the proper and peculiar province of the courts—the constitution ought to be preferred to the statute, the intention of the people to the intention of their agents."

Chief Justice Marshall put forward the same argument in the case of *Marbury vs. Madison* in 1803. He said:

"It is emphatically the province and duty of the judicial department to say what the law is."

In the United States, the Supreme Court has given fifteen adverse decisions by a majority of one, thus thwarting the will of the people as expressed through the elected legislature. There is no better alternative. According to one suggestion, if a law of the general Government be declared void by Supreme Court, it should be re-submitted to the Legislature and if repassed either with a two-thirds majority, or after a general election, it should be considered valid. In Switzerland, the last word is with the electorate. That scheme, however, may not succeed in other federations.

In a federation, there should be a dual system of courts—one for the general Government, and another for the regional Governments.

This principle has been followed to some extent only in the U.S.A. There are federal courts and there is a set of state courts, with a Supreme Court in each State. A high authority like Bryce exaggerated the real situation by saying that each set of courts has exclusive jurisdiction. There are many judicial matters within the power of the U.S.A. in which both sets of courts have concurrent jurisdiction. Though there is a parallel system of courts in the United States, the jurisdiction of each system is not exclusive. Briefly it may be said that the two systems interlock. In Australia, though provided by the Constitution the system of parallel courts has not been observed in actual practice. The highest court is known as the High Court; and the Parliament can establish inferior courts. The state courts also act as federal courts. High Court is a court of appeal for all types of cases which make its jurisdiction much wider than that of the Supreme Court of the U.S.A.

In Switzerland, the Cantonal courts also act for the general Government as well as the Central Government. The Federal Tribunal is a court of appeal over the Cantonal courts. It has appellate jurisdiction in civil cases involving a sum of four thousand francs or more, from the Cantonal courts of final appeal.

In Canada, there is more or less a unified system of courts. All judges are appointed and paid by the Government of the Dominion. The provinces regulate the procedure of provincial courts in civil matters. The Supreme Court has an appellate jurisdiction in both civil and criminal matters from provincial courts. In civil matters, an appeal can lie to the Privy Council.

From this analysis, it will be seen that there is no uniformity in the structure of the courts in the federations.

As a rule, the Supreme Court of the General Government has appellate jurisdiction and original jurisdiction in some matters. In Canada, Australia, Switzerland and partly in the U.S.A., the General Government has entrusted the work of interpreting the law of the General Government to the regional courts. In all the federations, the Supreme Court has got some sort of power of interpreting the constitution and except in Switzerland they can pronounce upon the validity of the acts of the general as well as regional legislatures. It is to be noted that these powers have been given to the court of the General Government and not to that of the regional.

Among all the four notable federations, Australia and Canada have given widest powers of constitutional interpretation to their highest courts. For in Switzerland, the Federal Tribunal has no power to declare the act of the General Legislature invalid. In the U.S.A., the Supreme Court has no direct or definite power of interpreting the constitutional law of the States. It has no power of a general court of appeal as in Australia and Canada. However, it may extend

its authority in the exercise of its power of interpreting the Constitution of the United States. The Constitution declares that "all legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in the Congress of the United States." In 1933, the Congress passed the National Industry Recovery Act. It was declared unconstitutional in 1935 on the ground that the Congress attempted to delegate its exclusive legislative power to the President. Again the fifth and fourteenth Amendments declare, *inter alia*, that no person shall be "deprived of life, liberty or property, *without due process of law*." The interpretation of these vague terms has extended the authority of the Courts to the States also. The effect of the rulings of the Supreme Court was tremendous. As Professor Brogan says :

"Not only did it (the Supreme Court) cripple both State and Federal Governments, but when it did permit them to exercise some of the authorities of sovereignty, it did so under the disguise of special and exceptional grants."

From 1937, the Supreme Court has begun to change this policy, by removing "shackles which has handicapped" the general and regional Governments.

Besides the constitutional law, the supreme courts exercise vast influence in the field of ordinary law also. In this respect the High Court of Australia and the Supreme Court of Canada have wider powers than the highest courts of other federations. The Swiss Federal Tribunal has appellate jurisdiction for all important civil cases of the Cantons. The Supreme Court of the U.S.A. does not directly enjoy such a general power. But as the court has jurisdiction of hearing cases of different states, some sort of uniformity has been attained so far as civil law is concerned.

Cases involving less than \$3,000 are tried in State courts, but cases involving a higher amount may be brought in the federal courts. According to Judiciary Act of 1789, the laws of the several States should prevail. But in the case of the law relating to the Negotiable Instruments, the Supreme Court decided in a famous case, *Swift V. Tyson* (1842) that it was bound to follow State Statutes and it was free to build up a body of "Federal Common Law." In 1938, this decision was reversed declaring that "there is nothing like federal common law." It was decided by a majority of six judges to two, in the case of *Erie Railroad Co. v. Tompkins* (1938) that the law to be enforced in cases of diverse citizenship must be that laid down by the Courts of the State where the cause of action arose.

The constitutions of the U.S.A., Australia and Switzerland, empower the Supreme Courts in the original jurisdiction to decide inter-state disputes. In Canada, reference can be made in such cases to the High Court.

The constitutions of the U.S.A. and Australia require the states to give "full faith and credit" to the public acts, records and judicial proceedings of every

State. This refers to civil matters only. This means that a State may not assist another State in enforcing its criminal law. Difficulties are bound to arise owing to difference in the laws of various States. In the field of divorce, as for example, the Supreme Court has held that a State is not bound to recognise all divorces granted by the courts of other States. The result is that even though divorce has been granted in one State, another State may not permit to marry the person again, as the Court may not take cognizance of the divorce.

It may be concluded that the Judicial Tribunals in the federations exercise vast and imperceptible influence over the whole range of life. In the U.S.A., the power of adjudication is not so extensive as in Australia and Canada. None the less the influence of the courts is much more than what may appear at first sight. According to a decision in 1938 in the case of *The Erie Railroad Case*, the Supreme Court, it seems, has resolved to confine its field to the constitutional matters only. Even if that be so, the field is vast enough, as many questions arise in which the meaning and interpretation of the constitution becomes necessary. What is the most important point to bear in mind is that there is no uniformity in the organization of the Judicial Courts of the federations.

DIVISION OF POWERS

A Federal Government is based upon the division of powers between the Centre and the Units. The implications of the division of powers are that both regional and general Governments have jurisdiction over certain matters assigned to each of them. There may be concurrent jurisdiction also. In that case, there should be one decisive authority having final jurisdiction. This means the authority having superior power has potentially exclusive jurisdiction. But it is absolutely necessary in a federation that both the Governments must have exclusive jurisdiction over at least some matters. In all federations, there is a provision for concurrent jurisdiction in a varying degree. In Canada, only immigration and agriculture are in the concurrent field. In the United States and Australia, the concurrent field includes even such subjects as the armed forces, and charges upon imports and exports. However in these fields the regions exercise these powers at the pleasure of the General Government. In all other matters the Regional Government need not ask for the consent of the General Government. Unless and until the General Government legislates upon the same subjects, the law of the States can prevail. In Switzerland, the concurrent field is smaller than that in the U.S.A. and Australia, but wider than that in Canada.

It is obvious that the arrangement of a concurrent list provides a fertile ground for constitutional disputes. In view of this, it may seem that the most desirable arrangement would be either to determine

the exclusive powers of the General Government, leaving the residuary powers to the States, or *vice versa*.

If there are two exclusive lists as well as a concurrent list as is found in Canada and in the Draft Constitution of India, disputes between the Federal Government and the Regional Government arise frequently and in a variety of forms. "A second exclusive list is a great nuisance" as the experiences of courts in Canada testify. The simplest form of division may be to have one list only and to make it exclusive. But when sovereign States federate, a concurrent list has to be provided in order that till the General Government is stabilised and organised, the regions may enjoy these powers which may be later on taken over by the General Government.

The question of residual powers is quite important in a federation. Some writers go to the extreme of saying that if the residual powers are assigned to the General Government, one of the salient characteristics of a federation is set at naught. They maintain that in a federation, residuary powers should be given to the Units. In the U.S.A., Switzerland and Australia, the Units—regional Governments enjoy the residuary powers; while in Canada, the General Government has control over residuary powers. Thus, there are two methods of allocating the residuary powers—the

American method and the Canadian method. Neither method is perfect. As regards the American method, it may be pointed out that when a new subject of national importance emerges and which has not been foreseen at the time of drafting the constitution, an awkward situation arises. The subject of aviation is an instance to the point.

Though the constitution of India as provided by the Act of 1935 was at least quasi-federal the enumeration of powers assigned to both Governments and concurrent powers was sought to be made complete. Three legislative lists were given. The first dealt with the exclusive jurisdiction of the Central Government under fifty-nine heads; the second one enumerated the exclusive powers of the provincial Governments under fifty-four heads and the third list contained matters of concurrent jurisdiction under thirty-six heads.

Is concurrent jurisdiction necessary and desirable? From the experiences of federations, it may be concluded that a system of concurrent jurisdiction may be adopted as a transitional measure. In practice, however, the system of a short exclusive list and a somewhat longish concurrent list may prove to be the best, though not a perfect method. What is most important is the tradition, outlook and temperament of the people.

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THE NEW "COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS"

By PROF. K. V. RAO, M.A., M.Litt.

LORD BRYCE once wrote :

"Every creation of a new scheme of government is a precious addition to the political resources of mankind. It represents a survey and scrutiny of the constitutional experience of the past. It embodies an experiment full of instruction for the future."

Dr. Ivor Jennings wrote in his book *Cabinet Government* that

"The distinction between laws and conventions is not really of fundamental importance. A constitution necessarily rests on the acquiescence, whether it is established by referendum or tacit approval or by force. If an organised public opinion regards it as noxious it will be overthrown."

It is in the light of the above two quotations that the new "Commonwealth of Nations" should be examined.

The British are said to be the most conservative of people but yet their constitution is an ever-changing one. It is the most flexible of constitutions and it is in this country that the difference between the ordinary law and a constitutional law or the difference between a law and convention vanishes into thin air. It is also here that we find a gradual growth and evolution in the constitutional set-up of the country and what is now called the "Commonwealth." To understand the

significance of the new name and its constitutional structure, a study of the historical background is essential. We will however confine ourselves to the 20th century for it is in this century that all the important changes have taken place in the 'Empire.'

By the beginning of this century we find the old 'Dominions' already formed and the only question that has engaged the attention of all was the best way in which the national aspiration of the Dominions could be reconciled with the concept of an 'Empire.' Not that the whole process was evolved without a struggle, but the struggle was always one of a constitutional nature and, with the only exception of Ireland, there was no question of breaking the ties with the mother country or seceding from the 'Empire.'

Till the outbreak of the first World War (1914-1918), the question was one of giving more and more 'autonomy' to the Dominions in their own internal administration. During this period the Dominions succeeded in establishing their right of internal government and even concluding some commercial treaties which were of special interest to them. As yet they had little control over their foreign policy and for international purposes they did not yet exist; they had no power to declare war and peace and no right to have separate diplomatic representatives. In

all important international conferences Great Britain still continued to do the job on their behalf also.

After the outbreak of the war of 1914-18 begins another period of development of the Dominions. Whatever internal differences were there among the Dominions and the Mother Country, the War bridged up the gulf and all the Dominions and India veered round England and accepted its leadership. It was at this time the idea of a sort of an Imperial Federation for all the 'Empire countries' was strongly mooted and advocated not only by the leaders in England but by some very responsible people in the Dominions also. There was an Imperial War Conference and an Imperial War Cabinet that seemed to pave the way towards the dream of a new solar system moving round England. But the idea did not survive long and soon afterwards the old differences came to the surface and the idea of an Imperial Federation receded into the background.

The Imperial War Conference was held in the year 1917 and in this meeting were struggling national aspirations and imperialist claims to find a common platform. At last a *via media* was found and the Dominions and India succeeded in piloting a resolution which claimed "an adequate voice in foreign policy and in foreign relations" and "effective arrangements for continuous consultations in all important matters of common imperial concern, and for such necessary concerted action, founded on consultation, as the several Governments may determine."

It must be remembered that the League of Nations was not yet born and therefore the idea of what we may call 'double loyalty' was still strange to the various peoples of the world; still the people of the British Empire did succeed in having a sort of loyalty to the Imperial concept without in any way reducing their sense of patriotism towards their own country. At the end of the War, the Dominions found their own place in the International political field. At the signing of the Peace Treaties the Dominions had their own representation. They were again all admitted, including India which was not then a Dominion, as original members of the League of Nations and each was given a seat in the Assembly in its own right. Some of the Dominions were given mandates to manage and for the first time Canada succeeded in establishing separate representation at Washington.

With the end of the War and signing of the Peace Treaty the old urge for Imperial sentiment soon vanished and there was a comparative lull, and 'behind the curtain' attempts were made by Britain to retrace the steps she herself took in allowing the Dominions to acquire an independent international status. No separate invitations to attend in their own right were issued to the Dominions to the Washington Conference of 1921, and Great Britain made an attempt to make good this omission by arranging an Empire delegation consisting of the representatives of all the Empire by, as General Smuts called it, "slipping in

some Dominion statesmen through a back door." At subsequent International Conferences such as at Geneva, however, the Dominions were adequately represented. Attempts were again made to have a sort of a centralised executive for the whole Empire—a 'governing body for the Empire'—but the people of the Dominions were so much chilled in their enthusiasm for the idea that what was a few days ago named as a 'Peace Cabinet'—a meeting of the Prime Ministers—had to be changed soon into 'a Conference of Prime Ministers.'

Then we come to the period between 1922 and 1931 when the conflict between theoretical aspirations and practical realities brought a number of changes in the relations of the 'Empire countries' with one another and in the status of the Dominions. As early as 1922 Canada drove the first nail into the Imperial coffin by openly declaring that she would never join England if the latter declares war without consulting Canada. Then came two important treaties into existence which brought about clearly how individual affairs do not concern the other Dominions—the Halibut Fisheries Treaty of Canada and the Lausanne Treaty signed by Britain. The first treaty between the U.S.A. and the Dominion of Canada was signed by the Canadian representative alone without the British Ambassador. When Great Britain signed the Lausanne Treaty with some of the leading European countries there was not even a pretence of consultation with the Dominions. Mr. Mackenzie King, the then Prime Minister of Canada, insisted on calling it only a bilateral treaty entered into by Great Britain in her own individual capacity and declared that "if Great Britain were to allow Canada to conclude her own Fisheries Treaty, Canada must allow Great Britain to conclude her own Treaty of Lausanne." Then came the Imperial Conference of 1923. Lord Curzon was the central figure here and he wanted to bind all the Empire countries to one policy in all international conferences, but cold shoulder was given to his proposals—and the Conference took quite the contrary decisions. The Conference decided that the Dominions could conclude their own international agreements without even a nominal control by Great Britain, but in all cases all parts of the Empire should be fully kept informed of all the developments. However, in all cases of International Conferences, the Empire countries should be represented by one British Empire delegation.

While it was Great Britain that was insisting largely on maintaining the unity of the Empire, what she really wanted was that the Dominions should accept her leadership in all Imperial and international matters. Otherwise it is difficult to explain some of the blunders she committed in this period. The first was the recognition that she gave to Soviet Russia. She took the decision on her own responsibility even though she afterwards apologised to the other Dominions for not consulting them. Another blunder was committed

when the Dominions were altogether left out from the Inter-Allied Conference on the Dawes Report in 1924. The Locarno Treaty brought about the cleavage still further. Meanwhile, Ireland gave another nail to the Imperial coffin by insisting on the Anglo-Irish Articles of Agreement to be registered with the League of Nations, and though the British Government objected to this, they had to yield in the end. The Agreement was duly registered and published by the League, through the Imperial Conference of 1926 refused to recognise the validity of the Irish contention.

By the year 1925, the Dominions reached such a stage of development that the British Government thought it advisable to create a separate Dominions Department out of the old Colonial Department. And the Dominions freely appointed their own diplomatic representatives in all the countries according to their own desire. The Imperial Conference held in 1926 consolidated the results of the growing relations of the Dominions with England which was crystallised into the Balfour Report. For the first time in the history of the 'Empire' it was laid down that

"The Dominions were autonomous communities within the British Empire, equal in status, in no way subordinate one to another in any aspect of their domestic or external affairs though united by a common allegiance to the Crown and freely associated as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations."

In other words, it was now recognised that the Dominions were fully sovereign bodies and the only binding feature was that the Dominions and Great Britain happened to have the same King, though the King was the King for each of the countries separately. This point was clearly brought about by the provision that henceforward the Governor-General of each Dominion would represent the King in his individual capacity as the King of the concerned Dominion but not the British Government. Henceforward the treaties, etc. concluded by Great Britain were not binding on the Dominions unless ratified by the respective governments. Some of the Dominions subsequently abolished the right of appeal of their nationals to the Privy Council. Then was born the Statute of Westminster in 1931 which simply put the practice of Dominion relationship into a legal form. "The legal theory of the Commonwealth at last caught up with events; the constitution *de facto* (became) in its essentials the constitution *de jure*."

In order to understand the spirit behind the Statute of Westminster one should remember the heterogeneous character of the Commonwealth and Empire. Of the six Dominions then Ireland was certainly anti-British in the sense that Ireland could never reconcile itself to the separation of Ulster. Canada contains a large proportion of French-speaking people who were never fond of any British connection; and moreover the interests of Canada were more linked with the American continent than with Europe.

Newfoundland was never a solvent country and its voice counted for nothing in the counsels of the Empire statesmen. South Africa has more whites with Dutch blood than with English blood, and the Boers, notwithstanding Smuts and his admirers, never forgot the trouble they received from England all the previous years. Australia and New Zealand alone had population of the whites with pure English origin and they alone of the Dominions were really enthusiastic for any permanent connections with Great Britain. Political and military considerations were also responsible for Canada to lose enthusiasm and for Australia and New Zealand to grow enthusiastic. Ireland and South Africa were even talking about the right to secede from the Empire and this was explicitly conceded by the Statute of Westminster. Dominions got complete power over their domestic and external policies and it is really impossible for the jurist to say what exactly are the real legal ties that bind the Commonwealth countries together. It was at the same time a loose as well as a strong link and in spite of the great strains to which the whole structure was subjected subsequently the whole illusion continued to the present day and would have continued but for the talk of India to declare a republic and Burma seceding from the Empire.

How loose was the link and yet how strong the sentiment was amply demonstrated the very next year when the Ottawa Pact was concluded. It was not really Britain that dictated terms there and business-sense played a large part. From one point of view this Ottawa Conference was a great success in that it showed to the world that the British Empire countries could sit together and arrive at conclusions faced by a crisis, economic or political. In another sense it was a blow to the prestige of the Commonwealth as every country weighed the clauses from the strict business viewpoint and from the gains the Pact would bestow upon its own nationals.

The real strain came with the abdication of King Edward VIII which required the ratification of all the Dominion Parliaments. All the Dominions were in fact consulted and they agreed. People expected Ireland to disagree and in this case a piquant situation would have arisen whereby Ireland would continue to have Edward and the rest of the Commonwealth George VI and yet they would have all continued in the same Commonwealth. But Ireland did not do any such thing and quietly agreed to the abdication, but took the opportunity of abolishing the post of the Governor-Generalship and in its place had a President elected by the people. Yet Ireland continued to be a member of the Commonwealth and in all its foreign relations its dealings were carried through the fiction of the King. The real character of the British Commonwealth was fully exposed at the time of the declaration of War in 1939. This time, throughout the negotiations with Hitler, Britain was careful enough to keep the Dominions fully informed. But the actual declaration of

War had to be done by all the Dominions separately and actually Ireland remained neutral. And in South Africa there was a party in opposition then (now in power) that actually sympathised with Hitler and his ideology; and if that party were in power then, perhaps, we could have seen the Commonwealth countries even fighting with each other during the World War II.

But actually we have seen the Commonwealth countries fighting with each other on other issues with only a degree less than the declaration of war. Take the example of the treatment of Indians in South Africa and the economic sanctions that India had to apply. The case was taken to the U. N. and there we saw the Commonwealth countries in an awkward position. Later on when India and Pakistan became Dominions they did fight with each other (and are still fighting now) though no formal war has been declared; and when the issue was taken to the U. N., many felt it to be a blow to the Commonwealth idea. The most awkward position would have been that of the Crown; His Majesty declaring war against himself and the R.I.A.F. fighting with the R.P.A.F. The last and final blow had yet to come with Ireland's intention of abolishing the last ties that connected the country with the English Crown.

This is the background against which the recent Commonwealth Prime Ministers' meeting took place in London. Meanwhile more important issues came into prominence. When India and Pakistan were created Dominions the implications were fully discussed with all the other Dominions who were not very anxious not to get into any close relationship with these two new Dominions on grounds of race. And then there was the European theatre where nothing less than a melodrama was being enacted. Russia was extending her influence over more and more of Europe and unless a halt could be called soon, the whole of Europe would be behind the 'iron curtain.' England after the recent war had to give up all its old pretence of 'balance of power' and actually become one of the major powers to defend Western Europe and it has been busy arranging a Western Defence Plan. There is again the talk of forming a sort of Federation of some of the European countries. The implications of England being involved in any such permanent arrangement with Western Europe which meant certain war in the nearest future and its repercussions on the Commonwealth should be thrashed out fully in a conference of all the parties.

But for one important factor arising in the East, the recent Conference would have met in less enthusiastic circumstances. It is the Communist menace in the East also. No doubt the Communists have been active in China for a long time but there was a tendency in the West as well as in the U.S.A. to regard this as a revolt of a few peasants for agrarian reforms who were not getting any great help from Russia. But the recent risings in the East Indies, in

Burma and Malaya have opened the eyes of all to the *common danger* that faces the world today. Otherwise there was no enthusiasm and certainly no eagerness to reaffirm the faith of the people in the British Commonwealth, especially on the part of India and South Africa, probably it was on that ground alone that Ireland decided to secede from the Commonwealth. So something other than the 'Crown' as the common binding force had to be found to have a common meeting ground for all these heterogeneous countries to reaffirm their faith in common brotherhood.

The clue to the new binding force was supplied by the experience gained in the last war. The Imperial War Cabinet was no doubt there but it was not there because they all had common allegiance to the Crown but because they had common ideology—the faith in democracy as against dictatorship. So a common ideology would serve the purpose better than the common Crown and hence it was that the Conference succeeded. The countries that gathered there had two ties binding them. One was the historical circumstance and the other was the growing danger of Communism. The latter is now a world force and it could sway the countries one day unless all of them were on their own guard. It is this one factor that has made the Conference such an unqualified success.

While the new name given to this family of nations by omitting 'British' satisfies the hitherto grudging members of the Commonwealth and facilitates all of them to live together without sacrificing any of their principles, it brings about other complications in international politics which require some examination here. All the nations have now recognised the U.N.O. as the only international organisation for acting as a super-organisation over the sovereign national states. Till now nobody could take objection to the British Commonwealth of Nations because the word 'British' there indicated a family affinity which nobody could question. Now if the 'British' were to be omitted and the uniting force is considered to be nothing but economic and political ideology, what exactly is its position vis-a-vis the United Nations Organisation? Anybody could accuse the Commonwealth as trying to form a 'group' and by-passing the U.N.O. Moreover, how could anybody then prevent other groups being formed, specially Russia with all its satellite countries? It is no doubt true that the official communique issued after the end of the Prime Ministers' Conference tried to emphasise that "fundamentally this approach is based upon their support of the objectives of the United Nations as an instrument for world peace and their determination to make its work fully effective." But it is not enough to satisfy the critics and in the nearest future we may expect sharp reaction from Russia and soon the world may break away into many camps, though finally into two fundamental camps—the Communist and the anti-Communist.

THE SOIL, CROPS AND FOOD ECONOMY OF BENGAL

By PROF. KARUNAMOY MUKERJEE, M.A., P.R.S.

CAUSE OF LOW YIELD FROM SOIL

IN an attempt to examine the many-sided organisational set-up of agricultural production in Bengal, we have to note that the family holdings are mostly small, uneconomic and fragmented; that the small holders have progressively been expropriated or dispossessed from land; that the technique of cultivation is backward; that proper irrigational facilities are lacking and that the rain water is ill-distributed. And what are the results? The results are embodied in the over-all agricultural decay in the province and the economic insecurity for the overwhelming majority of cultivators. These points we shall not discuss in this paper; but one point which may be emphasised here is that, generally speaking, the inefficiency in agricultural organisation in this province has been responsible for low returns from the soil. What we mean is that owing to the lack of proper planning, investment and organisation, the crop-bearing capacity of the land has not been fully harnessed. The low acreage yield of crops, which is statistically measured in tables 2 to 5 below, is not so much due to the exhaustion of the soil as to the absence of improved technical aid.

THE PROPERTIES OF SOIL IN BENGAL

It is, however, difficult to state precisely, in terms of arithmetical proportions, as to how much of the reported low yield is due to organisational backwardness and how much to the inferior properties of the soil. It is well known that the soil of Bengal is mainly of alluvial origin—the old alluvium and the new alluvium. It is expected, therefore, that her soils should be very fertile. But this expectation is somewhat belied by the results of experiments so far carried out on certain soils in different Government Farms in Bengal. The results of the Chemical analysis of soils in three different districts are given in the following table:

TABLE I
Chemical Properties of Soils in Bengal*

	Manikpal, Lalgarh, Midnapore		Chittagong- Pahartoli proposed Farm site		Sunti Low (Dacca Farm)	
	0"-6"	6"-12"	0"-6"	6"-12"	0"-6"	6"-12"
Loss on ignition	2.49	3.12	2.87	2.77	2.04	2.86
Insoluble residue	84.45	80.33	86.81	84.22	90.87	86.19
K ₂ O	0.70	0.91	0.73	0.86	0.26	0.38
K ₂ O	0.71	0.75	0.33	0.35	0.16	0.13
MgO	0.59	0.81	0.68	0.80	0.18	0.18
Al ₂ O ₃	6.23	0.04	5.19	6.39	4.08	6.58
Fe ₂ O ₃	4.38	5.50	2.92	3.75	1.55	2.66
Mn ₂ O ₄	0.05	0.05	0.15	0.15	0.01	0.01
P ₂ O ₄	0.05	0.06	0.04	0.03	0.04	0.03
Nitrogen	0.04	0.03	0.08	0.06	0.06	0.06

* For figures of this table, vide Annual Report of the Dept. of Agriculture, Bengal, 1939-40, portions relating to Agricultural Chemist's report.

It will be noted from the table above that the soils of all the three farms located in widely distant places within the province are deficient in nitrogen. Potash is present in the first two farm-soils in moderate quantities but is low in the third. Lime is present in the first in moderate amount, but is much less in the other two, being the lowest in the third. Phosphate contents of the soils of the last two farms are also less than that of the first. Other compounds are present in varying proportions.**

YIELD OF CROPS PER ACRE

The deficiency in the chemical properties of the soil, particularly in nitrogen, coupled with the organisational backwardness and the lack of technical improvement, has been mirrored in the low acreage yield of crops in the province. The following table gives the 'Normal' as well as the actual average yield of certain crops over a series of years. It will be noticed that there is a wide divergence between the 'Normal' and 'actual' yields in respect of each particular crop:

TABLE 2
Yield of Crops per acre in Bengal[†]
(in maunds)

Crops	Normal yield	Actual average yield
Aman paddy	20	15.5
Aus paddy	19	12.9
Boro paddy	23	..
Jute	17.8	14.5
Gram	11.4	8
Pulses	11	..
Mustard	7.6	5.4
Linseed	7.4	4.5
Til (sisamum)	7.4	5.1
Sugarcane (gur)	56.4	38.4
Tobacco	8	..

DIMINISHING ACREAGE YIELD

The average yield of crops as seen from the table above, is not only much lower than the 'Normal' yield, but, as shown below, has itself continued to diminish from period to period. This is true not only of the regions surveyed by this author (one of which is

** Vide *Agricultural Economies of Bengal* by P. K. Roy, p. 70.

1. The above standard of "Normal Yield" was adopted by Land Revenue Commission (L. R. C.), Bengal, (vide Report, Vol. II, pp. 89-99). The "Normal Yield" has been estimated as per Season and Crop Report, Bengal, 1935-36, except in the case of tobacco.

Note 1.—The expression "Normal Yield" has been used in the sense that it is the figure which in the existing circumstances might be expected to be attained in the year if the rainfall and season were of a character ordinary for the tract under consideration, that is, neither very favourable nor the reverse. (Vide foot-note to p. 89, Vol. II, Report, L. R. C., Bengal).

Note 2.—The figures of actual average yield in the table above have been taken from average yielding during 1927-28 to 1936-37 (Aus and Aman paddy) as given by Director of Agriculture, Bengal, from *Man Behind the Plough* (Jute and Gram, p. 98 and p. 101); from Report, L. R. C., Vol. II, pp. 89-97 (Mustard, Til, Linseed and Sugar-cane).

Faridpur district), but also of the whole of Bengal. Table 3 below shows the state of things in Faridpur, while table 4 gives an estimate of the recorded diminution in the acreage yield of wheat and rice and sugarcane in Bengal, Bihar, Bombay and Central Provinces (C. P.):

TABLE 3
Diminution of the Average Yield of Crops in Faridpur District

(Yield per acre in maunds in the year)				
Crops	1908 ^a	1931-32 ^a	1936-37 ^a	1943-44 ^a
Aus (Husked)	11	12	9.3	11.58
Aman (Husked)	12.3	13.7	11.9	
Boro (Husked)	14.5	13.8	14	
Jute	16	17.7	14.9	12.43
Wheat	7	10.2	8.2	
Gram	12	11.4	10.4	
Mustard	7	7.6	6.09	
Til	12	7.2	8.5	
Linseed	9	7.9	7.2	
Sugarcane (gur)	40 to 60	61.5	47.6	

TABLE 4
Diminishing acreage yield of crops in Bengal and other Provinces of India^a

	Annual average of—		Decrease
	1931-32 to 1935-36	1936-37 to 1940-41	
Rice—			
Bengal	896	837	59
Bihar	738	676	62
Wheat—			
C. P.	666	590	76
Bombay	428	394	34
Sugarcane—			
Bengal	624	577	47
C. P.	443	430	13
Bombay	5906	5587	319

PROBLEMS OF MANURE AND LOWER YIELD

To stave off successfully the menace of diminishing acreage yield, suggestions have been made by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture (R.C.I.A.) as also by the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, and other agricultural experts including Dr. W. Burns that, among other measures, vigorous steps should be taken to manure the soils adequately. It will be noticed from Table I above that manurial problem in Bengal, and also in India,² is, in the main, that of a deficiency of nitrogen in the soil. The principal forms in which nitrogenous manures can be made available in our country are, (a) farmyard manure, (b) compost made from night-soil and refuse in urban areas,

(c) compost made from village refuse and other materials, (d) oil cake, (e) green manure (f) bone meal, fish manure, etc., and (g) chemical fertilizers. As the Land Revenue Commission, Bengal, observed, "Artificial fertilizers are at present little used in Bengal but they are capable of increasing the yield considerably."* We must remember that next to the provision of an assured supply of water, the use of manure offers the most important single means of increasing the yield of crops. But owing to very small budgetary grants, the Agricultural Department of the Government of Bengal has been able to do little to supply manure to the cultivators of the province. It is a regrettable fact that there is a great manurial loss throughout the province, and that the cultivators have not been taught to adopt better methods quickly. Unless early steps are taken to rectify past mistakes, low yield of crops and insufficient production of food crops and cereals will spell disaster, specially in the context of the post-war shortage of food supply. Population of Bengal is growing fast enough, but the supply of rice is lagging behind. Statistics relating to the yield of rice and population in Bengal are given in the following table and the calculated deficit or surplus is estimated for a series of years :

TABLE 5
Lower Yield of Rice in Bengal and Interpolated Rice-eating Population^a

Year	Av. yield in lbs. per acre	Interpolated population in lakhs	Calculated deficit (—) or surplus (+) in lakh tons
1929-30	910	503.9	+ 0.88
1930-31	1004	507.4	+ 10.38
1931-32	963	510.9	+ 12.71
1932-33	965	521.2	+ 9.84
1933-34	899	531.6	+ 1.40
1934-35	897	542.0	— 4.26
1935-36	767	552.4	— 16.51
1936-37	1089	562.7	+ 16.51
1937-38	913	573.1	— 1.43
1938-39	772	583.5	— 17.70
1939-40	853	593.9	— 10.42
1940-41	653	604.2	— 36.12
1941-42	924	614.6	+ 0.07
1942-43	671	624.9	— 30.57

EXTENSION OF CULTIVATION

According to the estimate given by the Famine Commission there had been, between 1923 and 1942, seven years of deficit and eight of surplus of rice in Bengal, and the annual average current supply of rice (minus seed requirements) during 1928-42 had been of the order of 8.14 million tons. But on the basis of 18 oz. per capita cereal requirements per day, about 11 million tons of rice are needed per year for a population of 60 million, leaving an annual deficit of 2.86 million tons of rice. The immediate need is to make

2. Vide *Final Report on Faridpur Settlement* by Jack, quoted in *Bulletin on Faridpur*, p. 4, Bengal Board of Eco. Enquiry, 1934.

3. Quinquennial average ending 1931-32. Vide *Quinquennial Report on the average Yield per acre of Principal Crops in India for the period ending 1931-32*, Government of India.

4. *Ibid.*, 1936-37.

5. *Bengal Crop Survey Report* by Indian Statistical Institute, 1943-44.

6. Vide *Minute of Dissent* by Sir Manilal B. Nanavati, *Final Report of Famine Commission*, p. 370.

7. Vide *Famine Com. Final Report*, p. 144.

* Vide L. R. C. Report, Vol. I, p. 105.

8. For figures of the table, vide Official Estimates relating to rice and population Census, quoted in the *Proceedings of the National Institute of Sciences of India*, Vol. X, No. 1, p. 75 (1944).

up this deficit by growing more food. The question of greater food production has been raised again and again since 1943. It is a well-known maxim that as a measure of economic security, food production in a country must at least be equal to its consumption. An assured supply of sufficient food must be the *sine qua non* of the agricultural policy of the province as also of India. In order to secure this end, both intensive and extensive cultivation of crops, especially food crops, is called for. Better manuring of the land will help intensive cultivation, while the provision for irrigation will facilitate both intensive and extensive cultivation. Much culturable waste land and current fallow may thus immediately be brought under the plough. The relative proportion of cropped, waste and fallow lands in Bengal is noted in the following table :

TABLE 6

Relative Proportion of Cropped, Waste and Fallow lands.

(Bengal excluding Darjeeling and Hilly Chittagong)				
Area classified	Settlement Reports	L.R.C. of Agri. (Av. 1936-7 to 40-41)	Director of Agri. Survey (1944-45)	Crop
	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.	p.c.
Unculturable Waste	17.1	....	19.9	18
Culturable Waste	11.7	8	12.1	9
Current Fallow	3.3	....	10.7	2
Net area cropped	67.9	62.4	57.3	71
Total	100.0	....	100.0	100.0

UTILIZATION OF BENGAL'S LAND AREA

From the above table it appears that in recent years the proportion of culturable waste and current fallow has diminished, while that of net cropped area has gone up. This is undoubtedly a welcome sign. But that there remains still today further scope for extension of cultivation will be clear from the following table which shows the acreage classification of total land area in Bengal under different heads :

TABLE 7

Total area in Bengal (excluding Darjeeling and Chittagong Hill Tracts)

Source	Unculturable waste	Culturable Waste	Current fallow	Net area cropped	Total (excluding reserve forests and big rivers)
Settlement Reports	7229850	4780350	1410532	28841570	42262302
Director of Agri. (Av. 1936-7 to 40-41)	8440844	5110549	4544335	24313184	42408912
Crop Survey (1944-45)	7786713	3994029	955974	30435343	43172059

It will be noted from the above table that the extent of current fallow alone is in the neighbourhood of 9.5 lakh acres (Crop Survey). If this space is utilised for current cultivation along with the enormous amount of culturable waste (39.94 lakh acres),

then, on the basis of 15 mds. of (paddy) yield per acre, the total additional quantity of paddy that is likely to be harvested would come up to roughly about 74.23 million maunds or 49.49 million maunds of rice or 1.83 million tons of rice, which would partly meet the estimated annual deficit of 2.86 million tons.

CULTIVATION OF FOOD CROPS

Another important means of augmenting food production is well-known ; double cropping or, if possible, raising three crops annually from the same plot is an oft-repeated suggestion. In recent years the proportion of *dofasli* area to net area cropped has somewhat increased. But there remains further scope for increasing this proportion as is shown in the following table :

TABLE 8

Distribution of area in acres under food crops in Bengal (excluding Darjeeling and Hilly Chittagong)
[000 omitted]

Crops	Settlement Reports	Director of Agri. (Av. 1936-7 to 40-41)	Season and crop report, 1941-42	Crop survey (1944-45)
Paddy—				
(a) Aman	19,093	15,613	16,914	20,762
(b) Aus	6,034	5,633	6,485	6,549
(c) Boro	333	424	443	556
Wheat	168	162	170	198
Barley	171	97	102	212
Maize	33	22	92	77
Gram	442	298	327	596
Others (pulse)	8,589	7,207	1,342	9,694
Net area cropped	28,841	24,313	25,488	30,435
Dofasli area	6,084	5,147	5,566	8,211
Total cropped area	34,926	29,461	31,055	38,647
Per cent of Dofasli area to net area cropped	21.1	21.2	21.8	26.9

From the table above we see that in 1944-45 the proportion of twice-cropped area to net area cropped was 26.9 per cent. If this proportion could be raised to, say, 40 per cent, an additional area of nearly 4.11 million acres would be brought under double-cropping. If on this entire amount of land (4.11 million acres) paddy alone could be sown, then, on the basis of 15 maunds of paddy per acre, we would get an additional supply of 1.52 million tons of rice. It is easy, therefore, to see that a scheme of bringing the culturable waste and current fallow effectively under tillage, together with that of putting an area of 12.32 million acres under double cropping system, would, even under the existing backward technique of cultivation, yield an extra supply of 1.83 plus 1.52 or 3.35 million tons of rice annually which, after covering the existing estimated deficit of 2.86 million tons—on the basis of 18 ounces cereal per head per day for 60 million people—would leave a comfortable surplus of nearly half-a-million tons of rice per year.

But, obviously, it will take much time for such a scheme of extension of rice (food) cultivation to mature and materialise. We do not, however, agree

with the view expressed by the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture that "a large proportion of culturable land other than fallow could in no conceivable circumstances be brought under tillage."⁹ The Commission based such a view on the assumption that, for the most part, such land (culturable other than fallow) was too poor to give economic returns. But we should remember that the notion of the "marginal land" is not a static one: the margin shifts with increase in population and prevailing prices. The population of the province has increased 20.3 per cent between 1931 and 1941 and must have further increased during 1941-48. The prices of foodstuffs are also likely to rule high for some years to come. And, above all, as the Famine Commission points out, the "land which is at present too poor to give economic returns to ignorant ryots without capital or scientific resources, may be capable of development by irrigation scheme and application of scientific method of land reclamation and soil improvement."¹⁰

TECHNOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The measures of land reclamation must, of course, be adopted alongside of anti-malarial schemes and their success depends largely on the maturing of such schemes. But how rapidly these measures will be put into operation cannot be foreseen at the present moment. All depends on how quickly the provincial Governments and the Government of India adopt these schemes as part of their post-war agrarian reforms plan. It also depends on the Governmental policy and action as to what extent and how soon large-scale irrigational schemes are launched and brought to fruition. It is indeed of the utmost importance that schemes of land reclamation and irrigation should be vigorously pushed forward in the near future.

But we should like to emphasise that as an immediate plan of action, as also as a means to the future increase in production, greater reliance must be placed on increased yields from lands already under cultivation, that is, on the intensive method of cultivation, so as to meet the yawning deficit in food requirements of the province. And in this respect, a large increase in the supply of fertilisers must be the first item on the agenda. Even in the absence of an adequate water supply, an increased supply of fertilisers is of utmost importance in cultivation, specially the cultivation of rice; for rice grows on wet lands. Dr. Burns has estimated that in order to increase the out-turn of rice by 20 per cent, the following tonnages of fertilisers are required for India as a whole.

TABLE 9

Estimate of Manurial Needs for India¹¹

Manure	Tons (in 1900)
Oil cakes	3052
Bone meal	3815
Sulphate of ammonia	763
Farm yard manure or compost	20520
Green manure	21800

The above figures seem to be colossal, specially in the context of the meagre supply of manure at present in India. As is clear, it will entail stupendous efforts to achieve a twenty per cent increase in the yield of rice by applying fertilisers.

The question of potential increase in yields has been discussed by Dr. Burns in further detail. According to his estimate, yields of rice could be "increased by 30 per cent, 5 per cent by using improved variety, 20 per cent by increasing manure, 3 per cent by protecting from pests and diseases. There should even be no difficulty in increasing the present average out-turn by 50 per cent *viz.*, 10 per cent by variety and 40 per cent by manuring."¹² Potential increases in the yield of wheat and millets, according to this authority, are in the neighbourhood of 30 per cent; for cow milk 75 per cent; for buffalo milk 50 per cent. Dr. Burns thinks that it is possible to increase the (present) yield of sugarcane from 15 tons per acre to 30 or even 55 tons per acre in certain parts of India.¹³

These, then, are "technological" possibilities of increasing the yield of food crop and dairy products of the country. They emphasise the fact that, although irrigation in all its forms is always of primary importance in increasing yields, other methods of raising the acreage out-turn are: (a) the use of the seed of improved strain, (b) the application of manure and (c) the protection against pests and diseases. The knowledge as to how the last three methods can be applied to Agriculture is already at our disposal; it is the outcome of prolonged study and investigation carried on by the Imperial Council of Agricultural Research which was brought into existence as the instance of the Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture. That knowledge requires further extension. If we are ready to utilise properly the results of scientific knowledge; if we have a plan of agricultural development; and if we have the means to spare, then we have no doubt that we can produce not only enough food to meet the needs of the growing population at subsistence level, but enough to effect an improvement in the energy value and the nutrient content of the diet of the people.

11. Vide Burns : *Technological Possibilities of Agriculture. Development in India, 1944*, p. 54.

12. Vide Dr. Burns : *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India, 1944*, p. 53.

Ibid., Ch. 3 of Sec. I, and Ch. 3 of Sec. I.

9. Quoted in *Famine Com. Final Report*, p. 73.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 79.

INDIA MUST NOT REMAIN IN THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH

BY PROF. K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L., (Cal.); LL.M. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law,
Dean of the Faculty of Law, Allahabad University

THE historic speech delivered by our great Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru before the General Assembly of the U.N.O. in Paris on November 5 has appealed to different peoples in different climes with the greatest fervour and has provoked thought and interest in world problems. He rightly laid stress on the fact, "Today Asia counts in world affairs, tomorrow it will count more." He also reminded the Assembly that India acting upon the noble guidance and inspiring presence of Mahatmaji, decided neither to submit to evil nor to be afraid of consequences when she fought against British Imperialism, not with deadly weapons of destruction but with weapons of purity, non-violence and Satyagraha. The importance of Asia in international affairs has got to be realised by all who have perception of the realities of the international situation. Most of the Asian countries so long presented scenes of ruthless spoliation by strong European Powers. Ever today some of them are under the swaggering heel of their exploitation. India is one of the biggest countries in the world—biggest from the point of view of resources and population, which was for 190 years unhappily kept under British imperialist bondage proving disastrous to her political life, material resources and cultural heritage. Fortunately the British nightmare has gone off India's chest and she breathes freely. There is not the slightest doubt about the fact that India is regarded as entrusted with high responsibilities for stabilising peace and security in the world still reeking of violence, in thought, word and action. Under the noble guidance of Mahatmaji, India by the exercise of "magical" weapons won her freedom, and this hard-won freedom has got to be maintained and strengthened in full force so that she can exercise the most vitalising influence upon other countries to prevent aggression within and without, and exert herself for international peace and security. India has got no territorial ambitions, no designs against any foreign power. She is not a believer in imperialism. Spirituality, individual freedom, tolerance, friendliness, and sacrifice for common good have been her chief characteristics from days of yore.

Under these circumstances, the first thing that attracts our attention is whether India should join the Commonwealth. It is a well-known fact that a nation pledged to the observance of impartiality in and aloofness from international disputes as far as possible, need not certainly meddle in other countries' affairs, unless such intervention is for upholding the cause of world peace and security or for upholding universally recognised principles of International Law. If India joins the Commonwealth, she will at once draw upon herself the enmity of the bloc of Powers dominated by Russia. What does India gain by joining the Commonwealth? Her gain is perhaps nil, and she runs the risk of losing her body and soul together, for,

it is a well-known fact that Britain is a spent-out force. She herself depends upon foreign countries for her own essential articles. She throws herself upon the U.S.A. And if the U.S.A. withholds her help, she goes deeper down the scale of nations. An impoverished Britain halting and maimed herself cannot render any effective help to India. Furthermore, the treatment meted out to the Indian population in South Africa and to the Indians there, is, to say the least, humiliating and spells lingering dishonourable death for those unfortunate people. There has been no change in South African attitude except the change much for the worse under the present African regime. Can India link herself with South Africa as a component part of the Commonwealth? Can she link with Australia where Indians are forbidden to emigrate? Can she be expected to bear the subordination of the British Crown which will more or less be her fate if she chooses to be in the Commonwealth? No doubt, the conception of membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations has widened during the last 10 years. But, even the membership of the British Commonwealth always meant binding of the peoples descended from the same stock having a common culture and heritage. Ethnologically, culturally as also politically India and other members of the British Commonwealth of Nations including U.K. are poles asunder.

Furthermore, if India contents herself with the membership of the British Commonwealth her economic prospects instead of brightening up will be more dismal than ever.

The primary needs for India today are food, cloth and industrial plants and machinery. Britain is utterly deficient in all these. She depends for them upon other countries and, therefore, it will be futile to expect that Britain and other members of the Commonwealth can render therein any effective help.

Added to all this, India runs the unnecessary risk in being involved in international complications. There are some people who think that the world is divided into two main blocs, namely, Anglo-American Bloc and the Russian Bloc. Though this is the picture today, any student of European history will definitely come to the conclusion that England and America will in all probability not tow the same line of foreign policy for any length of time. Britain has never followed a consistent foreign policy, which policy has always been dictated by the desire to uphold "Balance of Power", a doctrine with which she impregnated herself from the days of Napoleon, if not earlier. England has no friends and no enemies but only her eternal interests. She can pick up new friends and let down old friends at a moment's notice. Immediately on the morrow of World War I, Britain became friendly to Germany and clipped the wings of France *vis-a-vis* Germany

in matters of reparations and political alliances. France emerged out of the Treaty of Versailles as the strongest European power having a large gold reserve, and formed a network of alliances and alignments with Powers, big and small. England took successive steps to scale down reparations due to France from Germany, though France had bled herself white for the preservation of her independence as also of allied powers. A few years after World War I when Clemenceau visited Lloyd George in England he, on being interrogated by the latter about the attitude of France towards England, bluntly replied, "France looks upon England as her implacable foe." England became the godmother of Hitler, Mussolini and of the Mikado, as England thought that Hitler would mobilise the Axis Powers to fight against Russia. The guns did go off but they went in the wrong direction when the godmother frantically shrieked and cried out for help from other democratic powers including America. If the American help had not come and the Russian alliance had not been formed, England undoubtedly would have gone seven fathom deep down the Thames. The one power accountable for the rise of the Axis Powers is England, for, if England had sought the help of other democratic powers in curbing the rising imperialist power of Japan in Manchuria, or Mussolini's first strides in Ethiopia, or the onrush of the army of Franco which was allied with the dictatorships of Italy and Germany, Manchuria, Ethiopia and Republican Spain would not have kissed the dust. Czechoslovakia was conquered due principally to British Appeasement Policy. The demilitarised Rhineland was allowed to be remilitarised by Germany because of the British desire to increase the strength of Germany at the expense of France. It is a well-known fact that Britain never accepted with sincerity Stimson's Theory of Non-recognition and the Kellogg-Briand Pact. For, with regard to the latter she introduced many reservation clauses, and the former, she described it as Trans-Atlantic heresy, "a Platonic kiss."

An analysis of the period between these two wars will convince anyone that Britain is always dictated by sheer opportunism in international politics and she can drop allies any time it suits her convenience. She wants to make the cat's paw of her allies and draw the chestnuts out of the fire. In Kashmir and Hyderabad, as also with regard to the tragedies in Bengal and the Punjab before the partition and after the partition, in the NWFP and in Sind, her hands are stained with blood, infamy, partiality and callousness.

England and America today have formed one bloc but tomorrow England may drop America. If we choose to join the Commonwealth, we shall necessarily draw upon ourselves the wrath of Russia without any benefit from Britain. International politics is changing fast and who can say whether it will become friends or foes within the next three or four years. It is, therefore, premature for India to cast her lot with Britain in the shifting scenes of international politics, and to choose the chameleon-like England.

Salvation of India lies in asserting her position as a

free independent Republican State untrammelled by subservience to any foreign power. India should aim at becoming the eye and the ear in international affairs. Her position is of supreme importance in world politics, and if she can give light where there is darkness, and restore peace and harmony where there is disorder and anarchy, she can well be regarded as the most vital force for the good of humanity. India can easily in the course of next 5 years be regarded as the leader of Asia and one of the foremost leaders in international politics. The acceptance of membership in the Commonwealth would spell disaster politically, economically and culturally, and surround her with cimmerian darkness.

Some people think that if India does not join the Commonwealth, Pakistan which is sure to join the Commonwealth, will grow in power and influence with the aid of British arms and ammunitions which may be used against India. This is a mid-summer night's dream, for Britain has no surplus fighting man-power, nor arms and ammunitions to equip Pakistan with to fight India. Furthermore, joining the Commonwealth will not promote international purposes of peace and security as the British policy in foreign affairs is always unsteady and un dependable.

It is to be admitted that India cannot remain in isolation in the present context of world affairs. Neutrality is a thing of the past and even the Government of U.S.A. had to abandon her policy of isolationism which was the corner-stone of her foreign policy from the days of the famous Monroe Doctrine of 1823. President Monroe could undoubtedly take his stand on the Monroe Doctrine more than a century ago on account of so many factors in European polity at that time but the foremost amongst them was that America was divided from the continent by the Atlantic Ocean but thanks to the discoveries of science the distances have been practically annihilated. America had also an added advantage, viz., that in her country, boundaries of other nations did not meet but here in India the boundaries of four nations meet, e.g., China, Russia, Pakistan and Burma. If we are to take stock of all matters relating to India both from domestic and international points of view the conclusion is clear that India has to ally with one or the other power and, therefore, in these circumstances, the question comes up with whom India is to cast her lot. Having disposed of the fact that membership in the Commonwealth will not be conducive in any way to India's welfare and world peace, the next alternatives are America and Russia. Russia is out of the question as she cannot help India with any matter for nation-building engrossed as she is in the task of preparing herself for World War III. She cannot help India materially. And Russia and India will be strange bed-fellows. Russian communism with emphasis upon material aspects of life only has never any fascination for India, nor does she like the Russian system of totalitarian rule through regimentation of all treasured values of mankind.

It is an undoubted fact that vast tracts of land were devastated in Russia during the last World War and Russia shall have to make good these losses through her

own resources. Therefore, it is idle to expect any help for India from that quarter. Furthermore, alliance with Russia will not enhance in the least the cause of peace and international security. The only alternative, therefore, is alliance with the U.S.A. The history of the U.S.A., her steady foreign policy tinged with idealism, her democratic institutions, her resources—all are suited for an alliance with India. There is an inner affinity in culture and idealism between these two countries. As already observed, India must remove the idea from her mind of membership in the Commonwealth and form an alliance with the U.S.A. American democracy, rule of law, balance between matter and spirit, stress both upon spiritual and material aspects of life will make India and America ideal partners. Further, American proletariat is much better off than Russian proletariat.

Therefore, if India cannot remain neutral, she must enter into an alliance with the U.S.A. and if she does so, she gets food and clothing and other necessary articles as also industrial plants and machinery necessary to feed and clothe the people and to industrialise the land. It is

a well-known fact that India stands in need of rapid industrialisation and America can help her most effectively by giving her first-class materials for that purpose.

In that case, the hungry and the ill-clad people of India can get cheaper food and cloth. With cheaper food, India's hunger will be palliated considerably. America has got a surplus of all the necessary articles including capital goods and, therefore, she can easily give India these articles. Alliance, therefore, with America is of prime necessity for India's stability and strength within and without. The foreign policy of the U.S.A. has been for the last 20 years consistent, honest and straightforward.

The best course for India, therefore, at the present moment lies in asserting her rightful position as a free sovereign independent state, and in that capacity entering into an alliance with the U. S. A. and maintain a high standard in international politics. India and America have got great affinities in national and international outlook and each, therefore, should embrace the other as a great friend and ally. Therein lies India's future high destiny. Let India and America not miss the bus.

—:O:—

RUPEE IN THE EXTERNAL FIELD

By PROF. G. P. GUPTA, M.com.

A short while before the political independence of India her Rupee was liberated from the shackles of servitude on 12th December, 1946, when the Government of this country decided to convey the par-value of the rupee to the International Monetary Fund. Since the final collapse of the Gold Standard in 1931, and also, for very many years before 1927, the Indian Rupee was practically linked with the English Sterling at the rate of 1s. 6d. and thus the rupee was made to rise or sink not in accordance with the fluctuations in the fortunes of the country's internal economy, but with the changes in the fortunes of another country's currency. This resulted in a passionate controversy on the ratio problem and the objection against the link became more intense in the early thirties of the present century when a statutory obligation was laid upon the Reserve Bank to buy and sell sterling in unlimited quantities at a rate which it was obliged to maintain notwithstanding the various factors which govern it from time to time. The criticism against the sterling link became more extensive when it was realised that during the World War II, the sterling link acted as an agency for the import of inflation from other countries to this country and a huge accumulation of the country's assets in the hands of the foreigners.

severed when the Government and the people of this country considered the question of the par-value of the rupee to be conveyed to the I. M. F. in terms of gold or in terms of the U. S. dollar as on a particular date agreed upon in the Final Act of the Brettonwoods Agreement. The importance of the present severance of the link with sterling lies in the fact that now we are free and we can, in case of need with enough reason to support, change the ratio, or directly deal in other currencies than sterling or in the limiting circumstances, even leave it to itself to find its own level on an open market consistent with our obligations as members of the International Monetary Fund. "Although arising as a logical outcome of our membership of the I. M. F., it is no exaggeration to suggest that, in the domain of currency policy this amendment is what the acceptance, some twenty-five years ago, of the convention of the autonomy was in the realm of fiscal policy."* The Government of India, consequently, in consultation with the Reserve Bank and other sections of the financial circles, decided that the par-value should remain the same in terms of gold as it was at the prevailing value of the rupee in terms of sterling as on a date agreed upon for the purpose and the link with the sterling was logically terminated

RUPEE AND I. M. F.

The dependence of the rupee to the English sterling was

* Speech delivered by the Director of Monetary Research, R. B. I., to the Bombay rotarians.—Reserve Bank Bulletin, January, 1947.

when the final decision was taken on 12th December, 1946. The Government conveyed to the I. M. F. the par-value of the rupee in terms of gold and also in terms of U. S. dollars. In terms of gold, the par-value was conveyed as 2.268601 grams of fine gold per currency unit and in terms of U. S. dollars it was fixed as 3.30852 currency units per U. S. dollar. In practice we continue to maintain the old rate of exchange between the rupee and the sterling but it does not mean in any way that nothing fundamental has happened. On the other hand, there lies a very remarkable fact that our rupee comes out as an independent currency unit. The present 1s. 6d. exchange rate at which transactions still take place has become a very different thing in the sense that should the authorities find reason tomorrow to believe that it is not the proper ratio, they are free to give it up in favour of the correct rate of exchange. Thus, although in one sense the decision not to alter the existing value of the rupee may hide the real significance of these amendments, the potential significance is indeed very great—and great in the sense that we can exchange our rupee in the currencies other than sterling, of all the member countries of the I. M. F. and that we can change the exchange value of rupee (par-value) as and when the conditions require.

PRESENT POSITION OF THE RUPEE

Since the par-value of the rupee has been declared to the I. M. F., the Indian rupee has assumed the position of an independent currency unit without any link whatsoever with any particular currency. But the word 'independent' has got its own significance. If we take it to mean that anybody in India has a right to convert it into any currency for any amount the rupee is not at all independent because there are limitations to such convertibility. But if we mean that Government of India has a right to decide the exchange rate of the rupee and limit its exchangeability to fixed amounts, without waiting for the approval of any other foreign Government, then of course, the rupee may be called "independent."** But it should be remembered that changes in the exchange rate of the rupee could only be subject to the rules and regulations of the I. M. F.

CONSEQUENT CHANGES IN THE R. B. I. ACT

In view of the fact that rupee was made independent in the monetary sphere of the external field, changes in the Reserve Bank of India Act became inevitable. Sections 40 and 41 of the Reserve Bank of India Act, 1934 were originally designed to continue the rupee on the sterling Exchange Standard which came into being in September, 1931, when England went off the Gold Standard. Under these sections an obligation was placed upon the Reserve Bank to buy from any person all the sterling offered to it at a rate not higher than 1s. 6³/₁₆d. and to sell to any person sterling at a rate not below 1s. 5⁵/₁₆d. These sections have been amended and replaced by one single

section enumerated as section 40. The amended section states :

"The Bank shall sell to or buy from any authorised person who makes a demand in that behalf at its office in Bombay, Calcutta, Delhi, or Madras, foreign exchange at such rate of exchange and on such conditions as the Central Government may from time to time by general or special order determine, having regard so far as rates of exchange are concerned to its obligations to the International Monetary Fund.

Provided that no person shall be entitled to demand to buy or sell foreign exchange of a value less than two lakhs of rupees."

It is clear from the foregoing that as a natural sequel to India's participation in the I. M. F., the Reserve Bank is now obliged to buy and sell any Foreign Currency as per conditions laid down by the Government from time to time, and also the Bank is permitted to deal only with "authorised dealers" and not with the public in general. The minimum amount to buy and sell foreign exchange is Rs. 2 lakhs whereas hitherto such was £10,000=Rs. 1.3 lakhs only.

A PLEA FOR DEVALUATION

On 12th December, 1946, the Government of India having the freedom to change the rate, if it so desired did not choose to exercise that freedom. This decision taken freely and collectively by the Government, the Reserve Bank and practically the entire representative sections of the commercial and financial opinion in the country, is indicative of the fact that we justified our decision by prevailing circumstances and not merely under the influence of the history of past years and in a spirit of vehement sentimentality. It should be remembered that matters like fixing of external price of currency should be judged not only in the light of the complicated factors in the present, but even correct anticipations regarding future trends should also be kept in view. Consequently, at the time when the majority in this country felt that there was no reason for a change in the par-value of rupee, there was a section of opinion which pressed for a devaluation. The main argument put forth by the devaluationists was that the price-level in India had risen in terms of the Index Numbers from about 125 before the war to 296 as it stood towards the end of 1946. The value of the rupee internally had fallen substantially, but the external value of the rupee remained the same—18d. before the war and 18d. even now ; and this fact taken together with the absence of corresponding rise in the price-levels in countries like the U.S.A. and U.K. indicates the existence of a disparity between "the internal and external values of the rupee." The advocates of devaluation, therefore, suggested that the external value of the rupee should have been brought to round about 10d. to the rupee. But this view has validity only when we accept the principle of Purchasing Power Parity the sole criterion of fixing the exchange rate which offers only a rough criterion applicable more or less under normal conditions. But the considerations affecting a country's

** Commerce of April, 1947.

balance of payment are as essential to the determination of Exchange rate as those relating to the purchasing power. Another argument for lowering the par-value of the rupee was that since after declaring a certain parity for the rupee to the I. M. F. we cannot adjust the value of our currency except within a margin of 10 per cent and so we should devalue our currency by about this per cent now so that we might later have a margin of 10 per cent for further devaluation, if and when necessary. This may be described as one of the weakest arguments in favour of devaluation because it seems to be based on a lack of appreciation and understanding of the true aims and purposes of the Brettonwoods Conference. The I. M. F. had already issued a statement on 10th December, 1946, that if in some cases the initial par-values established at the time conveying to the Fund were found to be incompatible with the maintenance of the balance of the country's international activity, the fund will have to recognise the unusual circumstances under which the initial par-values were determined and the fund can be most useful in seeing that the necessary exchange adjustments are made in an orderly manner. In view of this statement devaluation in any required degree can be asked for and can be recognised by the Fund, provided we are able to make out a case for higher level of economic activity at a different rate of exchange. This position considerably weakens the case of those who advocated devaluation simply because 'it may not be possible later on.'

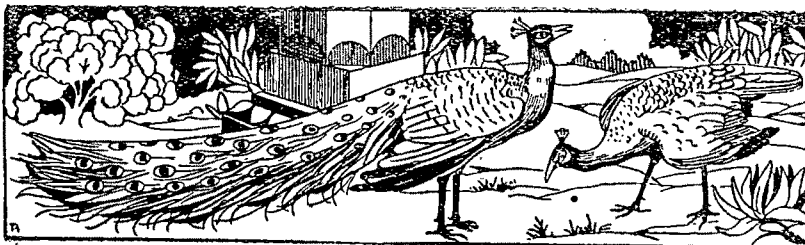
ARGUMENTS AGAINST DEVALUATION (1s. 6d. rate final)

Besides the valid objections against the changing of the external parity of the rupee on the grounds of balance of payments and our obligations with the I. M. F. there are certain serious arguments which were put forward in favour of the existing rupee—sterling cross-rate. It was advocated that devaluation in the exchange rate was likely to accelerate the price-rises which are already too high and thereby worsen the tendency of foreign trade. Devaluation was also considered to result in reduction of the value of our foreign assets and render capital imports more expensive. It was also feared that the external level of the rupee based on purchasing power parity would be seriously disturbed after the war when the price-levels

in different countries will assume their natural course. One of the officials of the Reserve Bank of India when addressing a meeting in Bombay clearly stated that different price-levels in the important countries are factors affecting them were in a state of flux and it was not improbable that ratios of purchasing powers arrived at during a month might cease to be correct in the next month. It has also been experienced in the post-war period that the price-levels in U. S., England and also India which were kept under control during the war period assumed an upward tendency at different heights and at different rates. Moreover, there is a constant fear that price-levels based on agricultural prices as in India may become more slippery than those based upon industrial products as in U. K. and come to rest at different levels. Consequently, purchasing power comparisons command only a theoretical interest and rates of exchange considered appropriate in one month may cease to be such in the next one. Under these circumstances the only wise course was to continue the existing parity until stable conditions and quixotic variations of the different price, wage and cost levels come into existence. Similar decisions were taken by several countries who preferred to leave the exchange rate of their currency units unaltered till the conditions would improve. Indian decision, therefore, to maintain the existing parity of the rupee was quite remarkable.

The Indian Rupee, as a result of India's becoming a member of the I. M. F. and conveying them the par-value, has emerged out a currency unit independent of any foreign currency as hitherto was linked with the fortunes of the English currency—sterling. As a result of this arrangement the Indian Rupee now commands a status in the monetary sphere of the world. It can be converted into any currency of the member countries of the Fund subject to the obligations of India to the I. M. F. Of course, the par-value has been maintained as it was current during the war, but it does not in any way demarcate the monetary status of the rupee. Since the agreement aims at serving a synthesis between stability in exchange rates and freedom for individual national policies, it is hoped that the rupee will command a safer position among the leading monetary units of the world to achieve the long cherished hopes of monetary freedom.

Wardha.



EXHIBITION OF BUNDI KALAM (RAJPUT) PAINTINGS

By PROF. O. C. GANGOLY

I must apologize to you for addressing you in a language which is destined to quit India in a few years, following the return journey of the inhabitants of England, who had given us this great language and a large part of the culture it embodies and enshrines. Japanese or Indian Art, without the necessity of learning the written and spoken languages of any of these people. Art speaks in a language understood by all people, by all races, in all countries. It speaks with a "tongueless tongue," in the language of the illiterate.



Boar-hunting (collected from Bundi, Rajasthar)

According to the directions of the authorities, the English language may be permitted to be used in our schools and colleges for some time, until one of our own Indian languages can come of age, fully equipped with vocabularies to serve the needs of free India and of free Indians. It was not necessary for me to use this language, merely because it is still in use in our schools and colleges, in our Constituent Assembly and even in some, if not all, of our political meetings. I should have spoken in Bengali or in Hindi. But I am ashamed to confess I have not sufficient command over the language which is going to be our *Rashtra-bhasha*. That I am not speaking in the language of the Poet Laureate of Asia, the native language of Rabindranath Tagore, who has imparted to this provincial tongue, an international reputation and, an international value and status, requires an explanation as well as an apology. The organizers of this exhibition are anxious that what is said in this meeting should be conveyed to the people of Bundi, who have been good enough to send this Exhibition from that distant part of Rajputana for our benefit, for our education, and for our edification. Pictures fortunately speak in a language, which cuts across all barriers of provincialism; they appeal to us in the universal tongue of colour and form, which happily dissolves all linguistic barriers and racial divergences. The *lingua franca* of Art is the universal language of the whole of humanity. One can easily contact and taste the joy, appreciate the beauty and apprehend the spiritual appeals of English, Italian, French, Russian, Chinese, Persian,

In this way the language of the visual arts affords a means of easy communication in a country, where about 90 per cent of the people are still illiterate. And in ancient times the illiterate language of the visual arts has been freely used, not only in India, but in all parts of the world as a valuable medium of communication of the best forms of culture, as the means of tasting the best fruits of the highest thinking by the best sages and thinkers of all times and countries. One can easily understand the substance of all forms of culture by examining the records of the illiterate forms of the visual arts from the primitive ages right up to our own times. Unfortunately, the documents of the visual arts of painting, sculpture, and architecture,



A line-drawing from *Baro-mashi* (Bundi)

so essentially necessary to study the culture of any people, has been neglected by our educational authorities. Exhibitions such as the one arranged at this hall are therefore very valuable aids to the extension of our knowledge of the important and the very vital

aspects of human culture, of whatever country, of whatever people.

By the courtesy of a new culture society recently established at Bundi—Rajasthan Jatiya Aitiha Samrakshan Samiti—we are able to study for the first time a collection of old paintings and drawings from the State of Bundi, now a part of the Rajasthan Union. We know a lot about the large and important States of Udaipur, Jodhpur, Jaipur, and Marwar, but we know very little about the small but interesting little State of Bundi. With your permission, I wish to give a short summary of the colourful history of this State.



Another line-drawing from *Baro-mashi* (Bundi)

It was founded about the year 1342, about 600 years ago, by Rao Dewa, head of the Hara sept of the great clan of the Chauhan Rajputs, well-known from the name of Prithvi Raj Chauhan, the last Hindu King of Delhi. Rao Dewa, the founder of the Bundi State, drove out a non-Aryan sect, called the Minas, who were in occupation of this region and made them acknowledge Rao Dewa as their overlord. Since Rao Dewa about 30 successive chiefs have ruled the little State of Bundi. Constant feuds and wars have taken place between Bundi and Marwar in the 15th century, but the most dangerous enemy was the powerful Mahomedan dynasty of Malwa. The Sultan of Mundi besieged and took possession of Bundi in 1457, when the ruling Chief Rao Bairi Sal died in defending Bundi. However, shortly afterwards the Mundi suzerainty was put an end to by Rao Narayan Das. The next chief of note was Rao Surjan, whose accession in 1554 commenced a new era for the Bundi State. Rao Surjan obtained possession of the famous fort of Ranthambor, the most important strategic military site in Rajputana. In 1569, Bundi accepted the suzerainty of Akbar the Great. From this time, the

brave military tribes, the Haras of Bundi, were in the service of the Moghul Emperors. They accompanied the Moghul Emperors upon distant expeditions and took a leading part in all the political revolutions of the time. The bravery of the Hara chiefs of Bundi in the fields of battle is constantly recorded in the pages of Moghul history.

About the end of the 16th century, somewhere near 1579, occurred the division and partition of the original State of Bundi and the formation of the State of Kotah as a separate administrative unit. Rao Raja Ratan Singh, the then Ruler of Bundi, gave the southern portion of the State to his son Madho Singh, who and whose descendants have since ruled the same as the separate State of Kotah. In subsequent years, a rivalry arose between the States of Bundi and Kotah, beginning from the time, when the two States fought against each other in the battle of Jajau in 1707, connected with the accession of Shah Alam. In this battle Rao Bodh Singh fought against Ram Singh of Kotah. But the most gallant championship of the House of Bundi was during the reign of Jahangir, when a rebellion to depose his father by Prince Khurram



A drawing by the last painter Ganeshram Chuteru of Bundi who died 15 years ago

was supported by all the 22 Rajput States, except the State of Bundi, under Rao Ratan, who alone espoused the cause of Jahangir and successfully quelled the rebellion. This is recorded in a well-known doggerel:

*Sarovar pūta jal baha
Ab keya karo Jatanna?
Jata ghar Jahangir-ka
Rakha Rao Ratanna.*

[The lake had burst, the waters were rushing out, where is now the remedy? The House of Jahangir was departing, it was sustained by Rao Ratan.]



Rama consulting with Hanumana, a book-illustration from Bundi

As a reward for this valuable service, Jahangir made a gift of an orange colour flag to Rao Ratan, which has ever since been cherished as a symbol of Bundi bravery and fidelity.

After Ratan Singh, the most illustrious chief of Bundi was Rao Raja Chhatrasal who ruled between 1652 and 1658. He distinguished himself in the wars of the Deccan, especially in the sieges of Daulatabad and Bidar. In the wars of succession after the death of Shah Jahan, he espoused the cause of Dara and Murad against Aurangzib and he died fighting in the battle of Dholpur.

Rao Chhatrasal's name has become famous in 52 military combats, in which he was personally engaged and he has left a name renowned for courage and incorruptible fidelity. His architectural achievement is represented by the edifice, known as Chhatrar Mahal and the Temple of Kesorai at Pattan, on the north bank of the river Chambal, 12 miles from Kotah. During the reign of Rao Bodh Singh in 1719, Raja Jai Singh of Amber (Jaipur) attacked Bundi and deposed the Chief, who died in exile at his father-in-law's house at Begun.

The fortunes of the House of Bundi were however retrieved by Maharao Ummed Singh (1743-1804) a striking personality, who at the age of 13 began the wars against the State of Amber and shortly after regained his patrimony after a desperate battle

at Dablana, in which battle his favourite horse Hanja was killed and he erected a statue of the horse, which still stands in the square (chawk) of the city of Bundi. After a long and chequered career marked by many encounters with the House of Amber and of Indargarh, Maharao Ummed Singh abdicated his throne in favour of his son and successor Ajit Singh and went on an extensive pilgrimage throughout the length and breadth of India. But even on his pilgrimage he wore all his weapons and coat of arms. And it is said that such was his muscular power, even when three score and ten with his beard grown grey, he could place the whole of his panoply within his shield and with one arm only not only raise it, but balance the same in the air for many seconds on his extended arm.

In 1817, 13 years after the death of Ummed Singh, the then Chief of Bundi, Rao Raja Bishan Singh helped the British under Colonel Monson in putting down Holkar in the famous Pindari War and the districts formerly held by Holkar were restored to Bundi.



A Ramayana scene from a book-illustration (Bundi)

Bishan Singh was passionately devoted to hunting to keep up his military habits. He had slain upwards of 100 lions with his own hands, besides many tigers and boars. The boar-hunt was a favourite sport in Bundi, as we may see in many of the pictures exhibited in this hall.

Rao Bishan Singh's relations with his finance

minister are very amusing. He left the exchequer of the State in the exclusive charge of his minister with a direction to raise and maintain a reserve fund, to which the minister was required to add a hundred rupees daily and no excuse would be accepted for neglect of this duty which was punished by an appeal to Indrajit, the "conqueror of Indra." This Indrajit was no superior divinity, but a piece of shoe of super-human size, suspended from a peg as the symbol of punishment and as a humiliating corrective for an offending minister.



Prof O. C. Gangoli opens the Exhibition of Bundi Kalam Paintings organised by the N. H. P. Society of Rajasthan at the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture in Calcutta, Rai Bahadur Ram Deb Chokhani welcoming the visitors

Rao Bishan Singh was succeeded by his eldest son Rao Raja Ram Singh, who was placed on the *guddee* in 1821 at the age of 11 years. He inherited his father's passion for hunting and even as a boy he received from the nobles their *nazars* and congratulations, on the first wild game he slew. He died in 1889 and was a "grand specimen of a true Rajput gentleman," as we may visualize him in a portrait, exhibited on this wall.

Such is a meagre summary of the political history of Bundi, covering a period of over 500 years. It is apparent that, but for a brief period of alliance with the State of Udaipur, Bundi has lived in isolation from all the other States of Rajputana, and in this isolated position, both politically and physically, by reason of its mountain and river barriers, it was expected that Bundi should develop a peculiar and exclusive culture of its own.

In architecture, it is visible in the palaces and the *chattries* of Bundi, the latter being the funeral monuments of the chiefs, which are domed structures on elaborate pillars. They resemble the architectural style of Udaipur and other States. Since the time contact with the Moghuls of Delhi and Agra from the 16th century Bundi has imbibed and assimilated some elements of Moghul style.

The pictorial products of Bundi have been very little known or studied. And this exhibition will offer a valuable opportunity to scholars and students to study the peculiarities of the Bundi school of painting. The artist Ganesh, the last representative of this school, died a few years ago, carrying the ancient traditions right up to our times. And it is due to us to do all we can to revive and revitalize such a great tradition of Art.

The study of Rajput culture and Rajput Art has not developed since Dr. Coomaraswamy published his monumental work on Rajput painting in 1916. We have numerous magnanimous merchant-princes from Rajputana, living and working in this city. I earnestly appeal to them to provide adequate endowments for an exhaustive study of Rajasthan Art and Culture in all their phases. Bundi is now a small State. Its resources are limited, but with commendable enterprise it has initiated the first local society to study the history of the culture of Rajasthan and to preserve the surviving masterpieces of Rajput Art, many of which have been taken away from this country.

I fervently appeal to the merchant-princes of Calcutta from various parts of Rajputana to contribute liberally to the growth of this new society.

The time has come to remind ourselves that confining ourselves to the ephemeral and mercenary things of life, we have forgotten for several generations to contemplate on and cultivate the higher values of life. We have forgotten to love anything with devotion, passion and concentration. Without devotion and passionate love none of the higher things can be achieved. And I am reminded of the exhortation which the famous Kavi Ganga made to Akbar, his royal patron, to cultivate the quality of passionate love and devotion, the *rati* for the higher things of life :

*Rati vina ridhi, rati vina sidhi
Rati vina raj, rati vina tej
Rati vina yog, rati vina mantra
Chalai na yatiko.
Rati vina bha-i bharasa nai manata
Triya nahi rakhata kan patiko
Ganga Kavi kahai suna Saha Akabbaro
Eka rati vina pao ratiko.**

* Address delivered at the opening ceremony of the Bundi Kalam (Rajput) Paintings Exhibition in Calcutta on the 28th January, 1949. This Exhibition was organized by the National Heritage Preservation Society of Rajasthan with the kind co-operation of the Ramakrishna Mission Institute of Culture, Calcutta.

THREE EMINENT FRIENDS OF INDIA

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

In my last article, I gave a resume of the efforts made in England for the political advancement of India. To those who strove hard for our cause, three honoured names should be added. All of them were very prominent in their own sphere of activities. Let us dwell on Karl Marx first.

KARL MARX (1818-1883)

Karl Marx, the exponent of modern communism, made England his home in the latter part of his life. He was a scholar *par excellence*. The British Museum supplied his intellectual food. He profoundly studied the conditions of European States. But his knowledge of Indian affairs, too, was almost equally accurate and extensive. His letters* to *New York Daily Tribune* on the eve of the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1853 at once show how painstaking he was in collecting and sifting facts about the British hegemony in India. These also give us an idea of his depth of feeling for the hapless Indian masses. Marx styled Lord Clive as 'the great robber.' In these letters he indicted the British rule in India in no uncertain terms. Marx held that

"England has broken down the entire framework of Indian society, without any symptom of reconstitution yet reappearing. This loss of his old world, with no gain of a new one, imparts a particular kind of melancholy to the present misery of the Hindu and separates Hindustan, ruled by Britain, from all its ancient traditions, and from the whole of its past history."

How was this framework broken? Says Marx :

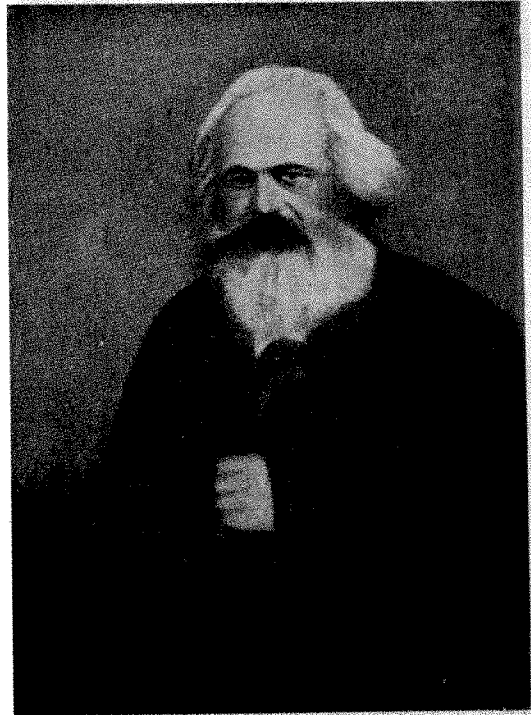
"The handloom and the spinning wheel, producing their regular myriads of spinners and weavers, were the pivots of the structure of that society. . . . It is the British intruder who broke up the Indian handloom and destroyed the spinning wheel. England began with driving the Indian cottons from the European market; it then introduced twist into Hindustan and, in the end inundated the very mother country of cotton with cottons. From 1818 to 1836, the export of twist from Great Britain to India rose in the proportion of 1 to 5,200. In 1824 the export of British muslins to India hardly amounted to 1,000,000 yards while in 1837 it surpassed 64,000,000 of yards. But at the same time the population of Dacca decreased from 150,000 inhabitants to 20,000. This decline of Indian towns celebrated for their fabrics was by no means the worst consequence. British steam and science uprooted, over the whole surface of Hindustan, the union between agricultural and manufacturing industry."

Marx says that "English interference . . . thus produced the greatest, and to speak the truth, the only

social revolution ever heard of in Asia." But what is the ultimate effect of this revolution? "The work of regeneration hardly transpires through a heap of ruins," says Marx. "Nevertheless it has begun." He continues :

"The political unity of India, more consolidated, and extending further than it ever did under the Great Moghuls, was the first condition of its regeneration. That unity, imposed by the British sword, will now be strengthened and perpetuated by the electric telegraph. The native army, organised and trained by the British drill-sergeant, was the *sine qua non* of Indian self-emancipation and of India ceasing to be the prey of the first foreign intruder."

Marx envisages immense possibilities for India from the introduction of railways. He says that



Karl Marx

Karl Marx

"Modern industry, resulting from the railway system will dissolve the hereditary divisions of labour upon which rest the Indian castes, those decisive impediments to Indian progress and Indian power." The following words from Marx are too prophetic

* Published in book-form under the title of *Marx and Engels on India*, by Socialist Book Club, Allahabad. Quotations in this section are taken from this book.

"The Indians will not reap the fruits of the new elements of society scattered among them by the British bourgeoisie, till in Great Britain itself the new ruling classes shall have been supplanted by the industrial proletariat, or till the Hindus themselves shall have grown strong enough to throw off the English yoke altogether. At all events, we may safely expect to see, at a more or less remote period, the regeneration of that great and interesting country, whose gentle natives are, to use the expression of Prince Saltykov, even in the most inferior classes, *plus fins et plus adroits que les Italiens*, whose submission is even counterbalanced by a certain calm nobility, who, notwithstanding their natural languor, have astonished the British officers by their bravery, whose country has been the source of our languages, our religion, and who represent the type of the ancient German in the *Jat* and the type of the ancient Greek in the Brahmin."

The prophecy of Karl Marx has at long last come true.



Florence Nightingale

FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE (1820-1910)

Miss Florence Nightingale of the Crimean war fame, has been immortalised in the poem "The Lady with the Lamp." She was another true friend of India. She became interested in Indian questions during the early sixties of the nineteenth century. High mortality rate in the British Army in India at this time attracted her attention. Her importunities and expostulations induced the Home authorities to set up a Royal Commission to enquire and report on the subject. Nightingale commenced work, of course non-officially, in order to place facts and figures before the Commission.

When the Commission submitted its Report, she again moved the authorities to carry out soon their recommendations.

From the health of the British Army, Nightingale turned her attention to the health of the Indian people. Here she found her life's work. She at once set to investigate the causes of the miserable health conditions of her fellow-subjects in this country. Famines and pestilences had worked havoc amongst the masses. She went to the root of the thing and found that conditions of irrigation and land-tenure system made it impossible for the Indian peasants, physically, morally and economically to lead a decent life. Her work was more administrative rather than political. She communicated with all sorts of people—from Secretaries of State for India, Viceroy, Governors, high responsible officers down to even non-descripts, who could enlighten her on the condition of the Indian people. She also made personal acquaintance with them whenever possible.

She now became directly interested in the land-tenure system of India and other cognate matters. She studied much on the subject. Her deep interest in it manifests itself in the letters* addressed to Prasanna Kumar Sen, a young attorney of the Calcutta High Court, in the late seventies and early eighties of the last century. In one of these letters Nightingale wrote :

"A people cannot really be helped except through itself : a people must be informed, reformed, inspired through itself. A people is its own soil and its own water. Others may plant, but it must grow its own produce. As well might crops be grown without soil and without water as prosperity and knowledge be grown without the people's minds being the cultivated soil for these noble crops."

Florence Nightingale did not rest satisfied with collecting materials only. She put them in black and white in the presentable form of articles and sent them to various periodicals for publication. A few of her articles were published in the *Journal* of the National Indian Association, founded by Miss Mary Carpenter in London. But the paper that roused attention of the higher authorities, both at Home and in India was one entitled "The People of India," published in the August 1878 issue of *The Nineteenth Century*. The paper begins as follows :

"We do not care for the people of India. This is a very heavy indictment. But how else account for the facts about to be given? We even do not care enough to know about their daily lives of lingering death from causes which we could so well remove. We have taken their lands and their rulers into our charge for State reasons of our own. Nay, the hour is coming, and even now is, when for 'State reasons' we are annexing, or preparing to annex, or to reorganise, or to protect—by whatever name we call it—huge and unmeasurable territories, because they lie between us and them. But for themselves—

* Florence Nightingale's Indian Letters (1878-82). Edited by Priyaranjan Sen.

patient, silent, toiling millions of India, who scarcely but for suffering know their right from their left and yet who are so teachable, so ready to abide by law instead of resisting their enemy—the law for their daily lives and deaths, we do not as a nation practically care. Or should we not as a nation practically rise *en masse* to see that the remediable things to which good public servants have so often vainly called attention shall be remedied? Have we no voice for these voiceless millions? What is the saddest sight to be seen in this world? The saddest sight to be seen is the peasant in our Eastern Empire."

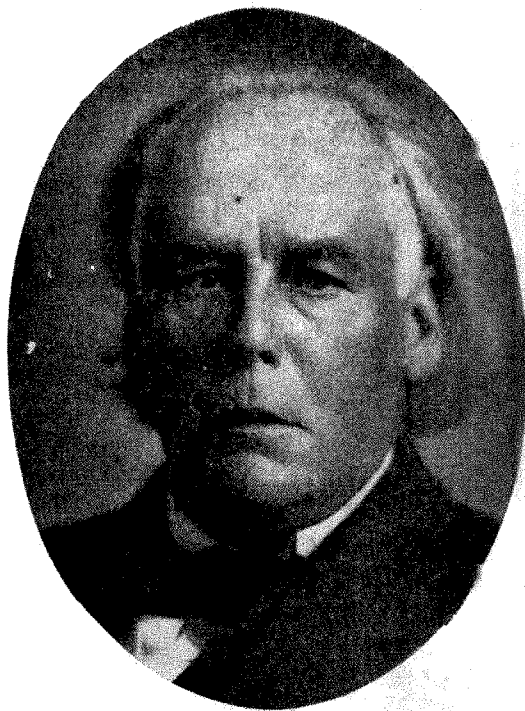
Florence's writings in British journals brought home to the responsible people in England the real state of the toiling millions of India. These were not a little responsible for the earlier enactment of the tenancy laws in this country. Even in her old age, she used to get herself informed of the happenings in India. Truly speaking, her interest in Indian affairs never abated.

CHARLES BRADLAUGH (1833-1891)

Charles Bradlaugh is another prominent figure whom we should always remember with gratitude. From his early youth he was a free-thinker, and as such he had to suffer much hardship. The Church tried to baffle him throughout his life. Their displeasure worked on the minds not only of his people at home, but of the Parliamentarians as well. After his election to the House of Commons in 1880, he was prevented from taking oath which he proposed to take in a modified form, by the Members. The first term of his membership (1880-85) ended in futile struggle, and he could not be of any use either to the House or to the nation. Even the Parnellites of Ireland joined his opponents and voted against his taking oath. His struggle all these years on the floor of the House reminds one of the hard mettle that he was made of. In the General Elections of 1886, Bradlaugh was re-elected member of Parliament. This time the Speaker allowed him to take oath in the form he chose. He now became one of the warmest advocates of the popular causes, such as the "Home Rule" proposals for Ireland. Bradlaugh had to work hard for his daily bread. In those days the members of Parliament were not paid from the State Exchequer. Bradlaugh was a socialist out and out. He championed the cause of the labourers both of the factory and of the land. It was he who for the first time propounded the principle of Land Nationalisation in Great Britain. His honesty of purpose and sincerity of motive drew respect and admiration even from those who had been hitherto inimical to him.

India was fortunate enough to enlist the active support of such a stiff fighter. In 1888, Bradlaugh came in contact with the Indian National Agency in England. During this year, writes Sir William Wedderburn, Bradlaugh "delivered many lectures on Indian questions in different parts of England. All this Mr. Bradlaugh did gratuitously, solely in the interests of India," Bradlaugh came to India in 1889 and

attended the Bombay session of the Congress. Here he found the Indian Nation in the offing. In recognition of his services to India, a welcome address was presented to him on behalf of the Indian National Congress. To this Bradlaugh made a very suitable reply. He advised the Indian leaders to agitate for reform intensely and incessantly, but at the same time,



Charles Bradlaugh

counselled patience. He cited the instance of English agitators and said :

"I would remind you, as an encouragement to you to be patient, that in England great reforms have always been slowly won. Those who first enterprised them were called seditious, and sometimes sent to gaol as criminals; but the speech and thought lived on. No imprisonment can crush a truth; it may hinder it for a moment, it may delay it for an hour, but it gets an electric elasticity inside the dungeon walls, and it grows, and moves the whole world when it comes out."

As regards our 'nation in making' Bradlaugh said :

"Your presence here confutes and answers in anticipation one's sneer that I have spoken within the walls of Parliament. It is said : 'There is no Indian Nation, there can be no Indian National Congress; there is no Indian people, there are only two hundred millions of diverse races and diverse creeds.' The lesson I read here is that the Congress movement is an educational movement, hammering upon the anvil of millions of men's brains, until it welds into one common whole men whose desire for political and social reforms is greater than all distinctions of race and creed."*

* Allan Octavian Hume, p. 87.

† How India Wrought for Freedom, by Annie Besant, p. 99.

Bradlaugh so much identified himself with the Indian cause that he was called "Member for India" in Parliament. While on this subject he rose to poetic heights :

"I feel that I should like to have the title that some have given me in sneer, and some in hearty meaning, of 'Member for India.' Dead men, whose measure I cannot hope to cope with, have partly held that title. But I should love to hold it, not simply by great efforts made on great occasions, but by simple doings whenever there is injustice to be touched. I know how little one can do, but *little* though one man can do, I will tell you *what* he can do. When, after rain and storm, the waters have gathered, one man makes a little boring through which the water begins to percolate that washes all away ; and I will try to be that one, leaving greater ones than I can ever be to swim on the tide when the water flows."[†]

It was during this session that Bradlaugh's interest was roused in the Kashmir tangle. He took it up in the Parliament on the 3rd July, 1890, in the form of

an adjournment motion. Though his motion was defeated owing to the standing majority of the Government, still his object was attained. The Maharajah of Kashmir was restored to his *guddee*. Bradlaugh also brought to the notice of the Parliament several instances of highhandedness of the English members of the Indian Civil Service with some good results.[‡]

By the year 1889, the Congress prepared a scheme for Representative Government in India and requested Bradlaugh to present it before the House of Commons. He readily agreed. At this time Lord Cross was the Secretary of State for India. He also presented a Bill on Indian Reforms before the Parliament. The official Bill naturally got the precedence. Bradlaugh moved amendments to it. But he could not witness much progress of the Bill. He died on the 30th January, 1891, at the comparatively early age of 57. Bradlaugh's zeal for serving India remained unflagging even at his death-bed.

* *Ibid.*, p. 100.

† *Ibid.*, p. 101.

‡ Vide *Memoirs of Motilal Ghose*, pp. 68-72.

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INTERNATIONAL HOUSES IN THE UNITED STATES

Meeting Place of Foreign Students

WHILE walking across the campus of Columbia University in New York City on a spring morning in 1910, Harry Edmonds, a YMCA official in New York, called out a casual "Good Morning !" to a passing



The main entrance of the International House at Berkeley, California



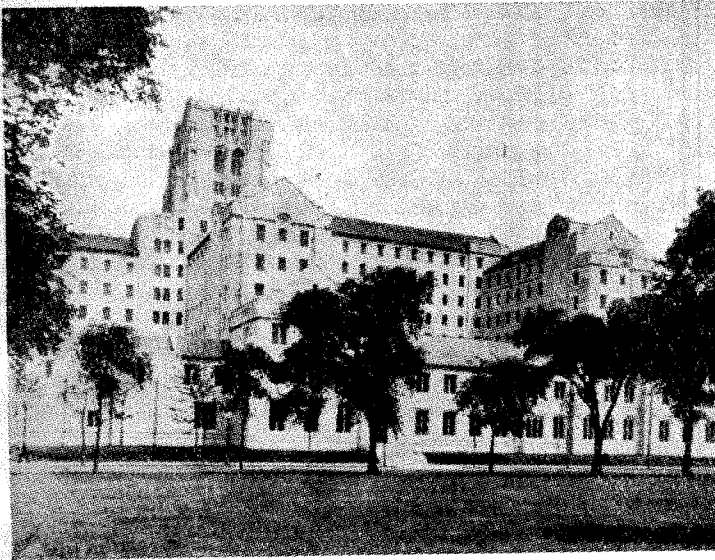
"That Brotherhood may Prevail" are the words above the door of New York City's International House

Chinese student. It was a small spontaneous gesture, but the Chinese student stopped Edmonds and said: "Do you know that you are the first person who has greeted me in the three weeks I have been in

In John D. Rockefeller, Jr., well-known American philanthropist, the group found the man who was to transform this nebulous idea into a reality. He became interested in the Inter-collegiate Cosmopolitan Club, and in 1923 gave it a plot of land in New York City overlooking the Hudson River, together with 2,500,000 dollars to build and equip the present International House in New York. Later gifts from Mr. Rockefeller—1,750,000 dollars for an International House in Berkeley and 3,000,000 dollars for a centre in Chicago—were used to start similar Houses in Berkeley and Chicago. With these gifts "Mr. Rockefeller became the fairy godfather of the International House Movement."

There are three International Houses in the United States that bring together students from all over the world. They illustrate the philosophy that peace is the product of knowledge and understanding and "that brotherhood must prevail" throughout the world.

The International House at New York, overlooking the Hudson River,



One of the most beautiful and impressive buildings in Chicago is the International House

New York?" This incident, though one of every-day life, was to have far-reaching consequences.

Struck by the young foreigner's loneliness, Edmonds promptly invited him to his house for supper the following Sunday, also inviting some other foreign students. Edmonds became interested in the problem of foreign students and found out that there were over 600 students in New York City with little opportunity to become acquainted with each other or with Americans. This gave him the inspiration which led to regular Sunday suppers at Edmonds' home for many of the lonely foreign students in New York.

The number of students outgrew the capacity of his home during the following Sunday suppers, compelling them to find a place elsewhere to have the Sunday meetings. They formed an organization called the

Inter-collegiate Cosmopolitan Club which held the Sunday meetings in Earl Hall at Columbia University.

Gradually the idea of having a permanent meeting place, and a home as well, took hold of the group. They wanted an opportunity of personal relationships, to know other students from other lands and to live together under one roof, sharing common experiences.



Fourteen students from 14 nations of the world, each wearing his homeland's national costume, are photographed on the steps of the International House in Chicago

was founded in 1924, the first one in the United States. It has accommodation for 525 students. The second one in Berkeley, California, founded in 1930, is associated with the University of California. It accommodates 450 students. The third in Chicago, founded in 1932, houses the same number of students as in New York and is associated with the University of Chicago.

Each of these International Houses in the United States has an alumni of thousands of students representing all major countries of the world.

All three houses are self-sustaining, and although there is no formal relationship between them, they are bound together by close ties of common ideals and purpose. In addition to the Sunday suppers which are traditional, each House has added innumerable activities, such as language tables, discussion groups, musical programs, social dancing, national parties, and athletics.

In normal times the ratio of foreign students to Americans living in the three Houses is about half and half.

These International centres in the United States help to establish lasting personal contacts between the

future citizens of many countries, and foster a spirit of understanding, respect, and sympathy which is an essential element in promoting international goodwill. The student center at International House, New York, and its sister institutions in other cities make up a kind of miniature "United Nations."

Affiliated to the International House Movement there are also nine International Student centers under private community auspices, and seven centers chiefly sponsored by university administrations.

International House Day is celebrated on November 10 every year, "to encourage the establishment over the world of groups of Alumni of International House and to further the co-operation of such groups with each other and with the International Houses."

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THE ANDAMANS OF TODAY

By X

THE Andamans are a group of over 200 islands, large and small, lying in the Bay of Bengal. The main part of the group is a land of five large islands, viz., the North Andaman, Middle Andaman, South Andaman, Baratang and Rutland Islands generally known as the

are often surrounded by mangrove swamps. The landscape is everywhere strikingly beautiful and varied. The vegetation of the islands is almost unbroken tropical forest filled with evergreen trees usually heavily laden with climbers, with occasional glades of bamboo.



Catham Island and the dockyard at Port Blair seen from the ship



Among the ruins of a house abandoned in Ross Island

Great Andamans. The Andaman and Nicobar Islands are administered by the Chief Commissioner and the headquarters of the Administration is Port Blair in the South Andaman Island. Port Blair is 780 miles from Calcutta, 740 miles from Madras and 360 miles from Rangoon. The extreme length of the entire group of the Andaman Islands is 219 miles and the extreme breadth is 32 miles, the total land area being 2,508 square miles. The coast line is deeply indented, forming a number of safe harbours and tidal creeks which

The South Andaman Island covers an area of roughly 473 square miles. It is partly clear for cultivation, grazing and habilitation and forestry.

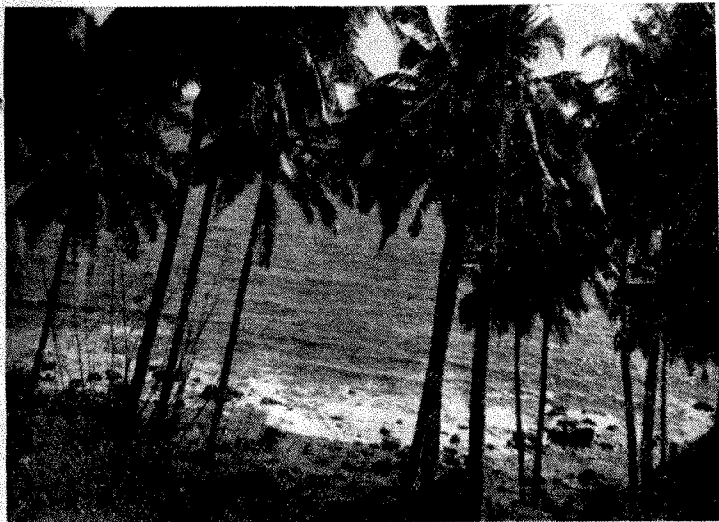
A penal settlement was established in the Andaman Islands in the 19th century in Port Blair. This was, however, completely closed down in 1945 as a result of the re-occupation of the islands after the war.

The view that the Andaman Islands are extremely suitable for colonisation has been expressed by Sri Nikunja Behari Maity, Relief Minister, West Bengal

nd Leader of the Indian Exploratory Party to the not exist. Plague, small-pox, cholera are not known
Andaman Islands and other members of the Delegation to occur and malaria is rarely found.

Communications : The only means of communication at present between the mainland of India and the islands is by sea. The S.S. *Maharaja* belonging to Turner, Morrison & Co has been chartered by the Government of India on behalf of the Andaman Administration and plies regularly between Calcutta and Port Blair and Madras and Port Blair. The ship goes to Calcutta once a fortnight and to Madras once in two months, the voyage taking 3½ days each way. Motor transport is available in the islands and a few buses ply between Port Blair and some of the villages. There is a Post Office at Port Blair and letters are carried by the S.S. *Maharaja* on each visit.

In addition there is a Telegraph Office from which messages are sent to India by wireless at ordinary rates. There is a Government H. E.



A cocoanut grove, Andaman Island

Climate : The climate of the Andamans is wet and humid. The rain-fall is irregular but most of the rain falls during the South-West monsoon. The islands are subject to both the South-West monsoon from May to September and the North-East monsoon from November to January. Port Blair has an average of 116 inches of rain-fall.

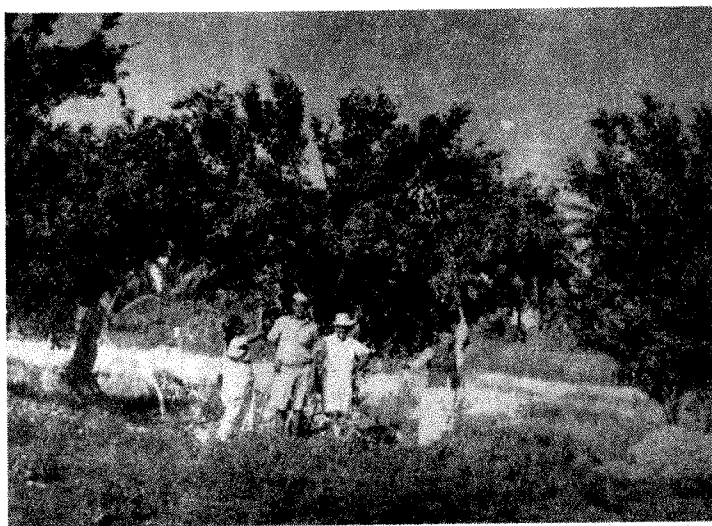
Population : The present population of the Andaman island is 14,500 of which 11,885 are Indians.

The settlement area consists of hills separated by narrow valleys. But there are good roads connecting most of the villages round about. More surface water is found on the west and north and perennial streams running from south to north are fairly numerous. Fresh water is plentiful throughout the islands.

There are numerous inlets and creeks which facilitate cheap water-transport.

The common language in the settlement is Urdu spoken in every possible variety of corruption and with every variety of accent. It is the language of the local-borns who now call themselves as Indian Andamanese.

Health : From the health point of view the islands are eminently suitable for colonisation. The climate is good and temperate. Mosquitoes are scarce and the health of the people sound. Carnivorous animals do



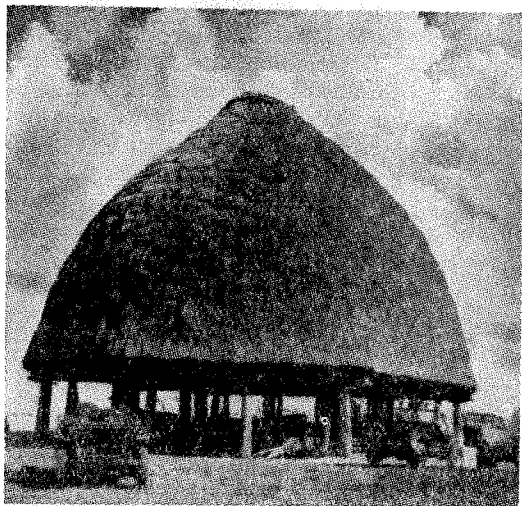
Plucking oranges at a village in the north of Middle Andaman Island

school affiliated to the Calcutta University. The total strength of pupils is 750. There is a good Government Hospital at Port Blair.

There is also a telephone system operating in Port Blair connecting some of the main villages in the neighbourhood. Electricity supply is available in Port Blair. There is an ice factory and the Supply Department provides the necessary food-stuffs by importing most of the requirements from India. A strict system of rationing and price control is in force and all articles of food ordinarily obtainable in India are

available in Port Blair, at controlled prices. Vegetables and fruits are growing locally and some varieties are imported. The crops and fruits chiefly raised are rice,

An Agricultural survey of the islands has recently been completed by agricultural experts appointed by the Government of India. There are large possibilities



A maternity home at the seaside in Car-Nicobar Island. Such maternity homes are to be found in every village

sugarcane, pulses, maize, and turmeric, cocoanuts, plantains, pappas, oranges and other citrous fruits. Tea, rubber, and coffee plantations exist.

Development Potential: The forest constitute the main wealth of the islands and hitherto only a part of the forest wealth has been utilised under Government supervision in the South Andaman.



Among the ruins of a demolished house in Ross Island

for settlement by those who take to cultivation or fishery as their principal occupation.

There is also an urgent need for labourers of all types as well as of skilled labourers of the artisan class in the islands. There is work for land reclamation, cultivation, fisheries, cooking, making domestic utensils, cattle breeding, poultry farming, fuel cutting, salt making, ship and boat building, house building, furniture making, metal work, carpentry, masonry, road building, earth work, pottery, rope making, and basket work.

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Mm. HARAPRASAD SHASTRI

An Autobiographical Sketch

II

VIII. CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS SANSKRIT LITERATURE

The Shastri has published the Svayambhu Purana, the only Buddhist Purana, ever written. It is a history of Nepalese Buddhism giving also a detailed topography of all holy places in that country specially of the Svayambhu Kshetra, the greatest place of pilgrimage of the Northern Buddhists.

The six tracts of Buddhist Nyaya are unique works on Buddhist Logic and Philosophy of the later Buddhist world—throwing a flood of light on such astruse topics as Antar vyapti or inference without example, on the transitoriness of the Phenomenal world, on the latent meanings of words and so on, which but for his interest in them, would have remained absolutely unknown.

Rudra Chandra Dev, one of the greatest Rajas of Kumaon, a contemporary of Akbar, wrote a work on Falconry and Hawking which the Shastri has edited and translated into English. This book also would have remained unknown but for his interest in it. Lord Curzon thinks—it is an extremely interesting book.

The Shastri has translated but not published the Gautama Sutras on the Nyaya System of Philosophy without the help of any commentary, from the words of the Sutras themselves. A close examination of this translation, he thinks, reveals the fact that the Sutras are not the work of one man but they embody the ideas of six different periods of development of that System of Philosophy. He has also shown how from these Sutras the Buddhists developed their system of Nyaya as still studied in China and Japan.

The publication of the fragments of *Chatussatika* was perhaps the hardest nut the Shastri had to crack. Out of about a hundred leaves, only twenty-three reached his hand, with the original leaf-marks carefully obliterated and it took him years of study to locate these leaves into their proper chapters. The work was written by the greatest philosophical writer of the Mahayana School and the commentary was also by a man celebrated in Buddhist Literature. So the work, however difficult, had to be done and it has been done.

In the Durbar Library of Nepal, the Shastri discovered an unknown Epic entitled *Saundarananda* by no less a poet, philosopher and musician than *Asvaghosa* the *guru* of Emperor Kaniska. So it was a twin-sister of the *Epic Buddha Charita*. It was unknown even in China and Tibet, though in Hindu and Jaina Literature occasional quotations from it were observable. The Shastri published it from an old, dilapidated Palm-leaf manuscript and an eighteenth century paper-manuscript, with an introduction and notes.

The *Ram Charita* was also a discovery of the Shastri. It is the only historical work in Eastern India; but the task of editing it was exceedingly difficult as it is throughout in double entendre—giving the history of *Rampal*, the King of Bengal, on the one hand and the story of the *Ramayana* on the other.

Fortunately a canto and a half out of four cantos was accompanied by an excellent commentary supposed to be by the author himself. The Shastri didn't think himself justified to make a commentary of his own for the rest of the book, as that would seem to be too audacious in the present state of our knowledge of the Pala period.

IX. 'DISCOVERIES'

In 1899* the Shastri made the startling discovery that in Bengal, nearly a third of the Hindu population are still Buddhists without knowing that they are so. These people worship a deity named *Dharma*, which is no other than the second member of the Buddhist triad. The worship is conducted by non-Brahmins and the mantras are full of Buddhist ideas. This discovery was very greatly appreciated by scholars both in Europe and in India, which induced the Shastri to publish the pamphlet entitled "Discovery of living Buddhism in Bengal."

The discovery next in importance is that of a remnant of the Zoroastrian fire-worship still lurking in a corner of the Rajputana deserts. It is the worship of a lamp, fed with ghee, which is kept burning by a body of monks for centuries.

Of his literary discoveries, the most important for the Bengali is that of a pretty large volume of Bengali Buddhist Literature of the 10th and 11th centuries. He has discovered a very large number of Buddhist Sanskrit works which were known from Tibetan or

Chinese translations only, but the originals of which were considered to have been hopelessly lost. He has also found a number of very interesting Sanskrit works of the Hindus. The discovery and explanation of various kinds of round cards for play has demonstrated the fact that the card-play had its origin in India.

In his paper entitled "Who were the Sungas" he announced the discovery that the Sungas who destroyed the Maurya Empire were Brahmins professing *Samaveda*, who were greatly discontented by *Asoka's* prohibition of all animal sacrifices. Sunga is a *Gotta* in which there were many famous teachers of *Samaveda*.

He was also the first to discover that there was a vast empire in India just before the Guptas with its capital at *Pushkarana* extending from Bengal to *Balkh*.

X. SHASTRI AS AN EXAMINER

As an examiner, the Shastri has done good work. He was examiner in M.A. in the Madras University for two years; in the Allahabad University for four years and in the Calcutta University for a number of years. In the last named University he examines the P.R.S., and the Ph.D. theses on all Indian subjects as well as the Research Prize Essays. He was twice appointed examiner by the Board of Examiners for the Honours Examination, once in Hindi and once in Sanskrit.

XI. ANCESTRY

Three to four hundred years ago, when the Rajahs of Naldanga in Jessore were rising to the foremost position in Bengal, they selected *Rajendra Vidyalankar* as their Court-pandit in preference to such eminent men as *Vasudeva Sarvabhouna*, *Raghunandan*, *Vidyanivasa* and others who were the Raja's next of kin. *Rajendra's* posterity were famous for their learning. Fourth in descent from him *Manikya Chandra Tarkabhushan* settled at *Naihati* about 1750 A.D. and soon became a rival of *Jagannath Tarkapanchanan* whose influence with the East India Company and the Rajas of the time was very great. *Manikya Chandra's* opinions in matters of Hindu Law were treated with great respect by Sir William Jones, the only Sanskrit-knowing Judge of the Supreme Court. *Manikya's* grandson *Ramkamal Nyayaratna* was one of the foremost Naiyika of his time. *Babu Ramaprasad Roy*, the first judge-elect of the Calcutta High Court and the son of *Raja Ramchun Roy* writes about *Ramkamal Nyayaratna's* family in the following terms: "Nearly half the real Sanskrit celebrities of the land are disciples of this family and no congregation of Pandits is said to be complete without the presence of his (*Nanda Kumar Nyayashunchu father*," i.e., *Ramkamal Nyayaratna*, the father of *Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri*.

* This should be "1891."—B. N. B.

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1. Santideva, 1913; 2. Dakshini Pandits at Benares, 1912; 3. King Chandra of the Meherauli Iron Pillar Inscription, 1913; 4. Mandasore Inscription of the time of Naravarman.

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1. Mandasore Inscription of Naravarman; 2. Susunia Inscription of Chandravarman.

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1. Superstitions prevalent in the Sunderbans.

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1. The Topography of Govinda Dasa's Diary (3 issues) 2. The Review of Vernacular Literature for 3 years.

Dacca Review

1. The works of Bhasa.

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1. The Svayambhu Purana; The Brihaddharma Purana; 3. Ballala Charita; 4. Six tracts of Buddhist Nyaya; 5. The Shyainika Sastra; 6. Saundarananda Kavya, an Epic by Asvaghosa.

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1. Vol. X. Jointly edited with Raja Rajendralal Mitra Vol. XI.

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Vol. I, Vol. II, Vol. III, Vol. IV.

Catalogue of Palm-leaf and selected paper MSS. from Nepal

Vol. I, 1905; Vol. II, 1915.

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1. The account of a Bengali Brahmin who obtained a high position in the Sinhalese Buddhist hierarchy in the 11th Century A.D. P. 1890, 125
2. A short account of an old gun recently dug up at False Point P. 1890, 166
3. A map of ancient Aryavarta presented by Nagendra Nath Vasu P. 1890, 204
4. Note on the Banks of the Hughli in 1495. P. 1892, 193
5. On a new find of old Nepalese manuscripts. J. 1893, Vol. 62 (Part I, 245)
6. Reminiscences of sea voyage in ancient Bengali Literature. P. 1893, 20

7. Note on an inscribed gun in the armoury of the Nawab of Murshidabad P. 1893, 24
8. Ancient Bengali Literature under Muhammadan patronage P. 1894, 118
9. Discovery of the remnants of Buddhism in Bengal P. 1894, 135
10. Buddhism in Bengal since the Muhammadan conquest J. 1895, Vol. 64 (Part I, 55)
11. Sridharmamangal, a distant echo of the Lalita-Vistara J. 1895, Vol. 64 (Part I, 65)
12. Note on Bishnupur circular cards J. 1895, Vol. 64 (Part I, 284)
13. A second set of Bishnupur Circular cards P. 1896, 2
14. The discovery of Bidhiviveka, an unique manuscript at Puri P. 1896, 130
15. Some ancient Burmese inscribed pottery P. 1897, 164
16. Notes on palm-leaf manuscripts in the Library of H. E. the Maharaja of Nepal J. 1897, Vol. 63 (Part I, 310)
17. The Discovery of a work by Aryadeva in Sanskrit J. 1898, Vol. 67 (Part I, 175)
18. India in Lakshmana Sen's time from a rare manuscript written in his court P. 1898, 190
19. On a manuscript of the Astasahasrika Prajnaparamita written in Nalanda and discovered in Nepal P. 1899, 39
20. Scientific attainments of Pandit Bishnu Prasad Rajbhandari P. 1899, 42
21. On a Turquoise Ganesa P. 1900, 69
22. On the manuscript of a work on the Biography of one of the Pala Kings of Magadha, Ram Pal. On the manuscript of Ramacharita by Sandhyakara Nandi P. 1900, 70
23. On a manuscript of Kulalikam-naya, a Tantric work in Gupta character of the 7th century P. 1900, 76
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34. Scientific attainments of Dr. Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar P. 1904, 30
35. History of Nyaya Sastra from Japanese sources P. 1905, 77
36. An examination of the Nyaya-sutras P. 1905, 245
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44. Discovery of Abhisamayalamkara by Maitreya Natha J. 1910, (VI), 425
46. Ramacharita by Sandhyakara Nandi M. 1910 (III), 1
46. Notes on the newly found manuscript of Chatussatika by Aryadeva J. 1911 (VII), 431
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49. A note on Bhatti J. 1912 (VIII), 289
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51. Exhibition of the Genealogical tree of the Rathore family and of a photograph of Sihoji the founder of the family J. 1912 (VIII), 133
52. Exhibition of some manuscripts of the 12th Century J. 1912 (VIII), 134
53. Relics of the worship of Mud Turtles (Trionichidae) in India and Burma with a note by H. E. Stapleton on the Chittagong Turtles J. 1914, (X), 131
54. Obituary notice of the late Pandit Bishnu Prasad Rajbhandari P. 1914, 81
55. Literary attainments of Bada Kaji Marichiman Sinha P. 1914, 132
56. Chatussatika by Aryadeva M. 1911 (III), 449
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- Vibha*
1. Recovery of Indian lost treasure (Bodhisattva-vadana Kalpalata), 2. Musalmani Bengali (Sijya Ujal Bibir Kechha).
- * See "Bangla Bhasha" : *Bangadarshan*, Sravan, 1288 B.S.—B.N.B.
 † Pub. in the *Bangadarshan* for Agrahayana, Pous and Falgun, 1289, in "three" instalments.—B. N. B.
 ‡ This refers to the article "Jar Kaj Sei Karuk," published in the *Bangadarshan* for Pous, 1287 B.S.—B. N. B.



SPACE TRAVEL AND ATOMIC ROCKETS

By P. K. BANERJEE, N.K.I. (Sweden)

WHOSE imagination is not stirred by the thought of space-travel? Who has not at least once flown on the rainbow-coloured wings of his fantasy through the vast expanse of the space to regions where the stars and the suns in all their celestial stellar glory proclaim the infinite power of their Creator? Confronted by the immensity of their size, which can be hardly measured in earthly dimensions, human imagination staggers and reels back to a narrow compass within the limited scope of this our small earth again. But science has known to obliterate the line of distinction drawn between the confusion and terror of dark ignorance and the celestial light of knowledge and it will, perhaps, at no distant future provide humanity with all the thrills of safety-cum-speed travel to unknown regions beyond this earth.

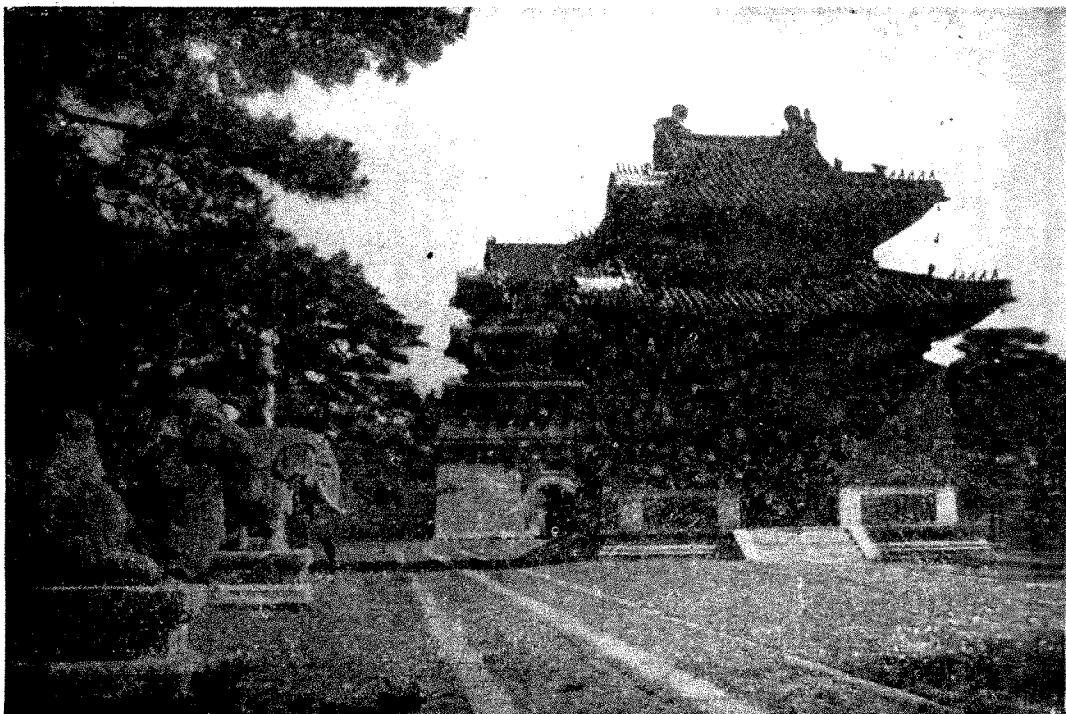
"As a matter of fact, we have already made such phenomenal progress in the design and construction of rockets that we can send one to the moon un-manned,"—thus observed Willy Ley, one of the leading experts on rockets and long-distance projectiles and guided missiles. He is of the opinion that within five years of constructing this pioneer type of rocket it will be possible to send even a rocket-liner with passengers and crew to the moon. He is the author of a book entitled *Rockets and Space-Travel* which forms the basis of this interesting article. According to him, such a rocket will have to be constructed with aluminium-beryllium alloy. In its form and shape it will have some resemblance with V-2 rocket-bombs which were used for the first time by the Germans during the last and decisive stage of the last war. It will be however much bigger in size than the V-2s and from the tip of the nose to the end of its tail it will measure about one-third the height of the Empire State Building and it will have the same type of automatic controls and motors as were used in the V-2s. For its successful take-off a place having an altitude of at least 5,000 metres will be a prime requisite and therefore the European Alps can scarcely serve the purpose. In the opinion of experts Mount Kilimanjaro in equatorial East Africa which has an altitude of 6,000 metres will be quite suitable for this purpose. The higher the altitude used for its take-off the lesser would be the air-resistance to overcome, a factor which is of the utmost importance for a successful long-distance flight. From another viewpoint Equatorial Africa is considered to be a very suitable starting-ground. As the rotatory motion of the earth is at its highest at the Equator, the scientists' purpose of selecting a place in the equatorial belt is the utilisation to the full of the source of energy which lies in the rotatory motion for the rocket's successful take-off. As the earth rotates from west to east the start will have to be made in an easterly direction, no matter in whatever direction the goal for such a space-travel may be. As to the time for undertaking such a journey it will depend on the location of the body in the vast expanse of the universe which has been decided upon as the goal for such a journey.

Before we embark upon our journey through unknown limitless space we will have to lie down on our backs. Just after starting we rise vertically at a comparatively low speed, but soon after, the rate of acceleration becomes so great that the weight of our bodies increases four times their normal weight. This is a physical phenomenon which is characterised technically as 4G-N. We still keep on lying in that posture in order to minimise as much as possible the discomfort which would have been much greater in any other posture and which is brought on by the forces of the gravitational 'pull' working at such heights. After the start we allowed only eight minutes of time for the engine of the rocket to work, after which it was shut off, but the momentum already gained took us to a distance of about 880 kilometres. The space-rocket has now gained such a great height that it is no longer influenced by the forces of gravitation. We are now moving at the fantastic speed of 3 kilometres per second but we no longer feel it. Now it is but a question of either further acceleration or retardation. Our pilot now cracks on by putting the engine into action once again, but this he does only for a few minutes. Now we have entered the second stage of our perilous journey through the vast expanse of the infinite space. If instead of rocket-propulsion we could have used atomic energy for our 'Ship of the Space' we could have easily continued on our journey direct to the moon. Liquid oxygen and hydrogen in mixture are used as fuel for the experimental rockets of our time, and if the same fuel is used in a 'Space-Ship' it will be necessary to make a few landings before we can reach our destination in the space.

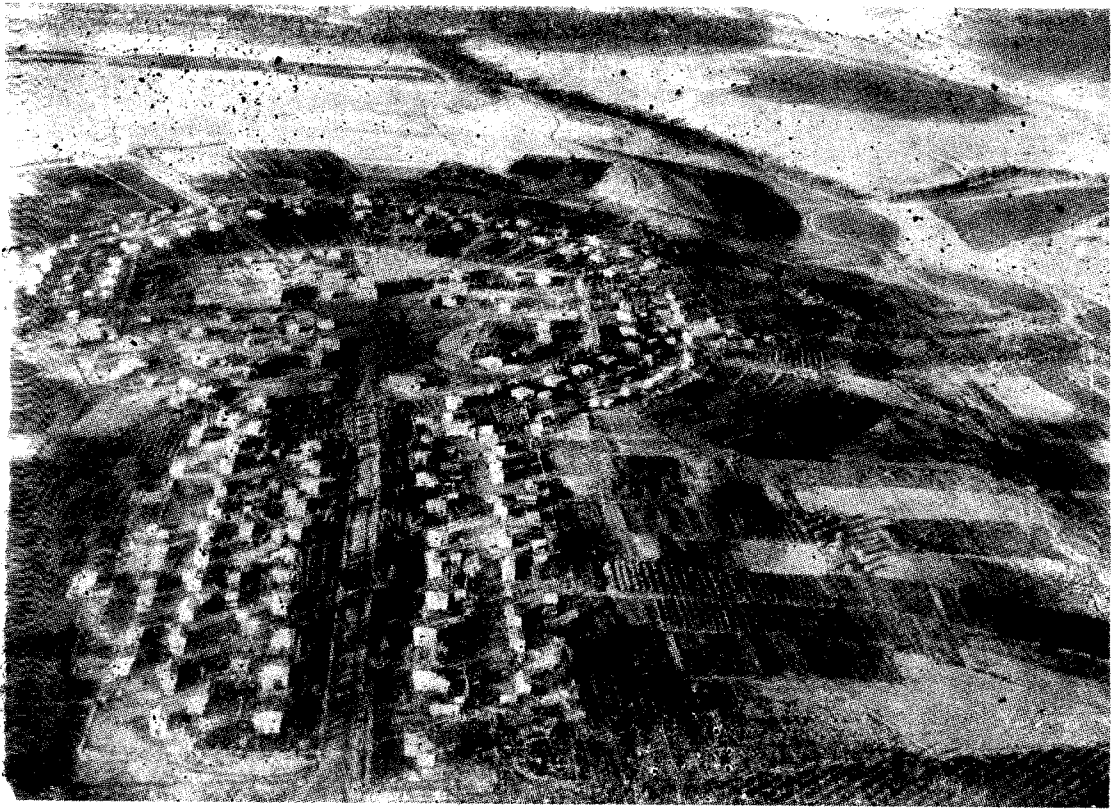
For the purpose of refuelling the tanks of such a rocket we will have to make these landings on a few floating fuel-stations, which are now not merely the products of fantasy. As a result of the phenomenal progress already made in the domain of science the problem of constructing such floating stations is considered to be much easier than the many other problems which are connected with 'space-travel' to the moon which remain yet to be solved. Someone may perhaps with wondering eyes put the question, 'How can the refuelling-stations remain afloat high up in the limitless space? They simply cannot, they must come down to the earth.' But the scientists' answer to this is in the positive, in whose opinion they will keep revolving round the earth always maintaining an equidistance from it. A very successful secret experiment which was carried out very recently in the U.S.A. has really meant a great step forward in this direction and it has thrown a flood of light on the actual possibilities of constructing 'miniature moons' which will keep revolving round the earth. Similar other experiments were carried out with equal success at a secret rocket-range which is located somewhere in the southern wastes of the U.S.A. In these experiments some new types of projectiles and some pioneer-types of rockets were fired into the space and there is scientific reason to believe that



Two Chinese girls. The picture proves that the Chinese can laugh and have a rich sense of humour



The royal mausoleum at Mukden, for centuries the ancestral capital of the Manchu Emperors of China



Jewish colonisation in Palestine has taken the form of co-operative small-holdings at Kfar Jechezkel



Tel-Aviv, headquarters of Israel State

some of them have either gone up very high into the vast expanse of the endless space without falling back to the earth or what is considered even more probable from a scientific viewpoint they are still revolving round the earth like so many miniature moons. Will such man-made satellites carry atomic charge? This forms the big question-mark of the hour in the scientific world. Will it be possible to release such rockets from a firing-range and guide them to specified military targets is another question of great topical interest. The American Government was surely not in a position either to deny or confirm officially this sensational news which somehow leaked out through the iron barrier of censorship and which after the atom bomb created the greatest amount of sensation in scientific circles throughout the civilised world.

For years on end the scientific genius of man has been directed towards controlling and mastering the tremendous forces of the Cosmos and now at last after years of intensive research work which brought in its trail not a few calamitous accidents man has succeeded in taking the first decisive step in his herculean attempt at dominating the universe. It is no exaggeration to say that for the first time in the history of the world man has succeeded in firing rockets to such a great height, where not being influenced by the gravitational forces of the earth they could continue on their precipitous journey to an unknown distance through the infinite space. For the first time a material object by defying the laws of gravity did not come back to earth again after being released upwards into the space with a terrific speed.

A physical phenomenon which is technically known as G-loading needs a mention in this connection. By G-loading is meant gravitational loading or pull which reaches its peak when an object moving at a terrific speed remains within the transsonic belt, when it is confronted with an almost insuperably thick barrier-wall of air which causes even the finest tempered steel such as is used in the construction of the wings of special experimental aircraft to buckle. But as soon as this moving object by further acceleration crosses into the supersonic belt there is a sudden and great drop in G-loadings and air-resistance. An altogether novel method of firing rockets has been introduced at one of the American experimental stations which is located in White Sands, New Mexico, where in one of the experimental test-flights rockets were fastened by an ingenious mechanical device to V-bombs which the Americans got as war-trophies from the Germans. When the V-bombs had reached an altitude of 150 kilometres the fastened rockets were automatically released to whizz past in the space at a terrific speed. The V-2s were used to serve the purpose of a mechanical pick-a-back. As mother-rockets when after completing their course of flight into the space they began descending down towards the earth, the daughter-rockets on their automatic release shot upwards through the highest atmospheric

layers into the infinite space and they never fall back to the earth again. Jet-propulsion is considered to be the only suitable method of generating motive-power for such high-speed rockets which are intended to fly through the vacuum of the space, but the present type which is used in aircraft can hardly answer for the purpose, as it requires atmospheric oxygen for its working. The rocket system of propulsion is therefore more advantageous as liquid oxygen which is used as fuel can be stored in a tank and conveniently carried. Work on the construction of a 'space-rocket' for sending it to the moon has been going on for several years in the world-famous Westing House workshops in the U.S.A. Six different rockets each working after the other form the integral part of this type of rockets. As soon as one of the six rockets which are installed within the main rocket uses up its fuel it explodes and is thereby disconnected from the other remaining ones to reduce the overall weight of the main rocket or the rocket-ship. It has been however so devised that the sixth and the last rocket which weighs only 25 kilograms will not be exhausted before the rocket-ship reaches its destination, the moon. Before starting on the actual journey to the moon, such a rocket will have an overall weight of 100 tons. But as this type of rockets in the opinion of experts is considered to be rather uneconomical they can be hardly of any practical utility in long-distance interplanetary traffic. After repeated experiments scientists have arrived at the definite conclusion that in order to free a moving object from the influence of the powerful forces of gravity which together with atmospheric pressure act as a brake on its unhindered passage through the space, it is necessary to develop the fantastic speed of 11 kilometres per second, which will require the generation of 53,000°C of heat. But as up till now scientists have been successful in generating only 4,000°C in their laboratories, the difficult question of realising their long-cherished dream of interplanetary travel is yet a far-cry.

Like the welcome heralds of a new era of untrammelled scientific progress space-rockets will in any case blaze the trail of the glorious rebirth of the golden age of human civilisation, when fantastic speeds developed on land, sea and air will provide man with a most potent weapon for conquering and dominating nature. It has now been scientifically established beyond the slightest shade of a shadow or doubt that if an object can leave the surface of the earth at a terrific speed and tangentially or in a horizontal direction and if it can at the same time be freed from the influences of atmospheric pressure, it will keep on revolving round the earth without requiring any fuel for its locomotion, aided as it will then be by the forces of gravity to always maintain an equilibrium from the earth's surface. This is now looked upon as a comparatively easy task by the scientists and recent successful experiments in this direction have given confirmation to the accuracy of their theoretical

calculation. Now-a-days we read with great interest almost daily in the papers about a "cold war" or a "phony war" or a "war of nerves" going on on the international political front, but seldom do we care to take notice of a bigger war which is being constantly waged between man and nature and in which man is shortly going to use atomic-rockets, "atombomb-moons" and other deadly missiles which were never used in any international war on this earth for forcing nature to cede just an infinitesimal fraction of her vast empire to man in his quest for "Lebensraum."

Now we once again come to the question how refuelling-stations which will serve the double purpose of anchorage grounds and pumping-stations for space-rockets can be kept floating high up in the space as so many rungs of a ladder for reaching our goal, the moon. For the long and hazardous journey to the moon the necessary refuelling stations will be established at different heights with the help of robot-controlled rockets, which will at first rise vertically from the earth's surface at a terrific speed like some fierce apocalyptic monsters leaving behind a gigantic trail of smoke and rending the air and sky with either a sharp and shrill hissing sound or a piercing *banshee* wail. After they have reached a point high up in the space where the influences of atmospheric pressure cannot work they will automatically change their vertical course and begin to fly horizontally maintaining the same terrific speed and securely carrying their "loads" (the refuelling-stations) on their mighty backs like some ghost-birds of some other planet. With this changeover in the course of their precipitous flight will strike the zero hour for unloading their charges, which will now keep floating instead of going down to the earth. As regards the time these refuelling stations will take in completing a full revolution round the earth will depend on their respective speeds and the heights that they will maintain. If any refuelling station moves, say at the fantastic speed of 40,000 kilometres per hour at a height of 3,000 kilometres, it will complete its rotation round the earth in just about an hour and a half. But greater the height the greater will be the time for completing this revolution as the moving object's orbit will be then longer. Such floating stations will have spherical shaped reservoirs, fuel tanks and store-rooms. Before actually undertaking the hazardous journey to the moon through the endless and unknown vistas of light and shade where perhaps the fantastic beams of light from some stars, billions of light-year-miles away, will cross and recross each other to weave strange patterns of staggering dimensions across the dark screen of the infinite space, some American scientists under the competent leadership of Dr. H. E. Krause, who for several years has been holding the responsible post of the Director of the American Marine Research Institute and who is also looked upon as an authority on space-rockets, long distance projectiles and guided missiles, are thinking of sending pilot-rockets, equipped with radar and

other, highly developed radio-technical aids and carrying some deadly atomic charge for facilitating accurate observations being taken through the world's largest telescope which has been recently installed at the Mount Palomar Observatory. Whether or not these pilot-rockets can reach and hit their bull's-eye, the silvery moon, can be easily ascertained by observing the gigantic explosions, which will result from their atomic charges going off with apocalyptic violence on the moon's cold surface. Compared to such explosions the recent test-explosions near the Bikini atoll or those more violent ones over Hiroshima and Nagasaki will simply pale into insignificance. With the phenomenal developments of long-distance rockets and atomic weapons all the thrills and horrors of "press-the-button-warfare" now seem to be within the easy grasp of American scientists.

Now we are going to discuss about our theoretical journey to the moon. Just imagine that our giant 'space-ship' is nearing the first of the many refuelling stations floating high up in the space. With her nose downwards she makes straightaway for the anchorage and maintaining all the time the same speed as that of the revolving refuelling-station. By a little acceleration and by clever manoeuvring she finally touches the ground safely and the service-personnel of the station, standing ready, clad in their special kits which we ourselves will use on our arrival at the moon, now rush forward to take charge of our ship. Every member of the service crew working here is allowed to stay here only for a limited time as being under the influence of gravitational laws which are different from those prevailing on our earth, might impair their physical fitness. But as it would be against the rules and a costly affair to bring them down to the earth every now and then for relaxation it has been decided to construct special recreation and rest-cure rooms for them somewhere near the refuelling stations where the forces of gravity can be made to work exactly in the same way as on earth. Such recreation and rest-cure chambers will be hermetically sealed and they will be joined together by a cable round which they will keep turning, so that the generated centrifugal force will act exactly in the same way as gravitational force on the men inside these chambers. From these chambers, if need be, it will be even possible to fly outside in midget one-man-rockets for the purpose of landing on a platform, situated half-way between two opposite recreation-chambers. He who comes there for a longer period relaxation will carry a thick leather-belt with a safety metal hook, round which to fasten the cable for safely directing himself to his destination during a promenade or stroll. As even here the forces of gravity will work, though in a much weaker strength, he will have no difficulty in maintaining a foot-hold for traversing the one-kilometre long way back to his own chamber. After refuelling our space-ship is freed from her anchorage and she starts again on her long trip to the moon. After making a few similar other

landings we are now on the last and decisive stage of our journey making a non-stop dash for the moon, which has now become fantastically bigger in size. We have yet to cover a great distance before we can reach our destination which is now hovering before us like a huge star and faintly shining with a yellowish tinge. All eyes are now turned to one of the crew of our ship who is entrusted with the difficult task of navigation in the endless space with the help of stars only. He is called "astrogator" and he is now very busy making calculations at regular intervals by constantly examining certain astronomical charts so that we may not be led astray in the infinite space. Once in a while he takes the controls and starts and restarts the rocket-engine to make sure that the ship is holding the right course. But when her engine is shut off the space-ship moves exactly like a heavenly body, being helped in her locomotion by different gravitational forces of different heavenly bodies working on it. Some of us can now hardly suppress our great curiosity to have a look round through the closed windows of our cabin which are made of some special type of quartz, which is meant to give protection against the harmful effects of many types of ultra-violet rays. The surrounding space with its darkest velvety colour strikes terror in our hearts. The space itself has got no temperature of its own, while the temperature of our ship is a balanced one by the process of absorption and radiation of heat. In order to regulate this balance in temperature it has been necessary to paint one-half of the rocket in black colour for absorbing the heat of the sun and the other half in bright polished white for reflecting the sun's rays. The pilot by merely turning the body of the rocket towards the sun can easily maintain this balance. If we just remain on the *qui vive* the risks of any collision with meteors and other small heavenly bodies can be definitely minimised. If, however, by chance a meteor hits the passenger-cabin of our ship it will pierce through it like a high velocity projectile with the resultant tragic consequence that before we can even think of stopping the holes created by it we will die as the direct result of decompression. Our fate will be then quite similar to that of a deep-sea diver, whose death is brought about by the formation of nitrogen bubbles in his blood circulation. In order to guard against such an eventuality the air of our cabin will be devoid of nitrogen. It will be just a mixture of oxygen and helium. A meteor can be however so small that it can create as minute a hole as that in a sewing-needle's head. In that case the air of our cabin will get rarefied so gradually that we can scarcely get a chance of perceiving it before it is too late. In order therefore to protect us from this imperceptible and invisible danger all of us are carrying an ingenious little apparatus which is connected with our ears with a photo-electric tube. With every variation in the amount of oxygen in the air the colour of our blood is said to undergo some change which can be detected and

checked by this extra-sensitive apparatus which by sending a ray of light to the earlobe of its user records every change on a meter, placed before the user's eyes.

Four days have now elapsed since we left our last refuelling station and have now reached a point which is very near our destination. The pilot gets ready for landing on the moon by manoeuvring his ship into such a position that she can land on her with her tail-end touching the ground first. For a few seconds he retards the engine for a gradual reduction in the rocket's fantastic speed. As the moon has no atmosphere we can't enjoy the thrill of dropping down with parachutes. The four collapsible "landing legs" in the rockets aft are now seen to protrude as after wheeling we vertically descend and slowly and carefully touch the ground on the moon's surface exactly at that moment when the rocket's speed is reduced to zero. Safe and sound at our perilous journey's end we now prepare ourselves for getting off for making our first acquaintance with beautiful Diana who with her alluring silvery beauty has enticed us away to her far-off abode high above the clouds. But before we can get off we have to don our special 'moon-kit,' which will not only provide us with the necessary oxygen for our respiration but at the same time guard us against the dangerously hot and scorching rays of the sun and the great risks brought on by extremes of temperature. Our 'moon-kit' has an overall weight of full 100 kilogrammes but nevertheless we can still move about it rather quite freely without feeling any great inconvenience as the moon's gravitational force is just one-fifth of our earth's. After making many thrilling excursions in this new world and after meeting with many wild adventures we now begin to think of getting back to our mother earth again. We fix the D-day of our journey back home and embarking on our ship on the appointed day we lie down on our backs exactly in the same way as we did it before leaving the earth on our outward journey. On our homeward journey we met with practically speaking the same kind of natural phenomena as on the outward journey except when we almost reached the atmospheric layers of our earth. If our pilot was not careful in avoiding a direct contact of his ship which was then moving at a terrific speed with the upper atmospheric layers, his ship would have been doomed to a sure destruction by catching fire as the result of an enormous heat generated by friction. By changing her precipitous course down towards the earth and by clever manoeuvring the pilot at last succeeded in keeping his ship at a safe height, where with her engine shut she began to revolve round the earth in elliptical courses like the satellite of a planet, aided in its locomotion only by the gravitational forces of the earth. Twenty-four hours after she could land and rest safely on mother earth's bosom with the help of a giant parachute. Safe and sound after our long and strenuous journey we felt so happy and glad to be back here again.

MAYAKOVSKY

The Poet of Russian Transition

By Prof. RAJENDRA VERMA, M.A.

In speaking of Mayakovsky, Stalin said :

"Mayakovsky was and is the most talented poet of our socialist epoch ; and indifference to his memory is a crime."

In the first All Union Congress of Soviet Writers in 1935, Nikolai Bukharin said :

"Mayakovsky gave Soviet poetry so much that he has become a classic. He lives on in almost every young poet, and his poetic methods have become a permanent part of our literature."

Mayakovsky died in 1930, and in 1934 a leading Soviet literary critic called him a 'classic.'

It is not that the term 'classic' was applied in a moment of enthusiasm. Mayakovsky was the representative of a quickly shifting epoch in Russia—the revolution and the cataclysmic changes following it in the Russian society as in the spirit of man. He started his literary career roughly in 1905, and was put into strides by Maxim Gorky. He saw the defeat of the revolution of 1907 and the glory of going through the November revolution of 1917. Having been born in the Revolutionary age he lived to see the civil war, the war of intervention and the consolidation of the Soviets.

The end of this poet was dramatic. Mayakovsky, the poet of the toilers, the singer of incorrigible hope, and the painter of the cracking blood-red dawn, committed suicide in 1930 !

Like all artists Mayakovsky began with a restless pursuit of form. On the continent France was the cradle of new art-movements, one of them being Symbolism. Another tendency of note was the Italian Futurism which was the expression of the youthful mind in bold relief—its upsurge and its dynamic repudiation of an academic past. Mayakovsky took colour from the French symbolists as well as the Italian futurists. A poem characteristic of the influence is entitled 'A Cloud in Trousers.' Its motif is extreme individualism, it is "I, Mayakovsky *versus* the Un-verse." It is a moving poem of heartbreak of futile love. He wrote as any romantic of his tragic love affair, weaving it into universal agony ; the method was staccato imagery.

The situation was a true one. Mayakovsky at 19 fell in love with one 17-year-old Marya, a girl of fascinating beauty and keen intellectualism.

The poem was composed in 1915 when Russia was still Czarist, and the first World War was on. And Mayakovsky was yet the sophisticated, self-conscious individual regarding himself *vis-a-vis* the world :

*"Of grandfatherly gentleness I am devoid
There is not a single grey hair in my soul !
Thundering the world with the might of my voice,
I go by—handsome
Twenty-two-year old."*

This twenty-two years old Russian Narcissus had

a love affair in Odessa. He awaited, *a-tip-toe* for his girl-love :

*"Midnight races, with knife upheld
Overtakes
And strikes,—
There goes the clock.
The twelfth hour fell
Like the victim's head from the executioner's block.
Damn her !
That's all it needs to crack my impatience
A cry twists my mouth to a crumpled curve.
Then ;
Like a jittery bedridden patient
Up jumped
A nerve.
At first it hardly moved,
Then ran
In an excited rhythmic beat,
Till it was joined by another two,
Tap dancing in mad cataclysmic leaps.
Nerves—
Big,
Little,
Hundreds of 'em !
Jerk and jump madly,
Till now
The nerves' very knees are giving way under them."*

These lines from the poem reveal a certain maturity of poetic technique. That was in 1915, when in England T. S. Eliot had not written his epoch-making 'Prufrock' poems. The metaphysical 'wit' of "There is not a single grey hair in my soul" is worthy of any Donne's envy. The imagery is precise and concrete and dramatic in movement. These organic images depict faithfully the nervy mind of the anxious lover. The image of the sounding of the twelfth hour as a victim falling to the executioner's knife is loaded with dramatic surprise. The next image of the 'nerves tap dancing in mad cataclysmic leaps' till their 'very knees are giving way under them' is imagism par excellence.

Then entered beautiful Marya with a 'take-it-or-leave it' and announcing in the same breath :

*"You may not believe it
But I'm getting married."*

Mayakovsky was thunderstruck and the distainful maid went on mocking his lacerated heart. But Mayakovsky is no Prufrock of T. S. Eliot. The middle-aged Prufrock courts the lady, after a good deal of indecisions, visions and revisions. Even before pushing the hour to its crisis he had fancied jilting when the lady would turn round and say she was being misunderstood ; and then Prufrock's memorable monologue :

*"I grow old . . . I grow old
I shall wear the bottoms of my trousers rolled"*

or,

*"I should have been a pair of rugged claws
Scuttling across the floors of silent seas"*

But Mayakovsky, on the other hand, retains his egoistic, defiant demeanour and says :

"You mock me?
 'Less than a beggar's mite
 Is your emerald madness cherished'
 Remember!
 When Vesuvius was mocked one night
 Pompeii perished!"

Comparison with T. S. Eliot is not just casual. Mayakovsky and he are both classics in their respective literatures. Their growth and development leave different landmarks in contemporary writing. T. S. Eliot grew from a cynical, sophisticated young man of 'Prufrock' to the philosopher groping for balance and beliefs in *Wasteland*, supplicating the rain gods to fertilize sterile Europe with the Upanishadic *Datta*, *Damayata*, *Dadhvam*. And T. S. Eliot of *Wasteland* finally found his feet in "Dry Salvages" and "Little Gidding" when he sought to apprehend:

"The point of intersection of the timeless
 With time."

But Mayakovsky was inherently different. An active member of the Bolshevik party he was arrested at the age of 14 in 1908. The Czarist oppression drove the party underground for a long time. During this period Mayakovsky developed anarchist tendencies. Political anarchism breeds a certain individualism. It lays a premium on 'personality,' and disowns the past. This period of individualism coincided with the newly emerging forms—the chic in art . . . Futurism with its dynamic quality and Symbolism with its meticulous precision of images had a complete hold of Mayakovsky. Yet, this love-song, which speaks the language of universal pain, resolves into trumpets of a prophecy. Though Mayakovsky wrote:

"Glorify me!
 I and the great am no compare.
 I place 'nihil'
 On every thing that's gone before."

In section II of "A Cloud in Trousers" he anticipated an awful time:

"I,
 Jeered at by tribal contemporaries
 Like a lanky
 Discarded rhyme,
 See that which nobody sees
 Coming over the mountains of time,
 There where man's cut short of vision
 By the heads of hungry that surge,
 In the thorny crown of revolution
 I see nineteen sixteen emerge."

And yet Mayakovsky had not completely identified himself with the "hungry that surge"; the revolution was a beautiful vision; the futurist had not yet jumped into the future.

"The Cloud in Trousers" marks the rise and close of a phase of Mayakovsky's poetical career—the phase when a writer walks along a corridor of mirrors and disdains to look below. His way is not Eliot's way. Mayakovsky carries within him the heart-beat of the people, though he stood apart, at the other end of the scale. Like T. S. Eliot he is busy furrowing anew the field of poetry; like him, too, he is in love with form,

sharing his self-consciousness and his individualism. But the man of Harvard and Oxford, recognizing the breach in spiritual and cultural life of Europe, seeks to fill it in with medieval coherence. On the other hand, though Mayakovsky warmed himself in the literary hot-house, the common road beckoned to him.

II

The Russian revolution of 1917 uprooted Czarism, shattered the sham that parliamentary democracy was, defeated the counter-revolution, liquidated the deviationists, and established the sway of the worker and peasants over, not only the means of production, but also imagination. It did one thing more. It set topsyturvy things that Mayakovsky found himself rubbing shoulders with common rabble, marching, singing, laughing and hating with them. The torch of the revolution was out, but its thunder-claps went deep into social consciousness. The stormy passionate lover of "A Cloud in Trousers" stood menacingly as the human orchestra of the revolution. He was on the streets, on city squares, on the fields, in the factories, and he felt the throbs of the Big heart. Mayakovsky said:

"The streets shall be our brushes
 The squares our palettes,"
 for,

"150,000,000 speak through these
 Lips of mine"

The first notable revolutionary poem that he wrote was addressed to the red-mariners (1918):

"Rally the ranks into a march
 Now's no time to quibble or browse there,
 Silence you orators!
 You,
 Have the floor,
 Comrade Mauser.
 Enough of living by laws
 That Adam and Eve have left.
 Hustle old history's horse.
 Left!
 Left!
 Left!"

This revolutionary phase of Mayakovsky's poetry raises issues of interest in literary criticism. Mayakovsky vis-a-vis the people, Mayakovsky and his art, Mayakovsky versus literary censorship (the RAP?), are some of the interesting spots of query.

His allegiance to the people found expression in rhythm, word-patterns, images and tone, apart from its avowedness. He, as it were, assimilated the affects of the crude proletariat and gave it back to the new class in a language it understood. Symbolism and Futurism were now tempered with directness and simplicity of his verse.

In a lecture that Mayakovsky delivered in 1920, he laid it down as a general rule that a proletarian writer must participate actively in the daily life of the working class:

"I believe that you have got actually to work in production, but if that is not possible, at least to take part in the daily occurrences of the work-

ing class. I understand this work about the importance of obeying the slogans about safety, those that tell you not to put your hands in the machinery, care that nails should not be left lying in the staircase, not to touch engineering belt etc."

Here, he elucidates the theory that art is a weapon in the hands of the masses. Slogan-tipped though Mayakovsky's pen was now, it did not trail off the artistic track. Poetry, according to him, was measurable alongside of national production. In the sweeping movement of the revolutionary age there was no dichotomy between production and artistic creation. All the gaps in life are bridged in this age. Had not Maxim Gorky said :

"Social and cultural progress develops normally only when the hands teach the head, after which the head, now grown more wise, teaches the hands, and the wise hands once again, this time even more effectually promote the growth of the mind. This normal process of cultural growth in men was in ancient times interrupted by causes well known. The head became severed from the hands, and thought from the earth."

So, there was Mayakovsky making posters, explaining to the citizens the danger of drinking un-boiled water, drawing caricatures of the capitalist world with an almost schoolboy mockery, working out figures that tell the men-in-the-street why the state has increased the railway fare. He was a living refutation of the principle of pure literature.

In a poem entitled "Homeward" (1925) he fancied taking a hand in production by contributing poetry :

"I feel
I am a Soviet factory
Manufacturing happiness.
I don't want to be
A wayside flower
Picked after work
In an idle hour.
I want the Gos Plan
To sweat in debate
Assigning my output
As part of the state.
* * *

I want
At the shift's end,
The factory committee
To shut my lips
With a padlock and key.
I want the pen
To equal the gun
To be listed
With iron
In industry.
And the Polit Bureau's agenda :
Item 1,
To be Stalin's report on
'Output of poetry'

Mayakovsky who witnessed the collapse of the capitalist intervention engineered by foreigners, carried in his memory moments of bitterness when he went abroad in 1929. He was greatly vexed at the contempt and suspicion in which the capitalist world held the Soviet experiment. In a poem "My Soviet Passport" he dramatizes the attitude of the officials towards

Englishmen and Americans, and also towards himself, a Soviet citizen :

"They take,
With respect, for instance
The passport
From a sleeping English lionel,
The good fellows' eyes
Almost slip like pips
When,
Bowing as low as men can,
They take,
As if they were taking a tip
The passport from
An American."

But when the same officials come to Mayakovsky, the Soviet citizen :

"Then sudden
As if their mouth were aquake
Those gentlemen almost
Whine
Those very official gentlemen
Take
That red-skinned passport
Of mine."

In that hostile world the Soviet citizen has a friend in a step-child of humanity—the porter. The face of this 'have-not' lights up at the sight of the red passport :

"The porter's eyes
Give a significant flick
(I'll carry your baggage
For nix, mon ami)"

III

By 1923, Mayakovsky found his loyalty torn between propaganda and futurism. In a decade of disintegration he could not write about the lover and his lass, nor could he abjure a lifetime's devotion to the technique of futurism. The earlier individualism which verged on egoism now yielded to social impact. Imagism seemed to drift apart.

Mayakovsky was aware of this gap between his cherished technique and the demands of the new age. He attempted a concrete synthesis in a magazine which he called *Lef*. An entry in his diary states :

"1923.—We organize *Lef*. It equals coverage of great futurism social themes through all of resources—One of the slogans, and also one of the big achievements of *Lef* is de-aestheticising of productive arts—"

This mouthpiece of his new literary credo was fated to have a chequered career. Another entry in the diary reads :

"1924.—Despite the none-too-consoling figures of the sales of the magazine, *Lef* is enlarging the scope of its work. We know that these figures mean simply that the huge cold machinery of the State Publishing House shows a bureaucratic lack of interest in certain magazines."

The state was evidently not interested in the synthesis evolved by Mayakovsky. But he was undaunted. He had no intention of playing up to the galleries. He wanted to ascertain whether his reading

public approved of the new attempt. To that end he composed a masterly elegy entitled "Lenin". It is an elegy in the canvas of an epic. Its simple pathos and deep, concentrated feeling of anger as well as hope mark it out as symbolic of Mayakovsky's new cult. There is none of the metaphorical jugglery of the earlier poems:

"We
 Bury
 Now
 The most earthly
 Of all who have lived
 On this earth of men.
 * * *
 He grasped the earth whole
 All at one go,
 Saw that
 Which lay hidden
 In time.
 Why, he is just the same
 As you,
 Or I,
 Only,
 May be
 Bigger thoughts
 Than ours
 Furrow him
 Over the eyes
 And his lips
 Are more mocking than ours
 More taut."

The elegy is a monumental work comprising 15 cantos in about 4,000 lines. Vladimir Lenin is not only a hero of the classical conception, but a real man of the masses. His biography embraces the life and death struggle of the working class for emancipation.

Mayakovsky read this poem in workers' meeting. He watched how the "great heart" throbbed to its rhythm and imagery. He recorded the reaction in his diary:

"Read it at many workers' meetings. I felt very nervous about this poem, as it would have been easy to reduce it to a pamphlet in verse. The workers' attitude to it gladdened me and confirmed my conviction that the poem was needed."

The poetics of Mayakovsky, by 1924, stood divorced from individualist futurism; it was taking on the contemporary colour and assuming a shape of its own. Mayakovsky called it the creed of "Futurist Leftist."

The RAPP stood menacingly in Mayakovsky's way. It was a clique brought into being by the decree of the Politbureau, under the militant guidance of a man called Auerbach. Its mission was to standardize Soviet literature. Its measuring rod was the philosophy of dialectical materialism.

This literary junta had its own manifesto which included the following cardinal principles:

- (a) Art is a class weapon.
- (b) Artistic creation is to be systematized, organized, collectivized and carried out according to the plans of a Central Staff like any other soldierly work.

- (c) This is to be done under the careful ye. firm guidance of the Communist party
- (d) Every proletarian artist must be a dialectical materialist.

Mayakovsky tried to steer clear of the pernicious captivity of the RAPP. His Left futurism was a constructive alternative to regimentation of literature. The RAPP whined, and frowned. Mayakovsky's assertion of the artist's freedom was twisted by it to mean a reactionary bourgeoisie category.

Does Mayakovsky write dialectically? they asked, does he draw the motif of his poetry as so much mental ration from the State? Does he still stick to the outmoded concepts of bourgeoisie consciousness?

Mayakovsky had not come to the Russian Parnassus overnight. He knew the inner laws of a poem—the finest organization of man's sensibility. The affective association of words, suggestion of images and the texture of thought hem the reader's mind in the poem lest it should project into external reality and end the dream-work which the poem induces. He was aware of the results of over-elaboration of form, and the final vanish, in a bourgeoisie society of the artistic efforts in a kind of safety valve. He was not no longer Mayakovsky *vis-a-vis* the universe; he discovered a new centre of communication in his people. He was confident of the correctness of his position and the poise of his attitude. He distrusted the cock-sureness of the RAPP literary doings.

In the face of opposition from the RAPP Mayakovsky found that restraint was of the essence of it. A member of the Communist party he did not relish flying in the face the RAPP authority. Patiently, he was fashioning a blend of his inner beliefs and the necessities of the circumstances. It was no surrender but an honourable compromise he aimed at.

In 1927, he made the following entry in his diary:

"Resumed publication of *Lef* (there was an attempt to close it down), now *New Lef*."

The *New Lef* was the old *Lef* whittled down. The hand of the RAPP was evidently at work. The *New Lef* could continue for two years only. By 1923, Mayakovsky found the inevitability of the situation into which he was driven.

The RAPP persecution gained momentum as Mayakovsky continued to remain aloof. He soon saw that the middle-of-the-road position was irksome.

It must have taken many sleepless nights of searching for Mayakovsky to finally join the RAPP in 1930. Did he surrender? Or was it a calculated retreat to work his salvation out through channels of persuasion and compromise?

He started writing in the *Pravda* and the *Komsomolskaia*. It was downright journalese. The propagandist intention was unmistakable and unattracted.

The *Literary Gazette*, in its issue of 10th February, 1930, hailed Mayakovsky's reclamation:

"He remains a poet-fighter, and now he can and must merge his creative energy in the creative will of the working class which is transforming the world."

An exhibition of the life and work of Mayakovsky was arranged in 1930 in the Club of Authors' Federation. It was repeated in March when Mayakovsky completed his 25 years of literary life. On this occasion Mayakovsky made his last public appearance and read his poem "At the Top of My Voice." The reading of the poem was preceded by a talk he gave on his literary credo. He punctuated it with cautious "Ifs". He said:

"There are two difficulties confronting the writer. The habit of authors to write in the language of the intelligentsia separate from the language of the masses—on the other side you still see a very low standard of culture, which, mind you, rises every day, and rises fast but is still rather low. It partly prevents the communion of the author with his reader."

Then he set out to explain how he had addressed himself to the task of establishing that communion without lowering the standard of Art. It was followed by reading of the "At the Top of My Voice." It was the first prelude to a poem of the Five Years Plan. The streak of melancholy in the poem is unmistakable, though the pattern is an enthusiastic avowal of the new doctrine. At the outset he speaks of the many poetasters who cultivate fine poetry on love themes. He himself wrote on love:

"I'd like
To scribble for you
Love ballads,—
They're charming
And pay quite a lot."

The stanza which follows carries more than meets the eye:

"But I
Mastered myself
And crushed under foot
The throat
Of my very own songs."

Rather than outgrow the romantic themes, Mayakovsky had to "crush under foot" the throat of his very own songs! What was the compelling force which made him strangle his own songs? Was it genuine conviction that life had shrunk, in the present age, into a rivulet running beneath the desert sands of dialectical materialism, or was it the fearful shadow of the RAPP now falling heavily across his path? Mayakovsky was too real an artist to pin his faith in a smallness of life; so also his personality was an integral one, and not prone to extraneous pressure.

Was he groping for balance in the quicksands of the decade? Probably.

In "At the Top of My Voice" is the influence of the RAPP evident. Alongside rare touches of poetic beauty, emotional intensity blending in thought, one could see bald propaganda stuff:

"We opened Marx and Engels
Every tome

As in our homes
We open wide the shutters,
But without reading
We understood alone,
Whose side we are on
And in which camp we are fighters."
And as if nodding assent to the RAPP:
"And not from Hegel
Did we learn
Our dialectics."

Lines like these set a stamp of banality on an otherwise well-done poem; in juxtaposition with the following from the same poem the banality seems outrageous:

"Let glory,
Disconsolate widow frail,
Trudge after genius
In funeral anthems.
Die, my verse,
Die, like the rank and file,
As our unknown, unnumbered fell
In storming heaven."

There are some who refuse to draw the orthodox line between literature and journalism, and quote with approval T. S. Eliot: "The distinction between journalism and literature is quite futile."

'Journalism' has lost in prestige during recent years, at least the term is debased. Yet the fact remains that some of the best and permanent literature produced today has been by the journalists like John Gunther, Louis Fischer, Ilya Ehrenburg, etc. One must, therefore, be reluctant to denounce all journalism as vulgar.

But those who exploit the charity of this explanation in an attempt to forgive the deviations from the truly literary into dubious channels, fail to see that the state of mind matters in such cases. If the journalist's mind, under the emotional impact of an immediate cause, is able to create things of a lasting beauty, there is no reason why it should suffer denunciation. But if the journalist writes to order either to turn an honest penny, or to be the mouthpiece of the boss's views he sinks in the scale of literature. Mayakovsky's mention of Marx, Engels and the Hegelian dialectics is evidently dictated. One may be revolutionary and still avoid slogans. "At the Top of My Voice" is at places characterized by condensed affects. As the poem unrolls simple image of organic beauty, charged with intense emotion, the RAPP decrees that the symbols of Marxian philosophy emerge. The word with its subtle shades of feeling confronts the symbol, the lifeless signpost. Such super-imposition is a canker of poetry.

At the end of the recitation of "At the Top of My Voice", Mayakovsky said:

"I read to you the last and most difficult of my poetry made most conscientiously, and the fact that it reached you is very very interesting."

In making the poem most 'conscientiously' he must have been keeping the RAPP very much consciously. This last speech betrays a mind haunted with perse-

cution. Yet his bold assertion of some of his basic ideas on literature is characteristic of the man. He had set out to write for the masses whose cultural level was still very low, and in doing so, not to lower the standards of his technique.

The year 1930 saw the Five-Year Plan vigorously in action. The new proletariat society was emerging. Social consciousness absorbed the new tones and attitudes, and the affects of man started getting richer and deeper. Universal education was being given effect to, with the result that the cultural level of the masses was rising. Mayakovsky was working on a new poem on the Five-Year Plan; suddenly on the 14th April, 1930, three weeks after he made the speech, he committed suicide. On his table he left the poem:

*"As they say
The incident is closed'
Love boat smashed against mores.
I'm quits with life.
No need itemizing
Mutual griefs
Woes
Offences.
Good luck and good bye."*

These enigmatic lines reveal nothing beyond a mood of despondency. Once before, also, Mayakovsky had tried to shoot himself, but the shot misfired. He was much younger then. After the attempt he was himself again. But now when he had reached the peak of popularity the suicide was inconceivable. Was it some tragic love affair which proved on his mighty back a straw too much?

*"Love boat
Smashed against mores."*

Is it over-literal interpretation to say that it referred to an actual love affair?

Max Eastman in his *Artists in Uniform* makes an attempt to analyze the cause of Mayakovsky's suicide. According to him the 'mores' against which the "love-boat smashed" were those of the intra-party dictatorship under Stalin. If the first one was an over-literal interpretation this one made a symbol of a simple image.

It is interesting to note how the literary bureaucrat viewed it. The official organ of the RAPP wrote the next morning:

"The preliminary data of the investigation show that the suicide was due to causes of a purely personal character having nothing to do with the social or literary activity of the poet."

Evidently the RAPP was haunted by a guilty conscience. But no one had irrefutable data to establish the cause of his death. In the meanwhile eloquence flowed alongside of his grave:

"In-understandable, irremediable, inadmissible, here was some inner conflict, some dissonance."

While some people waxed lyrical over the tragedy, the *Literary Gazette* wrote a memorial article. It said:

"The death of Mayakovsky showed how great still was his inner contradiction, how strong in him were still the petty bourgeoisie individualistic forces which he had wished to strangle by attacking the throat of his own song."

The RAPP picked up the persecution thread, and then began a ruthless exclusion of Mayakovsky's name and works from their place of honour. His name was removed from the school curricula, publication of his works was delayed, and public approbation of him obstructed.

It is strange that a poet for whom life had a meaning through communism alone should be so pitilessly hounded out by the so-called leaders of communism. Let alone the orthodox RAPP line of criticism the brilliant Marxian critic in English Christopher Caudwell writes in his penetrating study of the sources of poetry, "Illusion and Reality":

"The bourgeoisie consciousness drags at the bourgeoisie revolutionary and produces in certain characters a hopeless cleavage. . . . It may act as a drag to hold back the artist from full ripening. The lives and works of Yessenin, Mayakovsky, and Olesha are examples of the conflict involved in this inability to recast creatively the categories of bourgeoisie art after the revolution. . . ."

Insinuating bourgeoisie or petty bourgeoisie consciousness in Mayakovsky is doing him less than justice. Consciousness is reflected in the ideology of the class. Its categories suck their life-blood from the social relations. Now, the petty bourgeoisie artist is a lonely hermit in the entanglements of a capitalist civilization. He sees only too clearly that capitalism with its cash nexus throws a blanket over the blossoming of the artistic spirit, and culture under it is standardized and vulgar. He has been stung into a realization of the situation because his 'art' has been passed by. He, therefore, withdraws from the encroaching octopus, the bourgeoisie philistine. His withdrawal is into a self-created Ivory Tower, where he is creating art for its own sake, or rather for his own sake. In seeking this retreat he seeks to ignore the social reality and its many demands on the consciousness.

As the capitalist economy becomes progressively involved and its contradictions are more pronounced, the lonely hermit evolves many esoteric cults. The line of escapist art is a steep curve. It reaches its finale in rapid stages, through symbolism, futurism, surrealism, dadaism, etc. The artist's pre-occupation is the 'form' his idiom is intensely personal.

It is at this stage that he proclaims his "freedom. He sunders all restraints to delve into the abyss of the unconscious. His job, then, is to catch the image moving in a free association. In short, his freedom is the freedom of the instinct—blind, primeval, unchecked.

Mayakovsky's genius does not follow the logic of petty bourgeoisie decadence. Though it is true that his earlier loyalties were individualistic, finding expression in Symbolism and Futurism. But then his politics hinged on the negative aspect of the revolution. Its

wild and violent aspects fascinated him. In short, he was an anarchist. But this phase was short-lived. After the October Revolution he soon found his feet. The gigantic upheaval threw him into the arms of the masses. From that period even a superficial survey of his work reveals a progressive proletarianization of his art. If he were the victim of petty bourgeois hallucination he would have developed poetic monomania. For him, from futurism to surrealism, dadaism and the narrow and private art-cults was but a step. He assiduously kept on to the path of the revolution. He never demanded the individualistic petty bourgeois 'freedom' from all contacts with social reality. He walked hand in hand with comrade Life.

Equally outrageous is the abuse that Mayakovsky could not recast the categories of bourgeois consciousness to the changed situation. This much maligned consciousness is, in fact, the spiritual superstructure buttressed by the ruling class. To its pole gather the qualitative categories which crystalize into a bulwark against the revolution. On the one hand it masquerades in academic or classic guises, appealing nostalgically to a glorious past; on the other, it trots out myths to serve as a refuge from the complex movement of social forces. It is the philosophy of Dean Inge, who, while denouncing the idea of the God-state proclaims as the most precious right of man the private property. It is also the mind of T. S. Eliot, who with his deft orientation of poetic technique, holds out the solution of the present day muddles in a 'classic' living and apprehension of timelessness.

Revolt against the ruling class was Mayakovsky's life-breath. To which bourgeois class did he play the second fiddle? Did he support Kerensky and his parliamentary democracy? Did he invent any myth of the inherent isolation of the individual? A pet theme of the bourgeois artist is that politically he is with the revolution, but in the domain of art his voice is sovereign. When did Mayakovsky proclaim this philosophy of the 'lone wolf'?

When a sociological concept becomes superstition it putrefies philosophy and corrupts the spirit of science. "Bourgeois consciousness" acts as the veritable blinker over the mind of many a thinker. In the universe of Socio-Marxian discourse it is a scaffolding within which historical facts are fitted and built up. But it is a crude mistake to regard the scaffolding as the complete structure.

To seize the point in the muddle controversy it is worthwhile examining some of the basic Marxist concepts of literature. According to Marxism all art is a superstructure on the economic base. But many critics have vulgarized this highly meaningful assumption. They have twisted it to mean that the superstructure arises directly and mechanically from the economic base. Given the social relations in a particular epoch they proceed to deduce the ideological equivalent in the prevalent art. Marx and Engels never meant anything so ridiculous and commonplace.

The ideological superstructure—or social consciousness—is ultimately determined by the economic base, true; but it is removed from the base and connected with it through many intermediaries. Theories of political doctrine, law, technical sciences, natural sciences, etc., are to be found closer to the economic base. A change in the social relations, i.e., the economic base, has an instant and direct effect on the laws, constitution and economic institutions of the society. But says Engels:

"To the series of ideological spheres which soar still higher in space, religion, philosophy and art belong."

Literature has therefore no mechanical connexion with the economic base.

It is clear that even from an orthodox Marxian point of view there is a lag between social consciousness and social relations. Consciousness as a rule lags behind social relationships. Art draws on already formed social concepts and adapts them. There can not be a complete schism, nor can there be a mechanical and direct casual relation between social consciousness and social relations.

If this assumption is applied to sociological criticism it would be clear indeed that Mayakovsky could not have burst into proletarian culture in a day, as there was no such culture worth the name. Between the October Revolution and 1930, a short span of thirteen years, though political and social revolution had changed the face of Russia, it could not be said that the country had gone communist. The First Five-Year Plan had just then got on its feet, the kulaks were only gradually disappearing, collective farming was yet opposed by the acquisitive instinct of the Soviet peasant. Social relations had changed, but social consciousness was yet lagging. In fine, the ideological superstructure had not become coincident with the society.

If Mayakovsky still derived inspiration from the technique of the old masters, and did not surrender his art to banality, it was just because of the comparative freedom with which the ideological superstructure operates at a distance from the economic base. If Mayakovsky was making honest and earnest efforts to reach out to the masses—and adapted his vocabulary, idiom and imagery likewise—it was because he wanted to fill in the gap between already formed social relations and comparatively backward consciousness of the proletariat.

The RAPP represented the popular stream at the moment. If Mayakovsky did not float with the stream it was because he knew it disappeared in a glacial sea; he hated this cold stagnation. The RAPP activities reached their culmination in drawing Stalin's wrath upon it. On the 23rd April, 1932, Stalin through one decree shattered this mighty organization. Subsequent investigation showed that it was manned by a clique which had secret affinity with the counter-revolutionists. But the evil came to an end too late after Mayakovsky perished in its deadly coils.

Symbolically, Mayakovsky is the grandeur of the tragic spirit—the conflict of a true artist with deadening regimentation. His essential loyalty was to his art and to the people. He is the albatross of Baudelaire when the French poet said :

*"The poet is a prince of the clouds,
Haunting the tempest and laughing at the archer ;*

*Exiled on the earth among the shouting people,
His giant wings hinder him from moving."*

Though with the exception that Mayakovsky's giant wings did not hinder him from moving, for he strove to compass the earth, whole, but that his wings were being clipped by the censors of human soul.

—:O:—

SUGAR INDUSTRY IN INDIA AND PAKISTAN

Some Facts and Figures

By SHIBSANKAR DUTT & PRAMATHA NATH SIL, B.Com.

In *The Modern Review* for December, 1948, some facts and figures about Banks in India and Pakistan were published. In February, 1949, some facts and figures regarding cotton mills in the two Dominions have been published. This month we are publishing some facts and figures regarding the sugar industry in the two countries. We also give some facts and figures, which are of general interest.

'Per capita' consumption of sugar (pre-war) in various countries

	Per head
United Kingdom	106 lbs.
U. S. A.	97 "
Brazil	34 "
France	52 "
Australia	146 "
Germany	52 "
Cuba	88 "
Java	11 "
Japan	33 "
South Africa	47 "
Netherlands	64 "
India	6 " + 24 lbs. of gur

Table showing variations in *per capita* consumptions of *gur* and sugar in certain Rural and Urban areas in 1937-38 :

Province	<i>Gur</i>		<i>Sugar</i>	
	Urban areas	Total for the province	Urban areas	Total for the province
	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.	lbs.
U. P.	13.2	53.9	58.1	8.3
Punjab	18.0	23.3	50.4	12.8
Bengal	15.4	22.8	85.5*	6.3
Madras	8.9	12.1	51.2†	4.4
Bombay	12.4	14.4	81.4**	16.3
Sind	6.0	7.2	82.1‡	17.8

It will be seen that the consumption of *Gur* in the rural areas is much greater than in the cities or town areas ; while that of sugar in cities is from 4 to 13 times greater than in villages.

Geographical distribution of Sugar Mills :

Province	UNION OF INDIA		Total
	Cane factories	Gur refineries	
West Bengal	4	..	4
Bihar	32	1	33
U. P.	71	2	73
East Punjab	1	1	2
Madras	13	2	15
Bombay	10	..	10
Orissa	2	..	2
States	25	1	24
Total	158	7	165
PAKISTAN			
East Bengal	5	..	5
West Punjab	2	..	2
N.-W. F. Province	2	..	2
Total	9	..	9

Of factories in the Union of India 134 were actually working in the season 1947-48 ; the corresponding figures for Pakistan were 7 and 9. The sugar produced in the Union was 11,76,800 tons, as against 20,866 tons in Pakistan. Pakistan's production is thus 2.25 per cent of the Union of India. The area under cane in the Union of India is approximately 35,83,000 acres ; and in Pakistan 6,00,000. Pakistan's cane area is thus 17 per cent of the Union area. The area under cane in India, *viz.*, 3½ million acres, comes to about 2 per cent of the cultivated area in India ; and is approximately 35 per cent of the world's sugarcane area.

The average cane-crushing capacity of factories in the Union of India, calculated on the basis of tons of cane crushed per day of actual working is 742 tons ; while the *maximum* cane-crushing capacity is 1877 tons. Thus the Union mills have a total maximum capacity of 2,96,236 tons as against Pakistan's total of 8,350 tons. Pakistan's capacity is thus 2.8 per cent that of the Union of India. The relative production (as also of consumption) of sugar in India and Pakistan is as 3.6 : 0.3 out of nearly 30 lbs. of *Gur* and sugar consumed per head in pre-partition India. Pakistan can consume only 2 lbs. But Pakistan's position is not so hopelessly bad. In the above calculations sugar or *Gur* produced from date-palms are mostly left out of account. There are lacs of date-palms in Eastern Bengal. Some sugar must be produced from them. But we are afraid, with the systematic Hindu-baiting in Eastern Pakistan and the consequent large-scale exodus of Hindus, this branch of sugar industry is becoming more and more non-productive.

* For Calcutta only, † For Madras City only, ** For Bombay City only, ‡ For Karachi only.

OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE

By PROF. P. S. SASTRI, M.A., M.Litt.,
University of Saugor, C. P.

DURING the last two years the question of a national language for India has been worrying many persons. People have been busily discussing the claims of Hindi, Hindusthani, and Urdu, as if India has no other languages worthy of reckoning; or, as if the other Indian languages are no languages at all. The name of Gandhiji has been unnecessarily dragged into the picture. Numerical superiority has been advanced as a primary qualification, as though the hundred millions speaking Hindi or Hindusthani constitute the majority in a land of three hundred million and odd souls. Many advocates of this language or that have even become functional and emotionally excited. Leaving aside all these whims, we have to face the problem in a cool and dispassionate way, having before us the picture of a strong and united India we want to build.

Language is one of the chief media through which the culture of the people and their nature and outlook are revealed. The other media are the fine arts and the social framework. At the same time it is only language that makes the other two possible. History is never tired of telling us that the imposition of an alien language on the people has in the long run proved dangerous for the people speaking that language. Hence it is that all educationists are agreed that the individual should be taught through his mother tongue. Here by education they all rightly mean the primary, the secondary, and the University stages. We cannot make an exception at any stage, for thereby we will be killing the chief tenet of education as such.

Then we are faced with a number of languages in India. In the order of the number of persons speaking them, we can enumerate the chief languages of our land as Hindi, Telugu, Bengali, Tamil, Marathi, Kannada, Gujarati, Malayalam and Oriya. Under Hindi, for matters of convenience, we are grouping the varieties—Hindusthani, Punjabi, Bundelkhandi, Brajapuri, Chhattisgarhi and the like. Of course, the differences among some of these varieties are so great as to make them be treated as different languages. These languages are divided by philologists, though hastily, into two groups, viz., Aryan and Dravidian. Telugu, Tamil, Kannada, and Malayalam are the South Indian languages differing widely from the rest in essential features. Then again Telugu and Kannada have a good deal of similarity which distinguishes them very widely from Tamil and Malayalam. Tamil literature has a history commencing at least from the

second century before Christ. The literatures of all the other Indian languages came into vogue approximately from the tenth century, by which time the days of Sanskrit and Prakrit were over for all practical purposes.

In this diverse phenomenon we have to remember the principle that the national language of a country must be allied to the various languages or dialects of the land. It must have strong affinities with them. It is clear that Hindi has no affinity with the South Indian languages, just as a Southern language, say Telugu, has no vital relation with a northern language. In such cases what have we to do? To have one of the existing languages, Hindi, as the *lingua franca* is no solution; for a non-Hindi-speaking individual remains at a disadvantage of learning one more language than his brother.

This linguistic divergence has its counterpart in the vital differences in the social and economic structures of the country. To take one out of many points, the North Indian society is characterised by the absence of a strong middle class, while in the South a strong and powerful middle class is the bulwark of the society. As a result we cannot have a uniform Tenancy legislation throughout India. Our politicians probably do not know that the South Indian agriculturist belongs to the middle classes. And history, therefore, records this fact by stating that while the North lost its freedom from the eleventh century onwards, the South enjoyed its freedom till almost the end of the eighteenth century.

This apart, how are we to solve the language problem? Switzerland has more than seventy per cent Germans. Then there are Italians and Frenchmen. And this country which is more or less a combination of nations, in the strict sense of the term, is still a strong country or state; and it is probably the only country in a battered continent to maintain her liberty, at all costs. Now this country, were it to follow the reasoning of some of our countrymen, ought to have made German its national language. But it did not do any such thing. All the three languages have equal status, and all of them are the national languages. In Canada too we find English and French enjoying the same status. Some such solution can be adopted in India too; for we must avoid all internal ractions and mutual jealousies.

But if there are too many national languages, how can we maintain in her provincial understanding, co-operation, and unity? What language have we to

adopt at international assemblies and in our foreign policy deliberations? Simple common sense points out that these are two questions, and not one. They are totally different from one another. To begin with an analogy will be helpful. India is as much a continent as Europe. As in our land, so in Europe too there is more or less a uniform civilization and a uniform cultural heritage. No modern country or linguistic area in Europe can disown what it owes to ancient Greece. This is the vital bond which knits together all the European countries. Then there are three very prominent linguistic families in Europe, *viz.*, the Latin, the Teutonic, and the Balto-Slavonic. Here we may note that in India too we have the Aryan, Dravidian, and Aryo-Dravidian groups. The social structure of Europe is not yet uniform. There is no common single language for Europe. Still an important discovery, theory or view propounded in one linguistic area of Europe is immediately known in the other linguistic areas too. A German knows invariably either French or English; and an Englishman is conversant with French or German. Despite the linguistic diversity and the absence of a common language, there is in Europe an inter-country understanding and co-operation. No European country feels any ignorance about the state of affairs of any other European country in the various fields of knowledge and activity. This is the way of the progressive and progressing nations. The same thing is possible in India too. But unfortunately so far only the south has been up to the mark and more liberal and catholic. The novels of Bankimchandra and others, the stories of Prem Chand and Sarat Chandra are too well known in the South Indian languages. But how many South Indian celebrities in literature are known in the North? This conversation and exclusivism makes one feel sceptical about the future of South Indian literatures if a Northern language were to be the national language.

Then there is the second question regarding our language at the international assemblies and foreign policy diplomacies. At the international conferences today we find the delegates of many countries of the world, who do not understand the languages of one another. Still they have ready translators who are helping them to carry on briskly. Some such device is absolutely necessary in our Central legislature too. But the foreign diplomats should know clearly the language or languages which they too should pick up. This complicates the problem a good deal. India being a vast continent inhabited by divergent linguistic and 'cultural' groups, the capital of the country too gets involved in this question. The various important official heads must be distributed in the various parts of the land. Further, a capital at New Delhi is too far away from the South. In the interests of national unity, a second capital in the South, say, at Hyderabad or at Bangalore, is necessary. Considered in this light, our language problem is nearer solution. Here two alternatives are possible. Because of the great diver-

gence between the Northern and Southern languages, one common language for the whole country is inadvisable, and is even harmful for the unity of the country. Having all the Indian languages on an equal footing with no single national language, may seem to many as repulsive. Then we should have two or three representative languages of India as the national languages. Hindi or Hindusthani can possibly stand for the Northern group of languages. Telugu and Kannada differ on the one hand from these Northern languages, and, on the other from the other Southern languages very widely. At the same time Telugu, spoken by nearly forty-five millions, has certain affinities with both these groups of the North and South. It is the meeting place of both 'races' and cultures. Numerically it comes next to Hindi. As such Telugu can be taken as the second representative language. Then there remains the extreme south which is dominated by Tamil. This great language is not only the oldest in India, but also a distinct representative of a great culture. Its non-Sanskritic nature too is a factor that cannot be forgotten. Hence with Hindi or Hindusthani, we should have both Telugu and Tamil. These three can be the national languages and this will minimise the trouble and wastage of energy. At the same time this formula will remove all bickerings and jealousies that are now upsetting, or at least trying to upset, the national unity. But there is another alternative which is more important and which has greater value. Today those who are hoping to make Hindi the national language, are busily rendering all technical words into Hindi. Here, of course, Sanskrit is coming to their aid. They are deriving or coining words from Sanskrit. It has been pointed out by the present writer elsewhere that many of these words are faulty. Some of the Sanskrit words seem to have widely different, and at times opposite meanings, in the various parts of the country. The meanings of some of these Sanskrit words as current in the North, are not the same as that prevailing in the South. That apart these points are doing two things. In the first place, their Sanskritised Hindi is more difficult than Sanskrit itself. In the second place between a Sanskritised Hindi and Sanskrit the difference is one of verbal inflexion. Instead of picking up this new language one may profit himself much by arguing proficiency in Sanskrit which is the language of Indian culture. And hence this second alternative turns upon having Sanskrit as our *common* and *only* national language.

Let us face the facts squarely. Let us for a moment divert our attention from the *Government* of the country to *life* of the country. We have imported into our midst many western political and economic institutions and factors. Yet these have not shaken the place of the Vedas, the Upanishads, the Gita, the Mahabharata and the Ramayana. Many of our political leaders and administrators have faith in these as the true promoters of peace and happiness among humanity. For the social structure, for the security of

life and property, and for national harmony, many of our countrymen look to these and to the Code of Manu for guidance. From the day a Hindu is born—and in some cases even before his birth—till long after he is dead, all the essential rites are undergone through Sanskrit. In ancient times Sanskrit gave the necessary inspiration and impetus to the country to live as cultured men. If we cannot live as cultured people who cares for *existing* in a lifeless political institution which is proved by adult suffrage and wage-earning machinery? Healthy politics and just economic adjustments are possible only where they are harmonised with the culture of the land.

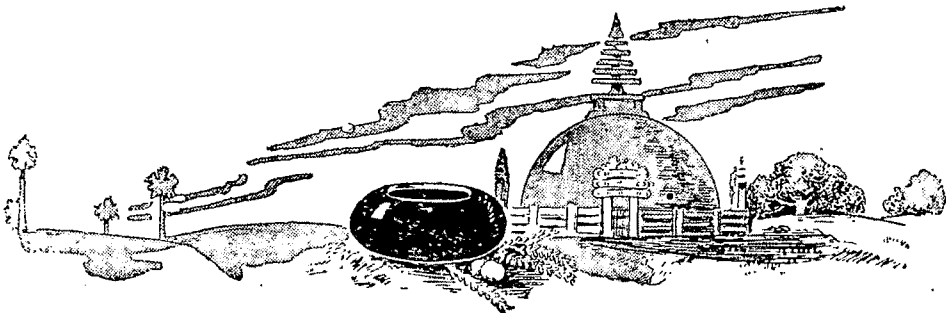
But there are some who ignore facts and fondly think that Sanskrit is a dead language like Latin. Latin, be it dead, was never a language of the people in Europe. But Sanskrit *was* and is the language of the people of India. In ancient times all the scientific and technical works too were written in Sanskrit. Even the carpenter should know Sanskrit to plan the temple and the house alike. The sculptor had to know Sanskrit for carving out the divine idol. And so too the physicians, astrologers had to know Sanskrit. Then again consider the Indian languages. Remove from them all the Sanskrit words and see how they remain. They can then scarcely be called languages. The culture of the whole of Eastern and South-Eastern Asia is based on Sanskrit; and Sanskrit, therefore, is the only language which the whole of this part of Asia can claim as its own.

In India too Sanskrit alone can unite us together permanently into a single cultural unit. All the various languages and literatures of India have some sort of unity or relation or affinity because of Sanskrit, and because of the culture symbolised in and manifested by Sanskrit. If the proceedings of the central legislature, of the law-courts, of the international assemblies and the like, along with the Constitution of India are recorded in Sanskrit, there can be and will be uniform renderings in all the Indian languages. There alone we can have uniformity in our day-to-day problems and activities.

But some frighten us by saying that Sanskrit is a very difficult language, and that its grammar is too heavy. Here we have to bear in mind two things. In

the first place, the change to Sanskrit will be gradual. In the second place, Sanskrit can be simplified, and it is done so. Basic Sanskrit is very easy and convenient. And having Sanskrit as our national language is not tantamount to inflicting an alien language and literature on an unwilling population. It is our own language and we require it; for political and economic freedom is baseless if it is divorced from cultural freedom and cultural unity which is natural and spontaneous to all the linguistic areas. It is only the 'Modern Education' minority that can oppose this: A referendum on this question will tell us plainly that the people want Sanskrit. At any rate the question of a national language can be amicably settled if we adopt Sanskrit, which will in fact enrich our various languages. And let us face the people in the next elections having this as the vital question to be settled. Everywhere in the villages of the non-Hindi-speaking areas, the demand is for Sanskrit.

If Sanskrit were accepted as our national language, all the controversies, jealousy, suspicion, distrust and fanaticism will disappear. We have to educate our youngsters through their mother tongue even at the University stage, if we mean following the sane and healthy principles of education. Since the subjects will be taught through the mother tongue, it is meaningless to make the mother tongue a subject for compulsory study. By making it optional, we will reduce the burden of the youngsters. Then every individual will have to study Sanskrit which is the language of his culture; and if it were accepted as national language, well and good. Next, English is indispensable not only for international purposes but for technical and scientific purposes. Thereby every Indian will have to learn compulsorily only English and Sanskrit. After a time, when we are able to stand on our own legs and when we are capable of making progress we can discard English too. And with Sanskrit, Asian unity under the guidance and leadership of India is practicable. Hence we have to turn our own attention in this direction instead of bothering about one language or other from the chaotic and fanatic present. "Sanskrita" itself means 'refined,' 'cultured.' Let us think in terms of Indian culture as a whole, and hence recognise that Sanskrit alone can be our national language.



CERTAIN ASPECTS OF AGRARIAN REFORMS

By DR. BALJIT SINGH, Ph.D., D.Litt.

WHAT should be the policy objective in a scheme of agrarian reforms? High and stable agricultural incomes might appear as commendable targets. In its practical aspect it would mean raising the chronically 'depressed' incomes in agriculture to parity with incomes outside it at an ascending level compatible with full employment. But an overcrowded agriculture can nowhere realize it. Instability in agricultural incomes is not caused simply by farm output variability. To an equal degree it is due to fluctuations in demand originating in urban industrial economy, industrial unemployment both at home and abroad, and lack of balance in the equilibrium of occupations or the absence of alternative opportunities. Obviously, agrarian reforms would fall too short to remedy these maladjustments which call forth for a more elaborate apparatus for their treatment, say, largely of fiscal-monetary type.

Increased agricultural production has also been suggested, both as a ground and an objective of agrarian reforms. A target like this may have an attraction for a short period but as a secular goal its advocacy can be based only on an obsession of over-population, such as oppressed Malthus. Beyond the transition period its consummation would make prospects in agriculture very bleak indeed. Demographically, we are passing from Notestein's 'high growth potential' type to the stage of 'transitional growth,' and after the transition the food supply would exceed demand. An over-all increase of fifty per cent or even less of agricultural produce in the immediate future might create a serious glut in the market that no administration would find easy to resolve. Agricultural production in the country has not been keeping pace with population; or, demand has outpaced internal supply; and yet, it is seldom realized that the gulf is not very wide. In the inter-war period the farmer was steeped deep in a severe depression for more than a decade with an output not much higher than at present. Without the crisis caused by the last war it is not certain that he would have been out of it even now. High gear economies as of the U.S.A. find agricultural surpluses begging for a market, a normal feature of their farm problem. The income elasticity of farm products records a declining trend as incomes rise. Maladjustments in the present demand and supply should not of course be carried forward. At the same time economic analysis certainly points out to the fallacy of gearing permanently the pattern of production to crisis levels.

Underemployment on a mass scale in the countryside is caused by overcrowding but its burden is increased by maldistribution of resources and total product. This is the core of our agricultural problem—the canker in its economy. Agrarian reforms can effectively be utilized to minimize its burden by a re-allocation of resources with a view to bring about economy and admit technological

advances. Such can be the true policy objective in this sphere.

Appraising very roughly and without any claim to statistical accuracy, which is not practical with the help of available data, it may be stated that agricultural income in the United Provinces is divided among 23 million recipients, belonging to certain broad groups, whose respective shares including transfer gains, such as interest receipts in a depression year like that of 1934-35 or a total of Rs. 93.29 crores, are tentatively worked out as follows:

DISTRIBUTION OF AGRICULTURE INCOME

Class	Number of earners	Per cent to total	Share in total agri- cultural income per cent
1. Zemindars paying a land revenue of more than Rs. 1 lac.	29	....	5
2. Zemindars paying a land revenue of more than Rs. 10,000	390	....	12.5
3. Zemindars paying a land revenue of more than Rs. 250	30,000	.001	30.0
4. Zemindars paying a land revenue of less than Rs. 250	1.99 Millions	8.3	20.0
5. Tenants	12.28	„ 51.4	38.0
6. Sub-tenants	4.12	„ 17.2	7.0
7. Agricultural labourers	5.0	„ 20.9	5.0

There is some overlapping and double counting of incomes in this formulation while the post-war pricing has improved on this framework in certain respects; yet the general features remain basically the same. And the United Provinces has not an exclusive pattern. The very inequitable distribution of income depresses the standard of living of an overwhelming majority markedly below the level at which it can be maintained with proper justice in it.

Further, the cultivated area is so distributed in individual family holdings as to enable a small minority to exploit labour of vast sections in a village community by sub-letting and engaging hired workers. Not only it is inhospitable to the application of scientific technique in farming but pulls down the standard of farming reducing the total agricultural income and aggravating instability and insecurity by ruling out methods and practices incorporating adaptation and accommodation to natural forces. In the United Provinces, the distribution of the cultivated area among the farmers is as follows:

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND AMONG THE CULTIVATORS

Average holding	Number of cultivators	Per cent to total	Per cent of total cultivated area held
Exceeding 25 acres	1.14 lacs	0.9	12.9
Exceeding 14 acres	4.0 "	3.3	25.3
Exceeding 10 acres but not more than 14 acres	3.44 "	2.8	9.8
Exceeding 5 acres but not more than 10 acres	15.63 "	12.7	26.1
Exceeding 2 acres but not more than 5 acres	31.25 "	25.4	24.7
2 acres or less	68.45 "	55.8	14.1
Not exceeding 5 acres	26.43 "	21.5	2.2

More than 25 per cent of the total cultivated area is held by about 3 per cent of the cultivators whereas 21.5 per cent of the families have no more than 2.2 per cent of the total. Such distribution of economic resources works unfavourably against the human agent whose exploitation as a sub-tenant, share-cropper or hired worker becomes almost inevitable. The people and administration are both faced with a *fait accompli* in this set up. According to the figures of the U. P. Zemindari Abolition Committee, there are no less than 4 million *Kharas* of sub-tenants including those of tenants of Sir and *Khudkasht* and those occupying land without consent. Unrecorded sub-letting, as is revealed by private investigations, is in addition very widely prevalent particularly in the eastern parts and the permanently settled areas.

Rationalisation of such small-scale farming lies in the direction of a gradual replacement of the family-holdings by community farms of an optimum size through planned co-operation and introduction of a progressive system of land tenures based on the institution of collective ownership of land by the village community functioning as an autonomous republic under a system of decentralized economy and distributive justice.

Such communal organisation can be achieved through the following measures :

1. Abolition of all forms of non-cultivating private rights in land including (a) the right of receiving rent whether by letting or sub-letting, (b) the privilege to share crop, and (c) the freedom to operate through permanent hired or contract labour.

2. Elimination of all forms of absentee cultivation and cultivation by those engaged in other callings particularly public employments, trades and liberal professions.

3. Making all agricultural land non-transferable and non-heritable by private individuals.

4. Vesting the collective ownership of land in the village community, which should have full freedom to redistribute land, rationalize farming and collect such dues as are necessary to discharge its own obligations including village expenses and any taxes.

5. Replacement of land-revenue by an agricultural tax on the total farm produce in a village and assessed on the village community.

Since private rights in land-ownership would pass to village communities they should bear all the burden of compensation to individuals. The provincial governments should do no more than offer necessary facilities for such compulsory acquisition on a uniform scale and their revenues should not be burdened by or hypothecated to the costs of abolition of private rights.

To replace present tenures by communal ownership of land and individual family-type holdings by community farms, which would have the obligation to employ all permanent resident agriculturists in a village on an equitable basis, 'gradualness' rather than a sudden break from the past shall have to be adopted to smoothen transition. During the transition period progress would lie in the following directions :

1. Immediate assumption of all estate management by the Provincial Government in the capacity of trustees as is done in the U. P. when a *mahal* is declared *Kham*. No compensation would be required at this stage as private profits shall be given back to individuals, up to a maximum limit as an anti-inflationary measure, after deducting costs of collection, public dues and zemindari expenses.

2. Nesting of cultivating rights in actual tillers of the soil whether they be chief tenants, sub-tenants or share-croppers. These rights should not be transferable but may be relinquished in favour of the village community which may be required to reimburse an outgoing cultivator for his permanent investments of a capital character in land.

3. Imposing a maximum limit of say 20 acres on family holdings and abrogation of the rights of absentee cultivators or those cultivating through hired labor in favour of the farm servants. All farms above the size of 50 acres should be converted into co-operative or collective units with suitable government subsidies to determine the best type or types of community farms.

4. Combination in farming to be encouraged by schemes of compulsory consolidation of cropping, co-operative ownership of farm equipment and machinery and withdrawal of all public aid to stabilize family-type holdings.

5. On the model of British Agricultural Act 1948, government should prescribe each year minimum acreage yields to improve the productive efficiency of farms. A fall in production below the prescribed minimum should be punishable by termination of cultivating rights in individual family holdings.

Experience gained during this period should be utilized in finalising the scheme of compensation, whose payment should be spread over a long period to avoid any inflationary impacts, flight of capital from the countryside and aggravation of cyclical movements. The amount instead of being assessed as value should take the form of 'compensatory payments' for loss of income to stabilize

demand and minimise incidence of unemployment. Varying multiples at which current incomes should be capitalized and varying rates of interest at which the amount should be immobilized for gradual release would best secure this purpose. If co-operation is to be trusted as the best lever for resuscitating the village economy, payments by the village communities can easily be arranged through long-

term loans from the village co-operatives, raising the necessary finances by compulsory fixed deposits of compensation amount. By a happy marriage of the indigenous forms of communal organisation with modern practices in co-operation alone can be born a new society enjoying social security and distributive justice drawn from full employment and technological advances.

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COLOUR BAR AND RACE DISCRIMINATION IN EAST AFRICA

By M. J. SERONEY

NATIVES. How I hate the word! You may ask what is in a name. Well, what is in it? The Oxford Dictionary defines the word 'native' as: "One born or whose parents are domiciled in a place." But that is not all, it goes on: "A member of non-European or uncivilized race." In East Africa and especially in Kenya it has been made to mean the African. The Africans are, therefore, discriminated against not as Africans but as Natives—with a capital 'N'. This word is a symbol of colour bar and race discrimination in East Africa. Go through the streets of Nairobi for example, and you will meet it at every corner. In public parks you see places reserved "For Natives only" or "For Europeans only." Sometimes—"for Non-Natives only," at others "For Non-Europeans only." Go to bus stands or to public lavatories and you cannot but meet this word beneath which the Africans groan. Yes, Africans. The Europeans think the name is too good, so instead of calling him an African they call him a Native. That is how he is known to the law. To the law he is not an African but a Native.

I am often asked whether the caste system exists in East Africa. My answer is: Yes. But our caste system is not founded on any religion existing under the sun but on colour. The Europeans constitute what may be termed the first caste, the Brahmins—the Aristocrats of East Africa. The Indians come next and the Africans come last. Supposing there are 3 clerks, all working at the same kind of work with the same educational qualifications and the same responsibility, the European may get say 600/- shillings, the Indian 175/- shillings and the African 75/- shillings per month. People are paid in East Africa not according to merit but according to the colour of their skin. This is justice and anybody who has the impudence to rise and challenge the system is merely an irresponsible agitator. Any one raising the cry "Equal pay for equal work" is just a "semi-educated native politician." The Europeans labour much to prove that they are just townfolk who know nothing about the conditions in the country and so are not fit to represent African opinion generally.

An institution which depicts colour bar in action better than any other is what is known as "the Kipande"

—the Native Registration Certificate. I have one before me now as I write this. It is issued under the Native Registration Ordinance, 1921. Every African over 18 unless especially exempted must have it. There has been much agitation against this Kipande but it takes long—one might say too long—in going. In the meantime the poor "Native" must go on carrying it. He is obliged by law to carry about his Kipande and to produce it whenever and wherever asked for by the police. Failure to produce the Kipande upon being requested to do so is a punishable offence under the Native Registration Ordinance, 1921.

Nothing could depict the spirit of colour bar and race discrimination in Kenya better than the Kipande. Only the Africans have to carry it. It is of social and economic importance. First, it is an identification certificate, but instead of bearing the owner's photograph it bears instead his left thumb impression. This as they say helps the police in detecting crime. It is also an instrument for keeping the labourer's wages low. It was originally designed for farm labourers who were (and still are) paid hardly Sh. 8/- a month. The wages are entered in the Kipande by each employer so that any employer knows what the last one paid, and the poor labourer has hardly a chance of improving his lot. But the mischief does not end here. The labourer is at the mercy of the white employer because upon being engaged the employer signs in the Kipande and the labourer cannot leave unless he has been signed off. Furthermore, he cannot be re-employed until the old master has put his signature on the discharge column. Otherwise the poor Native is regarded as deserter and guilty of contravening the Native Registration Ordinance of 1921. If you care to turn the other side of the Kipande, you will read notes for the guidance of an employer engaging the owner of the certificate. The following provisions, I think, will attract your eye:

1. Within 48 hours of engaging the owner of this certificate the employer shall sign him on ink, in columns 1 to 5 overleaf. The entry of employment should be made on the top unused line etc. etc.

At the same time the employer shall keep a record of his number, name, and date of engagement. (If

this is not done the employer will not be able to report his number, and name if he deserts.)

3. No employer shall engage the owner of this certificate if it bears an endorsement of engagement but none of discharge unless the permission of a Registration Officer is first obtained in writing.

6. Failure to comply with any of the above provisions constitutes a contravention of the Native Registration Ordinance, 1921.

In case of the decease of the holder of this certificate, or any person finding the same, it should be sent, together with its container, to the nearest District Commissioner or to the Chief Registrar of Natives, P.O. Box 322, Nairobi.

Thank God the deceased is not required to produce the Kipande in heaven!

The Europeans, not content with having appropriated the best lands in Kenya which have been set aside for the exclusive use of the Whites, the White Highlands, are exploiting cheap African labour and have devised the Kipande as an effective means of keeping the wages of the labourer down. You see the poor labourer has no chance of improving his lot. He has not yet developed his Trade Unions and so he is at the mercy of White exploitation. He has no means of bargaining for a better lot and he is denied even the liberty of leaving a bad job however dissatisfied he may feel. Not only the labourers but all Africans educated or un-educated are obliged to carry about this hateful document. You see, the African is a potential source of cheap labour to European settlers backed and subsidised by the Government. He is obliged to produce it whenever and wherever it is required of him by a policeman. One must have been a Native to appreciate the annoyance caused by this certificate. You cannot (i.e. if you are an African) walk about the streets of a town without a Kipande but you are apprehensive of being asked to produce it at every corner, failing which you are imprisoned. Only the Africans have to carry the Kipande. The Europeans and the Indians move about freely.

You can find instances of race discrimination everywhere. Even to go to the pictures when I left Nairobi a year ago Africans had to have special passes for the cinema halls. The story goes that there was a fight in one of the theaters in which an African and a European were involved, the object of the quarrel being an African girl! The African as usual was blamed for it

and ever since any African who wished to go to the cinema halls—you see most of the theatres in Nairobi are owned by one big monopoly—was required to take a pass given him by the manager of the New Theatres Ltd., upon giving an undertaking for orderly behaviour. And even then only the front rows were reserved for him.

Many hotels in Nairobi and other important towns are closed to the Non-Europeans. Of course, Africans serve in them but they cannot be served in them. There is a story of an African leader from West Africa who was touring the continent. A week back he had been received in audience at the Buckingham Palace and found worthy of being invited to a Royal Party. But in these far removed East African dominions of His Majesty the door of one "Africa Hotel" was closed against him because he was African!

The policy of segregation or as has come to be known in the South as "apartheid" is also seen in the means of transport and communication. Africans may not travel in the same railway compartment as the Europeans or the Indians. The three are rigidly segregated. The African often gets the worst of the bargain in railway accommodation. Waiting rooms are not for passengers travelling this or that class but for this or that race. The Europeans are assumed to travel first class, the "Asiatics" second, and the "Natives" third, the waiting rooms are fixed accordingly and even if an African travels first class he has to go to a third class waiting room and brave all its horrors.

It is therefore no matter for surprise if an African on breathing a freer atmosphere abroad feels a great sense of relief. For once he can move about freely as a human being. As soon as I landed at Bombay last year I felt the difference. I could go anywhere I liked provided my pocket could afford it. I could go into a hotel, walk into a restaurant, go to a picture house—do all these without the colour of my skin being enquired into. There were no more "For Natives only" or "For Europeans Only." This experience which an African undergoes abroad is such that were it not for the desire to double back and liberate his people, he would not desire to return, because like it or not he is better off abroad than at home. Abroad he is a human being—an African, but in Kenya he is a Native and much less than a human being. So you see why I hate the word "Natives." It signifies foreign domination and exploitation of the Fatherland, and is a measure of the amount of true liberty, equality and justice which prevail in British East Africa. Pax Britannica!





Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

THE CYNOSURE OF SANCHI: By Bhikkhu Metteyya. Edited by Brahmachari Devapriya Valisinha. Mahabodhi Society, Colombo. Pp. 86.

Written by a pious and venerable monk of Ceylon on the auspicious occasion of the exhibition of the relics of the Buddha's chief disciples at Colombo last year, this short but readable work contains a number of useful notes on the antiquities of Sanchi, that hill of shrines in the Malwa tableland, from which Sir Alexander Cunningham recovered the relics in the middle of the last century. The author's notes are frequently accompanied by interesting quotations from the Pali Canon and the inscriptions of the great Emperor Asoka as well as from the works of standard authors from Cunningham to Marshall and Foucher. To this the author has added interesting accounts of the blessings brought to India as well as Ceylon by the advent of Buddhism. He has also given us a vivid description, against the background of neglect and persecution to which Buddhism was subjected under Portuguese and Dutch rule in the past and the educational influences of Christian missionaries in recent times, of the impetus which the pious people of the Island have gained from the arrival of the relics in their midst last year. An appendix contains the text of the correspondence carried on by the Honorary Secretary of the Mahabodhi Society with the Government of India for the return of the relics from the Victoria and Albert Museum in London where they had been lying for nearly a century. The value of this work, which contains a number of sketches of the relic casket inscriptions, would have been enhanced by the addition of a map and a chronological table as well as an illustration of the relics themselves.

U. N. GHOSHAL

MAGADHA ARCHITECTURE AND CULTURE: By Sris Chandra Chatterjee, C.E., Sthapatyavisarad. University of Calcutta. 1942. One map and thirty plates. Pp. xxviii + 112.

The book under review is a curious mixture of two parts which could have been kept separate from one another without anybody noticing it. In the first part, the author has tried to reconstruct a picture of the cultural life of Magadha through successive ages. For this purpose, he has utilized such evidence as is available from contemporary sculpture as well as literature, both sacred and secular. The second part is more an essay on some fundamental problems relating to architecture, namely, its relation to life and nature. There are occasional references to Magadha and its past, but they do not so much form part of an argument in favour of the immediate issue.

After laying down some principles, the author proceeds to a practical consideration of how a revival

can be brought about in Indian architecture today; for he considers this to be as necessary in a renaissance national life, as laying the foundation properly is for any building operation. Mr. Chatterjee's missionary zeal is evident through all the pages; and, in his enthusiasm in enlisting the reader's sympathy, he then proceeds to describe certain recent architectural designs which combine traditional, artistic concepts with modern, utilitarian ones. He even goes so far as to acquaint the reader with how important men all over the world have expressed their sympathy with the revival movement associated with the author's name in India.

We are sure the reader will share with the author of the book, his feelings towards India's artistic achievements in the past, and his just claim that any new movement in national reconstruction should not fail to profit by the ideals embodied in them.

INDIAN ARCHITECTURE: By O. C. Gangoi. Kutub Publishers, Windy Hall Lane, Bombay 5. 1948. Pp. 72 including text and 109 plates or figures. Price Rs. 5-8.

The book was originally published from the office of the *Rupam* in Calcutta in 1928, and contained the observations of the celebrated art-critic on the origin and development of Indian architecture. We are grateful to the present publishers for having once more made it available to the public. One is merely to note that there has been no alteration in the text of the book.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

IQBAL: THE POET AND HIS MESSAGE: By Sachchidananda Sinha. Published by Ram Narain Lal Allahabad. 1947. Pp. 512. Price Rs. 8.

Sir Muhammad Iqbal shares with Rabindranath the fame of having attained to rare poetic excellence in modern India. Indian culture in the twentieth century will long bear the impress of these two personalities, and their influence will be felt in matters beyond the immediate scope of poetry. They have not been mere poets, but nation-builders; not indifferent to the struggles of humanity after truth and perfection, but leaders in the search after them; not apart from their nation, but its accredited representatives. It has been quite in the fitness of things that an eminent scholar like Dr. Sachchidananda Sinha has devoted so much time and energy to the recounting of the achievements of Sir Muhammad Iqbal.

Dr. Sinha, now on the verge of 80, has occupied important and responsible positions in the cultural life of the country—in politics, in education, in journalism. His extensive reading in poetry and philosophy and his intimate knowledge of Persian and Urdu, no less than his ardent nationalism and liberal humanism have made him a worthy exponent of the poetry of Sir

Muhammad Iqbal. A wise head on ever young shoulders, he has interpreted Sir Muhammad Iqbal to the youth of the present generation with a sympathy hardly to be paralleled.

And he has been thorough in his method. Apparently he has not neglected any phase in his estimate of the poet. He has investigated into the religious, political and philosophical background, and has also given us an idea of the literary value of Iqbal's Urdu and Persian poetry, including a comment on his attitude towards mysticism or Sufism. As a poet-philosopher, as an exponent of the cultural unity of India, as an eminent humanist, Sir Muhammad Iqbal has to be appraised in addition to his being a mere poet.

But the author has not been eager to rush to conclusions. He has not scrupled to take pains to raise fundamental questions. He has tried to present Sir Muhammad Iqbal as a religious poet, as an interpreter of Islam. But the author has his own interpretation as to the objective of Islam. "Islam is, in substance, a religion possessing great powers of elasticity and resilience, and also it has inherent in it a remarkable capacity for making progress from good to better, and from better to best. Islam also possessed in its very warp and woof (the Quran) the elements of progress by process of adaptation to the ever-changing needs and requirements of humanity, and of advancing along the march of events." But during the last few centuries Islam has lost this power of adaptation, in our author's opinion, and we are told that Iqbal has misinterpreted or at any rate has misconceived the Quranic teachings.

The author, in support of his standpoint, cites freely from such thinkers as Sir C. P. Ramaswamy Iyer from the opening verses of the Quran, and such eminent persons as Dr. Syed Ameer Ali, Dr. Hafiz Syed, Nawab Akbar Yar Jung Bahadur of Hyderabad, and Sir Mirza Ismail. He has gone to Alberuni and consulted his views on Indian culture and Islam; he has quoted *in extenso* the opinions of Prof. S. Khuda Bahsh. In short, a liberal and rationalistic interpretation of Islam, and not of a dogmatic assertion, is favoured by our author. The poet's outlook resulted in his denunciation of Plato—not, according to the author, a sign of mental balance.

Between the dogmatic champions of Islam and the liberal ones, there was bound to be considerable divergence of opinion, and that more than on one point. It coloured the poet's views on pantheistic Sufism; "The nobler type of idealistic philosophy" in Islam (the words within the quotation marks are taken from the Rt. Hon'ble Dr. Syed Ameer Ali's *Spirit of Islam*) has been, says Dr. Sinha, "not only ignored, but emphatically opposed and condemned."

This attitude must have narrowed and crippled the spirit of poetry in Iqbal in no small measure, as may be gathered from our author's comparison between the poet on the one hand and Ghalib and Hali on the other; again, between the poet on the one hand, and poets like Kalidas, Dante, Goethe and Rabindranath on the other. Great literature can never lose its character of greatness and literary worth; the treatment must be elevating, it must be invested with beauty and sincerity. It is here that Dr. Sinha finds Iqbal lacking; for he notes in the poet's work "much dogmatic preaching, on subjects theological and philosophical, much uncritical criticism of what he dislikes," but little or no 'inspiration' in the sense in which Plato understood it. This view is shared by Prof. Falimuddin Ahmed, whose opinion as expressed in his *Urdu Shairi per ek Nazar* is quoted by Dr. Sinha as

summing up the estimate of Iqbal as a poet: "Iqbal was a poet for whom Urdu poetry had been waiting. He was conversant with the literature of the East and the West. He understood the meaning of poetry. He could have done all that he wished. It was not difficult for him to enthroned Urdu poetry on the highest peak of glory. But he did not give his thought to it." Dr. Sinha makes similar remarks and what he says practically amounts to this: Iqbal burnt his incense at the altar not of poetry, but of theology.

Why Iqbal fails to appeal to non-Muslim readers has been discussed at length in Chapter XIV.

The positive fact, however, of Iqbal's greatness has to be brought out. He is neither for the East nor for the West, but for Islam, for Islam to him stands for active and complete co-operation with the forces of good. The world has suffered long from the onslaughts of Iblis in various forms; now it is Western (or Eastern) imperialism, now it is the communism of Marx: They are but variations of the same scourge. The way to safety lies through the consciousness of man's divine origin—and the poet has a distinct role to play, for he is not a mere poet, he is also the thinker, the preacher, the fighter. There is no doubt that Iqbal comes here perilously near to dogmatism, and critics will differ in their estimate of him according to their judgment, whether the poet allowed this dogmatism (as Dr. Sinha thinks) to overcloud his poetry or not.

Any way, Dr. Sinha's book will be a valued contribution on the subject; he writes from the fullness of knowledge and with enthusiasm.

P. R. SEN

CONTEMPORARY INDIAN PAINTERS: By G. Venkatachalam. Nalanda Publications, Bombay. Thirteen halftone blocks and two colour plates. Pp. 120. Price Rs. 8-4.

This volume of fifteen unpretentious essays on fifteen modern Indian painters, of which eight (N. L. Bose, Devi Roy Chowdhury, S. Ukil, Asit Haldar, Mukul Dey, Promode Chatterjee, Pulin Bihary Dutt and Venkatappa) are disciples of Abanindra Nath Tagore, gives a panoramic view of a phase of modern Art-culture, initiated by the father of modern Indian paintings. Each essay is prefaced by a halftone reproduction of the artist concerned. Unfortunately, the specimens chosen do not always correctly represent the best or the typical work of each artist. The author, a well-known journalist, interested in Indian Art, disarms all criticisms by indicating his modest plan in publishing this volume: "I have not attempted any biographical or critical studies of their lives but have merely recorded my impressions of their personalities and my reactions to their pictures. This book is, at best, a modest introduction to their art," a remark which all reviewers will heartily endorse. He writes in a racy and attractive style—free from technical jargons—which scare away the average man from a study of art. The Appendix, originally a reply to Beverley Nichol's foolish and ill-tempered verdict on Indian artists, briefly summarises the outstanding characters of Indian Art, which will be useful to all beginners. In new India, in a new set-up, all nationalists should take a greater and more live interest in contemporary productions of Art than that extended in the past. And Mr. Venkatachalam's book will undoubtedly offer a very useful help. It is unfortunate that the book is marred by a "school-boy howler". The frontispiece, "Buddha and his Disciples" by Venkatappa is described "as one of the finest achievements of the modern Indian Art," which is very mis-

leading, and, defames the author's own reputation for connoisseurship. This should be omitted in later editions.

KAUNDINYA

EUROPE LOOKS AT INDIA : By Alex Aronson. *Hind Kitabs, Bombay. Price Rs. 5.*

Dr. Aronson's two other books, *Rabindranath Through Western Eyes* and *Romain Rolland*, have earned him high reputation. The present volume is another feather to his cap. This book aims at explaining the cultural relations between India and the West and at the assessment of India's contribution to the complicated texture of European culture. It traces European response to India, against an historical and sociological background, from Voltaire to Aldous Huxley, and shows how this response has fructified. Incidentally this book also explains the general philosophy of the leaders of thought in relation to their response to Indian culture. This book will be of great help in promoting understanding between India and Europe, now that India is independent and has taken her due place in the comity of nations.

S. K. BOSE

SANSKRIT

DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE PALI MANUSCRIPTS IN THE ADYAR LIBRARY : By E. W. Adikaram, M.A., Ph.D. (Lond.). *The Adyar Library. Price Rs. 6.*

We have here descriptions of 51 manuscripts, all written in the Sinhalese script and all but one on palm-leaf. These relate to Buddhist works in Pali with one in the Sinhalese language. The manuscripts which do not generally bear any date are comparatively modern. The one described as fairly old contains a figure which presumably refers to the date of copying (e.g., 1838 not unlikely of the Saka era). The oldest and most interesting manuscript described in the volume consists of 28 copperplates, dated 1813 A.D. (1735 Saka era) and contains the texts of two Pali Suttas with explanatory notes in Sinhalese on one of them. The descriptions follow the stereotyped mechanical form in quoting extracts from the beginning and the end of the manuscripts. References to printed editions are given but no mention is made of the nature of the texts preserved in the manuscripts. Only in one case the observations of another scholar, who used it, are quoted (p. 77) with reference to a particular manuscript.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

HINDI

GANDHIJI-SHRADDHANJALI : *Kashi Vidyapith, Benares Cantonment. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1-8.*

GANDHIJI KO SHRADDHANJALI : *Vinoba Bhawe. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 48. Price six annas.*

HRIDAYA-MANTHAN KE PANCH DIN : *Sasta Sahitya Mandal, Connaught Circus, New Delhi. Pp. 67. Price four annas.*

The first is one of the four volumes of tributes to Gandhiji's memory which will form a part of the Kashi Vidyapith's praiseworthy project to publish in Hindi, a series of twenty-five volumes, embodying Gandhiji's life, letters, views on *Ahimsa*, Hindu-Muslim unity, untouchability, education, politics, economics, religion and his allied experiments with Truth; also other's reminiscences of Gandhiji. The volume under review, which is illustrated, contains a symposium of tributes by the representative leaders of Indian life and thought.

The second consists of the illuminating public addresses of Shri Vinoba Bhawe, delivered for several days immediately following Gandhiji's death. These

take one into the very heart of Gandhiji's faith and philosophy of life, the author's style being an apex of simplicity.

The third is a compilation by Shri Yashpal Jain of Gandhiji's post-prayer addresses *apropos* of his fast which he undertook during January, 1948, or restoring Hindu-Muslim unity. They constitute his soul's cry and crucifixion at the increasing animosity of and alienation between the two communities and his innermost and earnest prayer for peace and harmony among the people.

G. M.

GUJARATI

(1) **BHAKTRAJ HANUMAN :** *Translated by C. R. Shelal. Thick cover. Pp. 87. Price six annas.*

(2) **SHRI SHARDAMANI DEVI :** *By Anand Chaitanya. Thick card-board. Pp. 102. Price eight annas.*

(3) **DHAMMA PAD :** *By Pandit Bechardas Doshi. Pp. 144. Price Re. 1.*

(4) **BAL BHARAT :** *By Prafulla F. Thakore. Pp. 280. Price Re. 1-8.*

(5) **SWARUP VICHAR :** *By Dalpatram Jaganath Mehta. Pp. 103. Price ten annas.*

(6) **SHRI JNANSATRA GITA :** *Thick card-board. Pp. 336. Price Re. 1-4.*

All published by the Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 19-6.

Under Mr. Manu Subedar's direction his Society is advancing by leaps and bounds in carrying out its object of popularising literature in all its branches. Religion, Mythology, History, Belles Lettres, Hygiene and Medicine and many others. Mr. Manu is known all over India as an Economist of the first rank and a businessman, but very few know his strong inclination towards literature and religion. It is this trait in his character, which has led him to select the best writer and books on the subject he wishes to make popular and touch the hearts of the masses. *Bhaktaraj Hanuman*, a translation from Hindi, portrays him not only as a towering and strong man, but as an intelligent guide, friend and helper of Shri Ram. Shri Sharadamani Devi, the wife of Ramakrishna Paramahansa, an ideal Hindu wife, saintly and simple, whose vocation of life was to be of use to her husband is the subject-matter of the second book, and the writer has succeeded in creating a timely interest in the reader. Pandit Bechardas Doshi is a deep student and research-scholar both of Jainism and Buddhism. He has, as befits his scholarship in this book, given extensive notes and comments, explaining the religious songs *Dharma and Pado* current in Buddhist literature. His monograph on "Self-study of Dharma Pad" is the work of a talented man. It was a most commendable idea of Mr. Manu Subedar to have a Mahabharata, suitable for being understood by juveniles in Gujarati and shorn of its various sidetracks. He found one such in Bengali by Subodh Chandra Majumdar, called *Chheleder Mahabharata*, which has undergone eleven editions. This abridgement tells the story as a continuous whole, and keeps up the interest of the young reader. The Gujarati version is illustrated also and thus adds to its attractiveness. Swarup Vichar is based on material taken from the Gita, Upanishads, Bhagvat, and similar works and in the form of a dialogue between a *Sadhak* (Inquirer) and his Preceptor, expounds the philosophy of the Advait (non-dualism). *Jnansatra Gita* has the Sanskrit text printed in Gujarati and gives the analysis and the meaning of each verse of the Bhagvad Gita, so that the student can easily follow the trend thereof. This Society's publication of the copies of the Gita at various popular prices has reached the number of three lakhs.

K. M. J.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Legacy of India : Spiritual

Contribution

If one were to ask in what way the past civilization of India is to be distinguished from other ancient cultures, one can be at once told that the distinctive feature of Indian civilization is its emphasis upon the spiritual aspect of life. In the course of an article in *Prabuddha Bharata* H. D. Bhattacharya observes :

It is indeed true that no civilization has ever lived and thrived without a spiritual basis, for civilization has no meaning without the control of the baser elements of human nature and a consideration towards the interests and well-being of one's fellow beings. But the welfare of society does not necessarily involve the recognition of human values : it may be sought with the ulterior motive of advancing self-interest, and this personal advancement may be not the progress of the spirit but the increased pleasure of the body. All material civilization has aimed primarily at increasing creature comforts and followed the path of indulgence (*pravrittimarga*) and not that of abnegation of pleasure (*nivrittimarga*). Ceaseless striving after the attainment of animal satisfaction has served only to whet the appetite without bringing any sense of satiety and spurred men on to greater activity to maintain and improve the standard of living. The crown of wild olive has adorned the brow of the most successful competitor in the struggle for worldly possessions, and nations that have mastered the technique of material conquest and outstripped others in the race for more comfortable living have been acclaimed as the most civilized. The craze for power and material supremacy has brought inevitably in its train wars of conquest, exploitation and subjugation of backward races and mutual conflict among the advanced nations themselves, and though it has made men more keen-witted and equipped with better instruments for probing into the mysteries of the material universe, it has not made them more ethical and humane, or prompted them to judge properly the values of things in terms of their spiritual worth. Engrossed in the evanescent and the worldly, material civilization has ever set its face against the eternal and the transcendental.

Against this mode of looking at nature and man, may be set the Indian way of looking at life. Two remarkable utterances—one from the *Upanishad* and the other from the *Bhagavadgita*—practically sum up the Indian assessment of the values of worldly existence. In the famous Yajñavalkya-Maitreyi dialogue of the *Bṛhadaranyaka Upanishad* occur the significant words, "Lo, verily, not for love of all is all dear, but for love of the Self all is dear. Lo, verily, it is the Self that should be seen, that should be hearkened to, that should be reflected on and meditated upon. O Maitreyi, Lo, verily, the Self being seen through hearing, reflection and meditation all this world is known." And the other

is from the Fifteenth Chapter of the *Bhagavadgita*, where, in the opening verses, we are told that the evanescent world (*ashvattha*) is rooted in God above, and though it branches out in all directions for the embodiment of souls, it can be cut with the sharp weapon of dispassion, and thereby a return to the eternal source can be effected. No wonder the search for the Self should become an overmastering passion with seekers after truth and its destiny and object of profound spiritual interest ! Again and again we are told that self-knowledge eclipses all other enlightenments and that the path of spiritual insight (*jñana*) is superior to that of moral action (*karma*). To seek heaven by virtuous deeds is an inferior quest, for heaven (*svarga*) is not an eternal abode but a temporary haven of rest from the troubles of earthly life, which is destined to pass away when merit would be exhausted. The proper objective of spiritual life is salvation (*apavarga*, *mukti*) and this can be attained only when we learn the secrets of the Self and cultivate a spirit of detachment towards all worldly happenings.

From an exclusive, pre-occupation with the intellectualistic apprehension of reality India was partly saved by an early recognition of the diversity of human natures and their spiritual needs.

Men get differentiated not only by nature but also by training ; and if spiritual advancement could be achieved only in a specific way, then many would be deprived of the opportunity of making spiritual progress. Some do best in a life of action (*karmayoga*), others are devotionally inclined (*bhaktiyoga*), some others are meditative by temperament (*jñanayoga*)—the way must be suited to the native equipment, or the effort to advance will fail. Bigotry ignores human diversity and insists on soulless repetition of devotional exercises. It not only lays down that God can be realized only in one way, but sees to it that there is no deviation from the prescribed procedure. Polytheism which permitted personal preference in the matter of choosing a deity developed an attitude of toleration towards those who preferred some other object of devotion. When high philosophy belittled the importance of the gods in an ultimate reference, even religious attitude was considered to be inferior to the quest of Brahman, the impersonal principle of all existence. Those who thrust both the gods and the Absolute aside and preached a godless search for the soul could still command an audience, because moral discipline and intense self-analysis were set above religious devotion and intellectual speculation. Jainism and Buddhism extolled moral earnestness and freedom from the trammels of religious belief, while the orthodox creed of the *Upanishads* preached Brahman, and Yoga a colourless *Isvara* ; but all agreed that Self-knowledge was essential for salvation. Thus toleration was extended to the heterodox creeds also ; and though social intercourse ceased and bitter philosophical disputes sprang up, the estrangement did not proceed to the length of persecution, or personal violence. It is astonishing to think that in a large country like India

religious quarrel and persecution should be so rare. But while differences were recognized, assimilations were not discouraged—that is why today there is no vestige of foreign cultures that successively entered the country. The absorption of the *Vratyas* in the sub-Vedic age found many parallels in later times with the effect that different culture-traits were fused together to form a homogeneous Brahmanic civilization, the exceptions being the revealed religions of Christianity, Islam, and Zoroastrianism, though even there Brahmanism managed to affect social customs and semi-religious practices. Toleration succeeded where persecution would have failed.

Asian Rally

The New Review observes :

The Dutch Government in Java were keen on having peace before New-Year's day, or what they fancied would be peace. There would be a cease-fire immediately. And why not? In a two-week 'police action,' they had got hold of the enemy leaders and of all strategic positions. Why then go on fighting? In Java at any rate. In Sumatra it was another story; the situation there was spoiled by others and 'purification operations' had to be continued for peace-sake. Once peace was established, the mantle of Queen Juliana would be spread over the islands in benign protection.

The word was taken by surprise at the news. The U. N. Good Offices Commission had arranged some sort of uneasy truce between the Dutch authorities and the Indonesian Republic. Pourparlers were going on; the Republicans were talking undiluted democracy, the Hollanders answered in Double-Dutch, and in a fit of impatience they swept aside the republican government. Why this sudden aggression? The general features of the situation are sufficiently clear, even if details are complex. Once the war with Japan was over, the Indonesian Republic was set up and allowed to cover most of Java and Sumatra. Internal rivalries and communist infiltration soon agitated and weakened the new state. A Dutch 'police action' in July and August, 1947 reconquered enormous territories in Java and Sumatra, and fostered the growth of puppet states, which the Republic could not get back in subsequent truces and agreements. The islands were like a mosaic of states: the Indonesian Republic, the new states of East Java, Madura, South-east Sumatra, as well as East-Indonesia, West Borneo, etc. The Dutch Government was in a hurry to freeze the actual situation, save the new states from the Republican virus and gather the Indonesian family under the shelter of Holland. On the other hand, the Republicans felt little at ease in their constricted frontiers; they spread the feeling of Indonesian solidarity against Dutch protectionism, and throughout the islands they were gaining adherents in alarming numbers. Hence the 'purification operations' which expunged the Indonesian Republic from the political map.

The misdeed was flagrant; the Western powers were dismayed, South East Asia was angry.

With a bold voice and a noble heart, Pandit Nehru condemned the aggression and called an international conference at New Delhi.

The Dutch colonials argue with futile obstinacy that the Indonesian case is a special one, that the populations of the islands are at various stages of cultural and political development, that even the

Republicans themselves have few educated leaders, that the interests of the islands are not similar, that the Republican Party itself is divided, etc. Two facts should have been acknowledged by the most stolid politicians of The Hague and Batavia. The first is that the national movement is deeply implanted in Java and is spread widely enough to resist force. The second is that Asian solidarity is fast developing; Westernization has fostered anti-Western nationalism which the victory over Japan did not quench, and dug the grave of colonialism and imperialism. A South-East Asian Union will not have to forget past rivalries and wars, and will not be impeded by the distrust which hampers the West-Europe Union. The nations of South-East Asia have not yet acquired the enormous strength which will be theirs in a few decades, they have at present tied no strong bonds among themselves, but psychologically they are admirably prepared for common resistance against foreign aggression and against military domination. Their influence in international life is growing every day.

With pride and warmth New Delhi welcomed the representatives of the many nations: Afghanistan, Australia, Burma, Egypt, Ethiopia, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Pakistan, Philippines, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Yemen, as well as the observers from Siam, and Nepal, China and New Zealand. A unanimous vote put Premier Nehru in the Chair, and cordiality had all the fervid candour of nations making their *debut* in the international world. Yet what was most impressive was the measured tone of the speeches and the realistic approach of the resolutions. The Conference demanded full liberty of action for the Republican Government, the restoration of the frontiers as on the 18th December and the withdrawal of Dutch troops, the formation of an Interim Government of the Indonesian Federation, the preparation of elections and the transfer of power to the United States of Indonesia, by January, 1950, finally the creation of a supervisory commission by the Security Council of the U. N. O.

The same Security Council prepared a resolution along the same lines but drafted in the hesitant mood of resolution-addicts. The Dutch Government also professes to pursue the same purposes. All agree on the same point in different ways. Would there be found a Lord Mountbatten to clinch the agreement!

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Health is a major basis of human progress and its lack is one of the causes that lead to national decay. Dr. A. C. Ukil writes in *Science and Culture* :

No planning for the health uplift of a community is possible without a consideration of the topography, soil study, the raising of food, weather conditions, population (men and cattle), water supply, drainage, industry, education, and economic and cultural backgrounds of the community. A survey of these factors is necessary before any planning is undertaken. It will be found that in most spheres, the deviation from physiological health is related to problems connected with housing, clothing, physical cleanliness, drainage, water supply, disposal of sewage, household refuse and manure and the contamination and poverty of food-stuffs. The backwardness of India in the proper evolution of public health must be accounted for either by the progress of science not being applied to the prevention of diseases, as has been done in advanced countries, or to a wrong application of the same.

In Western European countries, like Britain and Germany, successive scientific advances enabled a fuller apprehension of positive health which profoundly affected the action of State-craft. Political and economic advances were followed by legislation and State action leading to improvement of working conditions and occupational hygiene, school health including the provision of school meals and preventive treatment of defects, the prevention of maternal and infant mortality, health, unemployment, old age and invalidity insurance, immunisation against diseases, the provision of adequate and safer food and the prevention and care of mental deficiency, tuberculosis, venereal diseases and cancer. Subsidised housing and town planning schemes made it possible for the eradication of slums, the construction of sanitary dwellings, the provision of cheap-rental houses and the abatement of overcrowding, which resulted in a great improvement in sanitation and cleanliness. This programme was accompanied by the establishment of a large variety of institutions and supply of trained personnel.

Public health has been described in America as a "purchaseable commodity."

Modern public health, which is an integral part of the social services like education, agriculture, animal husbandry, co-operation and industries, has to be paid for. Great Britain spends 18.2 per cent of the revenue for education and 22.7 per cent for medical protection. Is it possible for India to make a purchase of the same standard with 8.4 per cent of the revenue for education, 3.4 per cent for medical protection and only 1.7 per cent for the improvement of agriculture and animal husbandry? No improvement in health can be achieved without the simultaneous development of the

programme of national reconstruction in the field of agriculture, animal husbandry, education, industry, housing and the improvement of communications—factors which are essential for improving the standard of living of the people, without which the improvement of health will be a fleeting objective, at least in the rural areas. This *integrated development* will be found to be possible with the least expenditure by the establishment of multi-purpose co-operative societies to act in the different spheres of social activity, as 80 per cent of the programme will have to be executed and practised by the people and 2 per cent by the State services of the regional unit although I admit that the State must ultimately provide for a social machinery to assure living standard adequate for the maintenance of health. Through this programme the people will learn the spirit of co-operation and self-help, thereby contributing their share in kind what richer countries have been able to accomplish by cash purchase. *No health programme therefore, can be sponsored and carried out without simultaneous development in other spheres of human activity intended to improve the standard of living.* Since only 7 to 8 per cent of the population belongs to urban areas, we shall try to estimate the requirements of rural areas primarily. The urban areas receive much more from the provincial exchequer than it is their due. Their sanitation and health programme needs special treatment and is much more expensive but the municipal and industrial areas can raise money for health and social welfare more easily than rural areas.

TOPOGRAPHY AND SOCIAL ANTHROPOLOGY

Take the question of West Bengal: Out of 13 districts excluding Calcutta, the population varies between 0.4 to 1 million in 5 districts, between 1.2 millions in 6 districts and 3.1 to 3.6 millions in two districts (Midnapore and 24-Parganas), excluding Calcutta which registered a population of 2.1 millions during 1941 Census. Each district is made up of 2-5 Subdivisions, with a population varying between 2-8 lakhs. 3-12 Thana areas constitute a Subdivision. The population of the thanas or police areas varies between 1,259 to 200,000, but the majority have a population of 40,000 to 80,000. There are 238 thanas. The smallest administrative unit at the periphery is the Union Board which has a population varying between 5,000 to 20,000. The area covered by an Union Board with a population of 10,000 is approximately 15 sq. miles. The male and female population is approximately equally balanced. One-third of the population is constituted by children under 10 years. In sponsoring programmes of reforms, a study of the topography of the area, the social anthropology of the population, economics, communications, health status and other factors should be made before the programme is put into operation.



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Life's Debt to Death

Forms die but matter never perishes ; the consciousness disembodied temporarily is not destroyed ; Life builds, preserves, destroys but to build better, casting her erstwhile vehicles into the alembic men call death, that they may be worked up again as other forms. Dr. Alexander F. Skutch writes in *The Aryan Path* :

No one knows how long ago, or under what peculiar circumstances, life arose on the cooling surface of our planet. But those who have weighed the evidence most carefully believe that the interval separating us from the origins of terrestrial life must be measured in hundreds of millions of years, and that the earliest of organized creatures were extremely simple in gross structure, comparable to the lowliest and least differentiated of the living things we know today. And there is no good reason to doubt that the first progenitors of contemporaneous animals and plants suffered from the same limitations which we find without exception in all their progeny—that they could continue to exist only within a narrow range of external conditions and so were liable to sudden destruction ; and that even if they escaped disaster from outside agencies, their own internal processes would in the end bring on old age and death.

Of the many peculiar qualities possessed by the newly formed living substance, perhaps the most significant was its instability, its liability to swift destruction or slow decay—in a word, its mortality. For closely associated with its instability was its capacity to change, to assume new forms. In outward shape the first living beings were in all probability very much simpler than many inorganic objects that were coeval with them, such as crystals and the more complex minerals. But these were far more resistant and enduring than the labile living substance. As a result, the stable mineral productions remain today much as they were aeons ago, while the weak and protean life-substance has flowed on and on to new and more complex forms.

Because living beings were individually so easily destroyed and of such limited duration, if they were to continue to exist collectively it was essential that they reproduce themselves, giving rise to other units which might survive their own destruction.

The ability to reproduce, coupled with the capacity of protoplasm to change, made possible the gradual evolution of higher forms of life.

It is not impossible that through the aeons of geologic time simple beings have arisen which were essentially alive but lacked the capacity for reproduction and hence failed to remain extant long enough to come to our attention. And some kinds of organisms, especially in the seas, attained a relative stability which, external conditions remaining more or less constant, enabled them as species to survive with scarcely any change for countless millions of years. But life in all its highest, most exciting and most familiar manifestations is characterized by ceaseless reproduction and endless slow change.

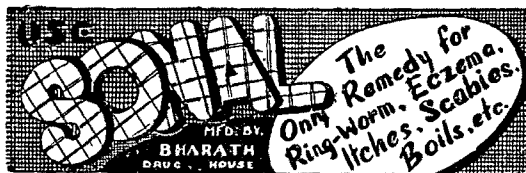
That the death of the parent is one of the conditions necessary for the evolution of diverse and more complex forms of life is obvious to anyone who has carefully considered the theory of organic evolution, which has become one of the commonplaces of modern thought. Much of the mechanics of evolution remains obscure to us ; but there can be no doubt that an

essential part of the process is the removal of poorly adapted individuals and races, and their replacement by others better fitted to meet the stresses of a constantly changing environment.

Thus the endless variety in size, form and colour of living beings is bound up in the most intimate fashion with their mortality. In a narrower sense, the necessity of plants and animals to reproduce themselves has called into being many of the most curious and beautiful of their characters. Were plants individually indestructible, the green mantle of the earth would persist without change from year to year and there would be little need for plants to blossom and set seed. Flowers in all their delicacy of shape and brightness of colour ; fruits with their multiplicity of form, texture, taste and means of dispersal ; seeds so various in configuration and mode of development—these are the plants' tribute to death. Among animals, bright colours and adornment by plume and crest and mane have, in the view of many of the most competent zoologists, developed largely because they are of importance in winning mates and thereby perpetuating the kind—the butterfly's wing, the peacock's train, the tanager's coat of many hues, reached their full perfection of beauty because death stood watching in the shadow. Were birds immortal, they would not need to build nests of such various and curious forms, or lay eggs which delight us with their multiplicity of colouration ; possibly also they would not sing, for with many kinds song is intimately associated with the breeding-season. To death we owe a large share of all the beauty, the colour and the music which life displays.

It is not only in physical qualities that death has enriched life ; it has been responsible also for the development of many of its noblest attributes of mind and spirit.

Were living beings immortal instead of the frail, perishable creatures they are, it is likely that they would be even more selfish and callous to the sufferings of others than we find them. For, if immortal they would long ago have populated the earth to capacity and would need to rear no more progeny ; but, being mortal, they must leave offspring, which in the higher animals must be fed and protected until they can care for themselves. The necessity to nourish shelter and defend the young has more than anything else called forth generosity, courage and self-sacrificing devotion in animals which otherwise would find food for themselves alone, flee from rather than face danger.



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as the surest means of saving their own skins, and know no obligation beyond the satisfaction of their appetites.

If non-human animals have a sense of duty—and I believe that those more highly endowed possess at least the germ of this feeling, even if they cannot talk about it—it has arisen in connection with the nest, the den or the hive where their little ones are sheltered and reared. To hatch out their eggs and keep their nestlings warm, birds must sit motionless for long periods, although constant movement seems more in keeping with their lightsome, restless natures. They nourish their young with food taken from their own mouths, often at a time when the close observer can detect signs that they themselves are hungry. Feeble birdlings hardly bigger than a man's thumb will often risk death by attacking the snake, cat, hawk or man which threatens or seems to threaten the safety of their eggs or nestlings. The performance of such acts is the very essence of duty; and if birds and furry animals are

Glad hearts' without reproach or blot

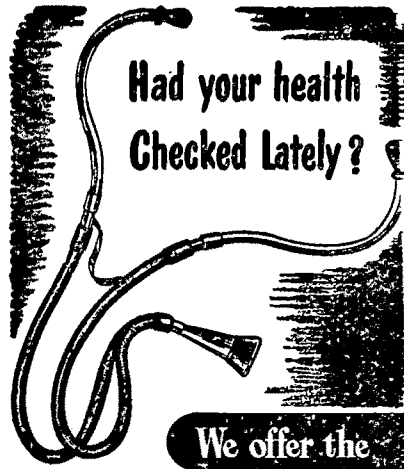
Who do they work and know it not,
they are laying the foundation upon which we have rationalized and systematized our notions of that "Stern Daughter of the Voice of God." With men, feelings of duty as well as most other civic virtues originate in the home; and the home has no biologic significance save as the shelter of the children who will replace their mortal parents.

The necessity to perpetuate the kind is the origin of love, which is one of the strongest influences in the formation of the human character.

Love if allowed to degenerate into uncontrolled physical passion degrades man below the lowest of the beasts; when nourished with noble sentiments and unselfish devotion it lifts him among the immortals. Love may be either the foul canker or the flowering of the human spirit; according to our response to it we grow or shrink in spiritual stature. In no other way are we more directly accountable for the growth of our own spiritual nature than in the path we choose when beckoned onward by love.

If we were immortal and indestructible we should have no cause ever to feel afraid, and without fear we could not know what it is to be brave. We should have no heroes or tales of heroism. We should be without knowledge of most of mortal life's "hopes and fears, so blind and yet so sweet with death about them." Were our life without term we could without reproach put off until tomorrow whatever we did not feel inclined to do today. There would be no reason to be diligent at our task, since in an indefinitely prolonged existence there would always remain ample time to complete it. Industry would cease to be considered a virtue. I knew a scientist who kept a human skull upon his desk, to remind him hourly how short his span of life, and how he must persevere to complete his work ere he, too, became a grinning death's-head.

But for death we might still be amoebae rather than men. To him we owe a large share of the beauty and colour and variety of life—flowers, bright plumage, the song of the bird and the nobility of the human spirit. When he calls us he merely claims his own. We can only wonder what his purpose may be in delivering up to decay and putrefaction all that he has laboured so long and patiently to create. Will he save nothing from the apparent dissolution of all his handiwork?



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Languages and Literatures of the Sub-Continent of India

Alfred Master writes in the *Journal of the Royal Society of Arts* the following article which is reproduced here in full :

Most of us who have lived in India, have met, at one time or another, with the remark "I suppose you know the language well," or have been asked "Is the language difficult to learn?" and have been tempted to crush the enquirer with the statement of Sir George Grierson that there are 179 languages spoken in the peninsula. Indeed, 225 languages are recorded by the Census of 1931, but they include a variety of European and other languages spoken by foreign residents, which may be omitted from our survey. Even Sir George Grierson's figure is somewhat misleading, when stated badly. For it includes the tongues of small hill-tribes, such as the Todas, who number about 800 and their neighbours the Kotas, who number 1,500. And so, if we exclude these and the Iranian languages of Baluchistan and North-West India and other languages spoken by less than 2,000,000 people, we are left with 16 major languages.

These are Bengali with 53,000,000 speakers, Western Hindi 63,000,000, Eastern Hindi 41,000,000, Bihari 35,000,000, Marathi 18,000,000, Punjabi 16,000,000, Gujarati 13,000,000, Oriya 10,000,000, Lahnda 7,000,000 and Sindhi 4,000,000, of the Indo-Aryan family ; Telugu 22,000,000, Tamil 15,000,000, Kanarese or Kannada 12,000,000, Malayalam 8,000,000 of the Dravidian family and Kherwarior or Santali-Mundari 2,000,000 of the Kolarian or Munda family. These are only approximate figures, because of the many dialects (there are 544 in all) which had to be classed arbitrarily with one particular language, although possessing the characteristics of two or more.

These three main families were originally in no way related, but all of them now contain a large number of Sanskrit words. It was natural that the Neo-Indian languages as they are called, descended from Middle Indo-Aryan or popular forms of the spoken Sanskrit, should draw largely upon the classical language, like the Romance languages on Latin. The Dravidian groups borrowed Sanskrit and Middle Indo-Aryan words for literary purposes, and both the Dravidian and the non-literary Kolarian languages utilised Sanskrit words obtained from their religious, political, commercial and social contacts. Further, the languages of all families and groups borrowed words from each other and incorporated also a large number of Portuguese, Arabic, Persian and English words.

Now, although the three families were originally unrelated, they have today certain characteristics in common—the order of the sentences with the verb at the end ; the use of postpositions instead of preposi-

tions (as if the position of the prepositions in the words "whereat, hereby, homewards" were to be generalised in English); the compound verbs, such as "phenk-dena" to throw-give, equivalent to English *throw away*, French *rejeter*, German *wegwerfen* ; the absence of comparative and superlative suffixes, so that the sentence will run "This house is *large* than that (for "larger"), this house is *large among all*" (for "largest"), and the distinction between inclusive and exclusive pronouns, "we *not* you" distinguished from "we *and* you." But even where there is similarity, there are degrees of it. Neo-Indian has retained a few prepositions. Dravidian and Kolarian have none. Kolarian has developed the use of inclusive and exclusive pronouns far more than Neo-Indian or Dravidian. There are other differences. Dravidian and Kolarian have no relative pronouns. Kolarian has no reflexives. Dravidian is agglutinative, but only in nominal declension. Kolarian is agglutinative also in the conjugation of verbs. Neo-Indian and Kolarian have separate words for the negative. Dravidian has not. In Neo-Indian and Dravidian the tenses are expressed by additions and modifications in the verb-root or stem. In Kolarian this is done by elaborate suffixes. In Neo-Indian two languages, Marathi and Gujarati, have three genders, masculine, feminine, neuter, like Sanskrit ; Hindi and the northern and western languages have only masculine and feminine, and Bengali and the eastern languages no gender, but they distinguish to some extent between rational beings and irrational things. In Dravidian Telugu has three genders, rational, irrational and epicene, Kanarese four, masculine, feminine, neuter and epicene (the old grammarians give eight genders) and Tamil the same (here the grammarians give two genders, high class and low class). The finite verb has genders in all three languages. Kolarian has no genders, but animate beings have a dual and plural, which are not found with inanimate things. The basic vocabulary, the simple words which have no synonyms are widely different—"one" is *ek* in Neo-Indian, *wondu* in Dravidian and *mi* in Kolarian ; "give" is *de*, *kodu* and *am* ; "hand" is *hath*, *kai*, *ti*.

Members of one family learn each other's language without difficulty ; and owing to the common elements it is rather easier for an Indian to learn a language of another family than a European. There is, however, not much bilingualism. The census of 1931 shows that 24 per cent of Neo-Indian speakers, 7 per cent of Dravidian speakers and 30 per cent of Kolarian speakers are bilingual. The degree of bilingualism is clearly in inverse ratio to the cultural background of the speaker's first language. The figures may or may not include the floating population, traders, officials, holy men, pilgrims, gipsies, policemen, watchmen and criminal tribes, who use a *lingua franca*, perhaps a

form of Hindustani or of pidgin-English, as their occupations permit. In addition to this there is the more literary *kolvin* of English, used both for speech and writing by the professional and merchant classes. Sanskrit still remains a method of communication between pandits, although now passing into disuse.

Kolarian was probably spoken in the Ganges valley at the time of the first Aryan invasion, but there is no record of the language before the word-lists of Hodgson, just 100 years ago. The name Sabara, probably the same as the modern Savara or Sora, a minor Kolarian language, is, however, found in Vedic literature and the tribe of Suari and Sabarai are mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy.

There are relics of Dravidian words from very early times. Several occur in the Rigveda, such as *manduka* frog, from *man* ground, and *tuku* to sleep, that which sleeps in the ground during the hot weather. The Hebrew *tuki* peacock, in Kings and Chronicles agrees with the Dravidian *togai*. Dravidas are not heard of until the Mahabharata, but Andhras (the Telugus) are mentioned in the Vedic literature of C. 700 B.C. Dravidian literature dates from the fifth century A.D. or earlier, but so late as the seventh century, the Dravidians were ranked by Kumarila Bhatta as *Mlecchas*, barbarians outside the Aryan fold. Later, they were regarded with their languages as Aryan and the common southern name-ending *-ayya* (*Arya*) probably bears witness to a claim made and admitted.

The literatures of the Dravidian peoples show a continuous development from the earliest times until today. Indo-Aryan, on the other hand, has three distinct breaks—between Vedic and Classical Sanskrit, Classical Sanskrit and Prakrit or Middle Indian and Prakrit and Neo-Indian. Dialects must have existed always, but it is not known when they developed into distinct languages. The earliest traces of a Neo-Indian language are some very short Marathi inscriptions of the twelfth century and some Bengali glosses of approximately the same period, in addition to a few fragments mentioned in earlier literary works. Amir Khusrau in A.D. 1317 specifically refers to Indian languages, which are intelligible only to those dwelling in a certain area and mentions several, which can be identified with languages now in existence. Thirteenth-century Jain writers refer to the 18 *lipis* or scripts, obviously suggested by the 18 *desibhasas* of the Jain Canon, which was, according to tradition, compiled in A.D. 504. What these languages were, we do not know, but the Kuvalayamala written in A.D. 778 mentions 18 *desibhasas* and gives examples of most of them in-

cluding the languages of the Gollas (Abhiri), Gajjaras (Gujarati), Maratthas (Marathi), Sendhavas (Sindhi), Takkas (Panjabi), Kannadas (Kannarese) and Andhras. Abhiri, in this form, is the only Neo-Indian language mentioned in the *Natyasastra* of Bharata which was written about the fifth century. He mentions seven languages, apparently of the Prakrit type: and several *vibhasas* or aberrant languages which include Dravidian and Kolarian with Ahiri. This recognition of *vibhasas*, unsuitable for use in drama, points to a stage at which dialects had become languages, but had developed no literary form. But Abhiri shortly afterwards became the basis for the literary Apabhramsa, which is ranked as a Prakrit, but is closer than any other to a modern language. It is first heard of in an inscription found in Saurashtra of about 560 A.D. which refers to it as one of the languages in which King Dharasena of Velabhi composed (A.D. C. 530).

We may therefore conclude that the Neo-Indian languages began to develop between the fourth and seventh centuries and were written, when there was occasion to write them in commercial memoranda and for other such purposes, in cursive forms of the Brahmi script, which afterwards became the vernacular scripts of today. There are traces of a cursive style in many of the old documents, but the characters are formal and engraved or drawn rather than written. It is probable that the growth of regional literatures was facilitated and encouraged by the existence of distinctive cursive scripts.

But the chief reason for this growth was the fact that the literary Prakrits based upon one dialect with slight modifications of pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary were no longer easily intelligible to the ordinary reader or audience. The dialects they had represented or approximated had become obsolete. Further, Prakrit had become so stylised that it was merely a *calque* of Sanskrit, so that to turn Sanskrit into Prakrit became almost entirely a matter of orthography. It was customary in the twelfth century for authors to write both in Sanskrit and in one or more of the Prakrits. Dravidian authors wrote also in their own languages, even before the twelfth century. The actual sponsors of popular literatures were the Buddhists and the Jains, who preached in dialects, which their hearers could understand, or used a *lingua franca*. Later, Old Gujarati became for a time a literary form for several languages and we even hear of a poem written in Old Gujarati by a Panjabi Jain, who miraculously learned the language in one night. Panjab had not yet become a literary medium.

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The oldest datable Neo-Indian work is the thirteenth-century poem, *The Bhavartha Dipika*, *The Lamp of the True Doctrine*, better known as the *Jñanesvari*. It is a commentary in Old Marathi upon the *Bhagavadgita*. Excluding the Dravidian literatures, which date from the fifth century or earlier (Tamil), from the ninth century (Kannarese) and from the twelfth century (Telugu), the earliest and most important literatures are those of Marathi, Gujarati, Bengali and the Hindi group. Except for the Hindi group, they were all written in one standard dialect, with insignificant local variations.

The strength of the Neo-Indian literatures lay in the fact that they embodied a revolt against the Brahmanic traditions of caste, ritual and sacrifice and a recoil from polytheism. The doctrine of *Bhakti* or devotional surrender preached by Ramanuja led to the rapid spread of Vaishnavism, which informs much of the new literature. The oldest Marathi literature is religious in its broadest sense. It is written in the *ovi* or the *abhang* metres, popular rhymed forms totally different from the quantitative and syllabic metres of Sanskrit and Prakrit. The poets, for there was no prose, except in the inscriptions, the authors of which are unknown, were not only Brahmins, but also potters, tailors and the like. The poems have a moral, philosophical or devotional content. Sometimes they are mainly romantic. They are lyrical, didactic and narrative, but in the early stages the ballad is not found. Later, after the time of Shivaji the bakhars or prose histories begin and it is obvious from the Peshwas' records and the letters of poets and others, which have survived, that Marathi prose was written according to an accepted standard. The language of prose and poetry is one and the same allowing for occasional archaisms. There are no literary dialects until the end of the sixteenth century, when Father Stevens first recorded Konkani. And although prose remains are scanty in comparison with some western literature, this is probably due to the fact that printing had not yet been brought into general use and to the many destructive influences to which manuscript works were exposed.

Gujarati literature had two early phases, the Jain and the Vaishnavite. The Jains were very influential in the thirteenth century following the era of the great Hemachandra and published a number of religious poems in Apabhramsa with Gujarati colloquialisms. These were followed by prose renderings of statements of Jain doctrine, written in Gujarati with many Sanskrit and some Prakrit words. Next we find instructive legends written

in popular prose, resembling Apabhramsa in some ways (for instance, in the conjugations of verbs, which in Marathi are quite distinct), but are clearly distinguishable from it. About this time are found the *Rasas*, originally folk-songs used in the Garbo or round dance and the Phagu or Spring song, adapted by the Jains for propaganda purposes. Then come epic ballads, lyrics, rhymed prose, something after the style of the Marathi *ovi*, Sanskrit grammars, Vaishnavite hymns and Parsi documents. The earliest Vaishnavite poems are those of Narasimha Mehta, ascribed to the fifteenth century, but the date is very doubtful. They reach a high pitch of devotion and moral teaching and are deservedly popular. His contemporary Mirabai wrote also in Braj (Hindi) and Marwari. The Parsi documents include fifteenth-century translation of a Pahlavi work, the *Arda Viraf* in prose, and sale-deeds. Here also Gujarati was written to a uniform standard.

Many Neo-Indian and Dravidian authors were familiar with the literature of one or more of the allied languages and often wrote in a language not their own. Alternatively, they adopted a mixed form so as to appeal to a maximum of readers. These devices produced a freer interchange of ideas and no region made a more extensive or enlightened use of external culture than Bengal. Its literature begins with the Buddhist poems of Kanha and Saraha, who wrote not only in Bengali but in Apabhramsa (a western idiom), probably not earlier than the twelfth century. Chandidasa (fourteenth or fifteenth century) was considered to present the Vaishnava view so closely, that, although a Sahaja Buddhist, his poems were included by the Vaishnava saint Chaitanya in a collection of religious poems. Vidyapati, his contemporary, was from Mithila and wrote in Maithili, but until quite recently he ranked as a Bengali poet, as great as Chandidasa, but more polished and a true Vaishnava. Alawal (A.D. 1757), who wrote Bengali poems in Persian script, was a Muslim. The pioneer of the Western Renaissance in Bengal (C. 1860), Michael Madhusudan Dutt, was a Christian of Hindu parentage and was married to an Englishwoman. Finally, the famous poet Rabindranath Tagore came of a family of Brahmins ostracised for their contacts with Muslims and early English traders, and he himself was a Brahmo Samajist. It is said that the literary languages, the classical Shadhu Bhasha and the Chalit Bhasha, the language of the cultivated classes, are now no longer intelligible to the masses, but the statement is certainly exaggerated, although there is no doubt that many of the dialects are not understood outside their own areas.

The Hindi group comprises a number of languages, many of which have their own literatures, with one or more outstanding works, Braj and Marwari in the west,



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Avadhi and Maithili in the east and the ancestor of Urdu and High Hindi in the centre. The states of Rajputana, in which were spoken several dialects of the type known as Marwari, used three literary languages, Old Gujarati, Dingala which was closest to the central local idiom and Pingala, or Braj. Braj assumed great importance, because it was the language in which the ballad epic of Prithviraja was written. Avadhi is the language of the Rama-charitamanasa or Tulsī's Ramayana. These languages contested for a long time the claim to be the standard literary language of the Hindi group.

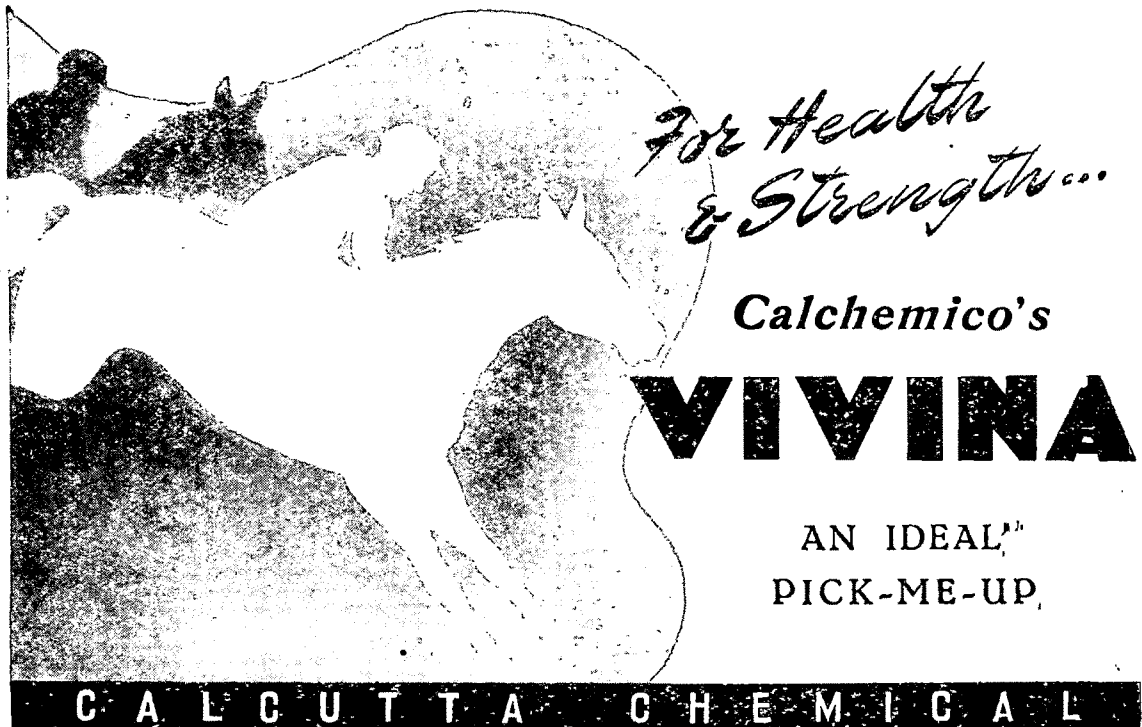
Besides the regional languages there had grown up another, a *lingua franca*, used by the soldiers of the Muslim armies for intercourse with the Hindu civil population, and by those converted to Islam. This language originated as a camp language in Lahore after its occupation by the Muslim Mahmud of Ghazni in A.D. 1027. Long after it had assumed a literary form, it came to be known as Urdu or the army language, from the Turki word. It was at first a form of Old Punjabi. After the capture of Delhi in A.D. 1193 by the army of Muhammad Ghori, it was overlaid by the local language, which was very similar. Owing to its use by speakers of such languages as Persian, Turki and Arabic its syntax was much simplified, while the vocabulary was enriched. One curious effect of its origin is the simultaneous presence in the vocabulary of Punjabi and Central Hindi forms of words, such as *matti* and *mati* for "earth."

Its first appearance in literature was in the fourteenth century in the works of Gisu Daraz. It was at first known as Hindavi or Hindi, the language of the Indians as distinguished from Persian and other languages, and was used by the various Muslim dynasties, which occupied Bengal, Gujarat and the Deccan after the decay of the Delhi Sultanate. Written in Persian or Nagari characters

it was developed as literature under the Gujarat Sultans in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. It found expression mostly in poetry, but there are a few examples of prose. Then Deccan writers adopted the language for their works, calling it Gujarī, in view of their debt to Gujarat poets. The northerners were, in their turn, inspired by the poets of Deccan authors and call the language Dakani.

Before the nineteenth century the position was that Muslims for the most part wrote in Dakani, or a the northerners came to prefer to call it *rekhta* (and sometimes other names) and Hindus in Braj, Avadhi, etc. It is probable that the minor officials and businessmen used some form or other of Dakani, although decrees and orders and grants and correspondence on the highest levels were conducted in Persian. The *rekhta* idiom tended to be more Persianised in vocabulary, while the spoken language through the contacts of the population with Sanskrit-knowing Brahmans admitted an appreciable number of Sanskrit words. This language is now known as the *khari boli*, the standing language, spoken in Delhi and the surrounding country, and in Agra city.

In 1803, Gilchrist conceived the idea of making the *khari boli* the leading literary language. Braj was too archaic to be popular and Avadhi too provincial and insufficiently precise for prose, although well-adapted for poetry. He encouraged Indian authors to write in his medium and it came to be known as Hindi or High Hindi. Every language needs a source from which it can enlarge its vocabularies and renew its ideas. Urdu as it came to be known, made use of Persian, while Hindi turned to Sanskrit. It has now developed an important literature. The *khari boli*, much provincialised and adapted to local vocabularies is used all over India as a *lingua franca*. It is known as Hindustani or Musulmani, and, has, of course no literature.



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The emergence of High Hindi was nearly contemporaneous with the Western Renaissance. By the end of the eighteenth century both Neo-Indian and Dravidian literatures had become restricted to subjects of a religious or lyric character. In their earlier stages we find other *genres* and a greater vitality. For many centuries Tamil and the other Dravidian literatures had a vigorous and fruitful life, but the fall of the old dynasties signalled, even if it was not a contributory cause, the stagnation of literary activities all over the sub-continent. Sushil Kumar De says, for example, Bengali literature at the end of the eighteenth century is limited in subject, conservative in taste, monotonous in form and restricted to verse.

This epoch of stagnation lasted until about the year 1860, which marks the beginning of the Western Renaissance. Macaulay's policy of substituting western for eastern literature as the medium of education, although expressed in exaggerated and liberal fashion, led to familiarity with western thought and stimulated the growth of new ideas. Skrine, a divisional commissioner in Bengal in 1897, represents a common type of critic of Macaulay's policy in later days. He misses the mark when he says, "If a little of the pains given by the Bengalis to acquire a smattering of English had been devoted to their mother-tongue, they would have long ceased to merit the reproach of producing little or no original work." For it was just this narrow attention to their mother-tongue and the formation of a rigid classical tradition, that had hampered the growth of ideas in the work of their predecessors. Even without Macaulay's interposition, the Bengalis would have found it necessary to study English, through which they could best get into touch with the latest intellectual and technical developments of the west. It is no accident that Bengali, which has for the longest time been exposed to western influence, has now the most vigorous and flourishing modern literature.

The Western Renaissance has not yet reached its peak. It has produced few great poets, but the time is hardly ripe to make a just appraisal of poets, whose works were composed within the lifetime of the oldest of us. There has been much good prose, and the fields of entertainment and propaganda have been covered most adequately. The bulk of publications consists of ephemeral works, school-books, translations, newspapers, political pamphlets, humorous stories, detective-novels and cinema journals. But there are also literary, political and social essays and novels, dramas, lyric and religious poetry. Folk-tales and songs are recorded and experiments are being made in new types of verse. Most of the original work in science, philosophy, art and archaeology finds its medium in some European language, generally, but not necessarily, English.

What will be the future of languages and literatures in India? Will the Indian Union and Pakistan have

eventually each a separate national language, Hindi and Urdu respectively? One is tempted to evoke the parallel of Russia, which has many provincial languages, but only one language of administration and only four of culture. Hindi is now the standard literary language of a vast number of what we are beginning to consider dialects rather than languages and is often used by writers who hope to appeal to a larger circle of readers than can be reached by any individual vernacular or by English. There are some who believe that it can be developed so as to supplant English as the language of erudition and become a truly national language. But there are no signs that the interest in regional literatures has diminished. A period of Romanticism has been inaugurated and there are many young poets striving for new methods of expression. It has been decided that within the Indian Union the mother-tongues shall be the sole media of instruction, and this wise provision cannot fail to stimulate an even greater interest in the classics of the mother-tongues. Hindi will be taught as a compulsory language. It is likely to meet with a better fate than Gaelic in Eire, which is usually forgotten as soon as learned, but there is a danger that this school Hindi will be ousted by the local variety of Hindustani, if the pupil has occasion to speak it after leaving school. There is no doubt, however, that there is room, both for the mother-tongues and for a *kolvin*, which, no doubt, would gain in popularity, if a common script could be found acceptable to all.

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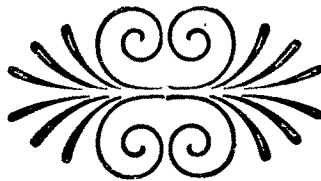
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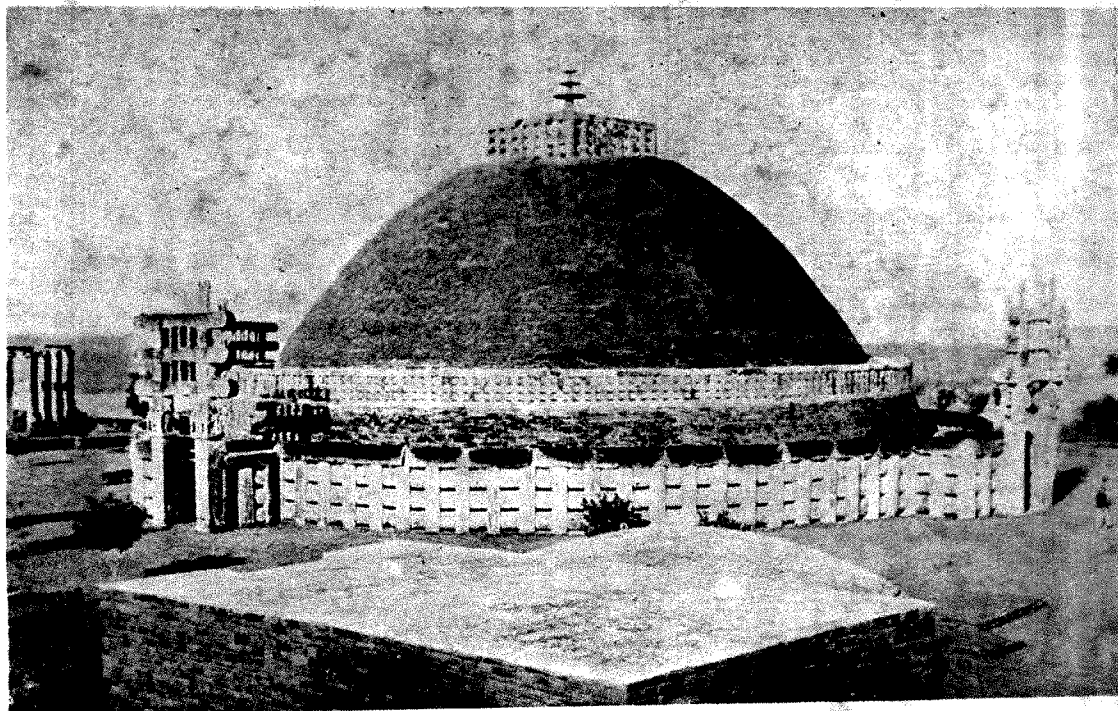
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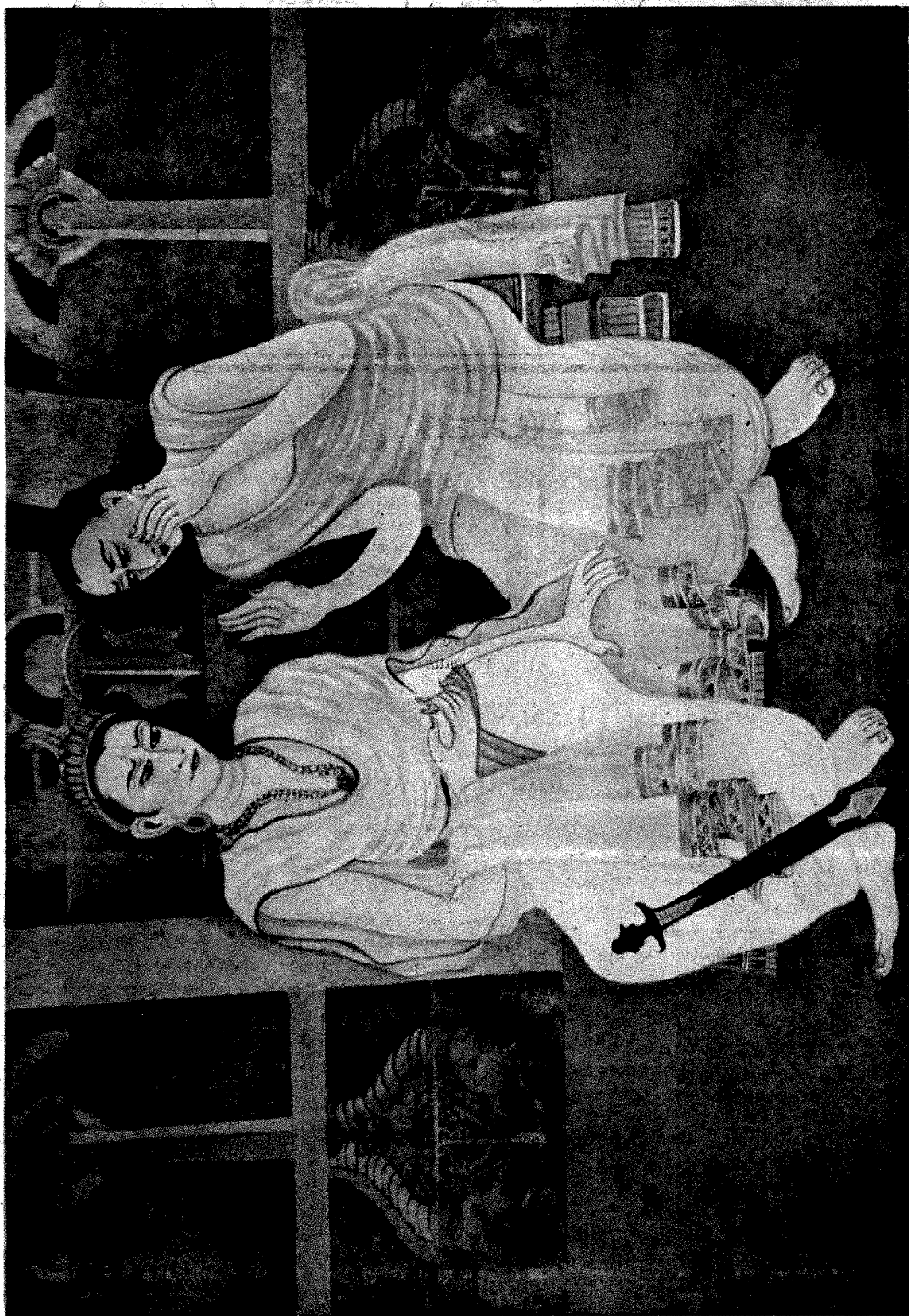




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NOTES

The Budget Session Ends

As we write these notes the Budget Session of the Central Assembly is coming to a close. The reactions to Dr. Matthai's Budget have been so widely variant that it is difficult to draw a mean between them. On the one side the balance of the opinion of those who are well-versed in this field, is in favour of Dr. Matthai's budget. On the other hand, there are severe criticisms from those who incline to the left in their thoughts.

In general, the Central Government has been losing favour and prestige from the "common-man" of late. The Government's economic policy has gradually veered towards the right, and vested interests are jubilant. Indeed there is an idea current in the country that the Government is being pulled inexorably into abject surrender by Big Business. The Managing Agencies gave loud cheers when the limitation of dividends was announced without any moves for the abolition of Managing Agency system. For, the only check on the rapacity of Managing Agents was effectively removed by this piece of inept and incomplete regulation.

The same story is told regarding the invitations extended to Foreign Capital to invest in India. The basic principles underlying this matter, to the best of our own information and understanding, that should be followed to-day are: Firstly, that any business deal between Indian Big Business and Foreign Capital, involving the influx of foreign finance and the grant of rights in return thereof, must be subject to the scrutiny and approval of the Ministry of Industries and the Ministry of Finance. Secondly, that for the period of next five years, we should take loans only from International banks and similar institutions and not from private foreign banks, etc. After the expiry of five years the whole position may be reviewed. We think there are considerable misgivings in the public mind that somehow Indian Big Business is on the way

towards obtaining a *carte-blanche* in the negotiations with Foreign Capital.

Acharya Kripalani's budget speech reflected all these misgivings. Considering the record of service with supreme self-denial, and the reputation for integrity and sincerity of the speaker, this speech has not received the attention that it most certainly should have had. We are substantially reproducing the same, because we believe that Acharya Kripalani has given a far truer picture of the mind of the thinking public than any yes-man of the Ministers could. In order to present the economists' view adequately we append extracts from the *Indian Finance* below:

The initial reaction to Dr. Matthai's budget must be one of pleasant surprise and warm welcome. There can be no doubt that the substance of budgetary equilibrium in the present position of our national finances has been preserved, despite numerous and powerful forces of unsettlement, and in the face of steadily increasing expenditure and the need to give tax relief in certain instances. While there will be some dissatisfaction that economies in administration have not yet been realised and that the tasks in this regard have been postponed, most people will feel gratified that it has been possible to give those reliefs in taxation without which, it was obvious, business activity and new development would alike get stuck in the logs of an unnatural slump.

The deficit for the coming year on the basis of existing taxation is no ground for denying tax reliefs where they are due, as the case for such reliefs rests on the ground of their necessity for the revival of business activity. The conversion of a bigish deficit into a big one through the provision of tax relief in the first instance, and then into a small surplus by means of a number of increases in existing taxes and a few new ones, is the real essence of the financial proposals contained in the new budget. In the special demands that have arisen for public expenditure in

the state of business in the country and in the distribution of taxable capacity, and the state of our principal sources of Central revenue, there is the fullest justification for the courses of action which Dr. Matthai has adopted.

* * * *

While it is obvious that the new budget has not evoked enthusiasm in any section, it is also clear that no one has succeeded in making any criticism which is at once serious and valid. So far as the stock markets are concerned, there is more evidence of the innate incapacity for activity than of eagerness to condemn the Budget proposals.

Taking the financial problems there are the gaps to which Sir Homy Mody has drawn pointed attention. Week before the budget was due for presentation, it was urged in the columns of this journal that the ways and means budget was a sad and dangerous omission in the budget statement of 1948-49, and that Dr. Matthai would be ill-advised to imitate his predecessor in this respect. But, the ways and means budget continues to be a sad omission in this budget as well, and what is more, the new borrowings of the Government are reduced to Rs. 85 crores in the coming year as against Rs. 150 crores programmed for the current year. The budget statement does not also contain a discussion of the monetary and credit policy of the Government. The question of economy in administration has not been seriously tackled. The case for economy and the scope for it are clear and, unless the Government act vigorously, savings through retrenchment will be found to be a futile hope.

The need for vigorous action is even greater in regard to those appropriations which hold out hope of considerable savings before the year ends. In the course of his reply to the general debate, Dr. Matthai claimed to see substantial economies before the end of the year 1949-50 in defence expenditure, food subsidies and relief and rehabilitation. If the potentialities are to be realised, every one of these calls for careful and sustained effort. If savings in food subsidies are to be made possible, the Government of India should not only take full advantage of the fall in wheat prices abroad but should also drive the Provincial Governments to better efforts at procurement and growing of more food. Savings on the expenditure on relief and rehabilitation depend, not on the denial of needed help to the refugee population, but on the possibility of transferring expenditure from relief to rehabilitation. It should be emphasised that progress on schemes of rehabilitation has the double advantage of setting up the refugees on their legs and reducing the strain on current expenditure.

The question of the readjustment of tax burdens is an equally important one. The new taxes levied in the new budgets of the Centre and the Provinces together amount to as much as Rs. 35 crores. Much the greater part of it is derived as an indirect levy on the consumption of the necessities and comforts of life.

In the provinces, the sales tax has served as the handy milch cow. Apart from the narrow question of relief in existing taxes, the question of the distribution of tax burdens between direct and indirect taxes, and the co-ordination of taxation policies between the Centre and the provinces are two issues of far-reaching importance. And, unless the question is gone into completely and the lines of reform clearly indicated, the passage of the next budget may prove to be uncomfortably stormy. The problems of public finance as a whole and federal finance as such will both be insoluble, if the present habit of shirking economic truths and fundamental political obligations is allowed to gain strength.

The acid test of the budget from the standpoint of national economy is its ability to aid a business revival. If the budget has not till now proved a fillip to the stock markets, one must consider the question, what is wrong with the business life and where? Business revival has been viewed by many as a matter of raising the spirits of a business community which had been rendered more or less disconsolate by heavy taxes, stringent controls, an unsympathetic, censorious attitude on the part of the Government, talks of nationalization and increasing danger of Leftist views in Government circles. Much has, however, been done during the last one year to assuage the fears and positively put heart into our business community. The measures ranged from the mild admonitions of the Governor-General for lack of courage to the blunt disavowal of all intention to nationalize, by the Deputy Prime Minister. In between, are the changes of policy in regard to tax evasions, administration of controls and the allowances for depreciation. The Budget crowned these efforts at placating the business classes. The net result has, however, proved to be nothing commensurate with the effort. It is possible that the concessions to the business classes failed to be effective because they came in small doses at long intervals.

* * * *

If the mark of success in the fight against inflation is lower prices, the anti-inflationary value of indirect taxes is paradoxical, to say the least of it. Clearly a situation has arisen when, from every point of view, the revision of our tax system has become necessary. If an enquiry into national income is a necessary preliminary to it, the sooner it is accomplished, the better. With such an enquiry might be usefully combined the enquiry into the relative standards of living of different groups and classes of productive workers in the country. The greatest importance should be attached to this enquiry since, without the findings of such an enquiry, the Government will have no means of judging the claims for increases which are being made and will continue to be made in the future. A complete enquiry into national and class incomes may enable us to provide special facilities for small scale savings, to plan new savings institutions like Building

Societies, for instance, to strengthen the co-operative movement and generally to make the renewal of capital and the formation of capital more scientific and dependable. It would, in addition, enable the Government to effect a proper revision of the tax system, which would mean better distribution of tax burdens, a help to saving and a fillip to new development.

Acharya Kripalani on the Budget

The following is the main text of Acharya Kripalani's speech :

I have very little, Sir, to say upon the Budget because I realize that Dr. Matthai has to act under certain circumstances. What are these circumstances? We threw out the foreign yoke, but while we did that we pledged ourselves to continuity and we have often said that this revolution is not to break the continuity that has been going on. It is useless then to blame Dr. Matthai for having presented a usual Budget which is in continuation of the old Budgets. That is not his fault; this is our policy and he could not possibly deviate from that policy. Another thing which we have to take into consideration is this, that recently through our best spokesmen we have assured capital that their interests would be safe. You will say that we gave assurances to the poor man also. But they are 19 years old; I think they were given in the Karachi Congress and I think they are time-barred. First, we must fulfil the pledges that we have given now and Dr. Matthai has done it and I think I should congratulate him.

I am also inclined to congratulate the Government as a whole. Our independence coupled with partition made us face many critical and delicate problems and the Government has tackled them well and efficiently. We have been able to consolidate the innumerable States in which the country was divided; we have further produced a few more Provinces which are more likely to increase in number when the question of linguistic provinces is decided. Our reputation in the international world is very high; it would appear that we have achieved more of *Swaraj* in foreign lands than in our own country. Our representatives are everywhere and if they are able to spend a little more than this poor country can afford, it is also very necessary because only by these means can we become the "bulwark of international peace and security." If we are isolated and look only to our country, we will not be as philanthropic as we would be if we spent a little more and sent our representatives to every possible country, from China to Peru and from the North Pole to Timbuctoo.

Then we have also made the United Nations Organisation respectable. Not only international but even national questions are referred to it. I thought that action in Kashmir was only a 'police action' because the Ruler as also the people had consented to join the Union; yet, in order to enhance the respectability of the U.N.O., we referred this purely domestic

matter to that body. So, I think we have done very well and I would have congratulated the Government upon all these achievements, were it not for the fact that the Ministers themselves do it more copiously and more eloquently. We are always told that they have delicate problems to face and they have done better than could have been possible in any other country. So, you will agree with me that when they and their publicity departments—and I hear each Ministry has a publicity department whose production is so great and so fine that the ordinary Press may as well disappear—pay such high compliments to the Government, I should not waste my feeble words upon that. But one thing I want you seriously to consider. Whether you are a capitalist or a socialist of the Western brand or of the Gandhian complexion, how are you going to build this country? Our foreign masters told us that they were carrying on the Government of this country by means of the "Steel-frame." We have it on high authority that we need this steel-frame. I have absolutely no doubt that the steel-frame is needed. But what we have unfortunately today is the frame and not the steel. The steel has got corroded; it was corroded during the war. The foreign government was interested at the time in winning the war. It did not matter how much money was spent. It did not matter how the administration went corrupt. This corroding of the steel-frame, as we want to have continuity, has been continuing. We could have brushed up this steel-frame if we had so desired—and in many countries it has been possible—but as we were pledged to continuity, so we were obliged to carry on this corrosion also. Everybody knew that the services were infected by corruption; they were also lax and inefficient. We kept them as they were and have been carrying on with them. Everywhere you go—in the bazaar or in the club or in the market place—we hear of the corruption and inefficiency of the administration. Of course, the Ministers may not be hearing all this. It is quite possible, because they have no time to move in the public. They had time before, because they had not the responsibility of Government, but today they are hard worked individuals. Some of them I know actually work up to 2 a.m. and even beyond. You can understand what the person who works beyond 2 a.m. can produce.

So we have continuity and things going on as they were going on. I cannot see how things in India can improve unless what we hear in the bazaar, in the market place, is listened to and due credence given to it. We hear it often said that you need not go to the high officials and the lower ones can get things done for you for a consideration. An American friend who came to see me told me that he wanted a first class reservation from Calcutta to Delhi, and the reservation clerk told him that there was no accommodation. But when he threw a ten-rupee note at him, the clerk said, "Wait a while, there is some little accommodation" and he got his reservation. When he went into the

compartment, the compartment was empty but for himself: All this is from hearsay. I have no personal knowledge for I have no occasion to offer bribes to any official. He will be a bold official who would come to me to be bribed. He knows that for long years I have been a *satyagrahi* and I have fought with powers-that-be and I have suffered for it. For him to ask a bribe from me would be difficult. Nor have I the necessity to go to blackmarket. I generally accept very few invitations and issue even fewer. So all that I can say would be from hearsay. Sir, I read in the papers that we should not base our talk here on hearsay and rumours; but there are certain rumours which you cannot ignore, which come so repeatedly to your ears, which come so often and which come from such honourable quarters that you have got to listen to them. If I were to wait to give a bribe to an official, I think I will never discover the truth, because there will be no such occasion for me. I have to rely upon rumours and if rumours are persistent, I must give some credence to them. In politics it is not sufficient that you are right but it is also necessary that people must know that you are right, and I say that this administration of ours is considered by the general public to be not right, to be not efficient, to be corrupt. It is also supposed by the public to be top-heavy and is becoming heavier and more extensive. I say, this is the instrument with which we have to work, this is the only instrument by which we can bring about reform, and 'if the salt loseth its savour wherewith shall it be salted.'

I say, if the present state continues there cannot be even a prosperous capitalism in this country. I would not mind if there was capitalism here like that in America and if there were prospects for the poor man to increase his standard of living. Nor would I have any objection to socialism; nor even to Communism. But what are these 'isms' to be based upon? How are we to succeed? We can only succeed if we have an honest and efficient administration which, I am told, we have not. Not only has it to be honest and efficient, it has also to be economical, because Government has to set the standard. If the Government is extravagant or if it is supposed to be extravagant, if the common man believes it is extravagant, then it cannot be effective. Many of my socialist friends say that we are pledged to socialism. I have no quarrel with that, but on what is socialism to be built? The administration which even in the narrow field of political administration is inefficient and corrupt, how can it be entrusted with the whole economic life of the country. When there is nepotism, when, as I hear, even the recommendations of the Public Service Commission are sometimes set aside on some technical ground or other, when there is the chit system, how do you expect that there can be nationalisation in this country? It is impossible; it is not scientific; it is not mathematical. Those who cannot do their particular narrow job efficiently and honestly, how can they

undertake the whole economic life of the country, I cannot understand. We must make up our minds that as long as we are not able to clear the stables of administration, nothing will be possible. We have spent millions of rupees upon the refugees and yet, I can say with knowledge that we have not been able to rehabilitate even five per cent of the refugees, and I say, the fault is with the administration. The funds that have been spent, have been spent without any plan. We could have accomplished much more even by voluntary agency if we had encouraged that agency. The whole crux of the problem is that we must purify our administration.

It pains me to refer to another matter, which, however, I must: The Father of the Nation was shot dead. The judge, on undisputable evidence, has told us that the administration failed, that his life could have been saved. We would have been saved the dishonour, and humiliation of having killed our great man. May I know what has been done in order to bring to book those people who were responsible for this culpable negligence?

An Honourable Member: The matter is *sub judice*.

You cannot say it is *sub judice*, because the Government has not preferred an appeal about this portion of the judgement. It is not *sub judice* in this matter. We must take the Judge's findings based as they are on evidence, as conclusive. Any way, there should have been an enquiry. Even if there was the least bit of suspicion, there should have been some enquiry and the people should have been taken into confidence. There were rumours that the administration had failed. In order to give a quietus to those rumours, there should have been an enquiry, whether the judgement was delivered or not. This was the least that was necessary. I see it has not been done. I do not know when it will be done. If such a thing had happened in England, I know what would have been done; if such a thing had happened in Japan, I know what would have happened. Some responsible person would have ripped open his stomach and committed *harakari*. This is no ordinary matter. Therefore, I say, as the basis of all our reformation, of all our budgets, of all our schemes, of our becoming a democratic society, of our ever establishing a new social order—which it was the dream of the Father of this Nation—if we are to do anything great in the national field, I say we must improve our administration. We must make it really steel-frame that the British people it was in their days—whether it was or was not. This administration must be like Caesar's wife—above suspicion, not because Caesar was Caesar and therefore his wife must be considered above suspicion, but because she was really so. Even so our administration should be above suspicion not because our leaders are honourable and they are honest, but because the administration itself is honourable and above suspicion.

The Atlantic Pact

A 20-year Atlantic Pact has been concluded and will be signed in Washington on April 4, by Britain, U.S.A., France, Belgium, Canada, Luxemburg and Holland. Five other nations, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal and Italy have been invited to join. The intention of the signatories to the Pact is to fight aggression in Europe or North America by collective armed action. It has been emphasised that this Pact does not affect the rights and obligations under the U. N. Charter or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security. Explaining the Pact in the British Parliament, Mr. Bevin said that there were no secret clauses in it and that "the Pact is a purely defensive arrangement for the common security of the countries who join it. It is not directed against any one." It is however difficult to agree with Mr. Bevin when he said, "I think we can say this agreement marks the opening of a new era of co-operation and understanding." The U. N. through its Charter possesses ample power to stop aggression anywhere in the world and has authority to use armed force to prevent attacks. This collective force can be used through the Security Council of which the U.S.S.R. is a member with a veto power. The Atlantic Pact and the U.N. Charter are anything but complementary, if one stands the other becomes useless in spite of Mr. Bevin's professions to the contrary. Attempts are now being made to conclude a Pacific Pact on lines similar to the Atlantic Pact, which, when done, will completely remove the necessity for maintaining the costly paraphernalia of the United Nations. Mr. Bevin has claimed that "The object and purpose of this Pact is to make a real beginning on the widest possible basis of collective security in its true sense." We fail to understand how this statement can be reconciled with the declared aims and objects of the United Nations.

The text of the Atlantic Pact is given below :

The Preamble.—The parties to this treaty reaffirm their faith in the purpose and principles of the Charter of the U.N. and their desire to live in peace with all peoples and all Governments.

They are determined to safeguard the freedom, heritage and civilization of their peoples, founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law.

They seek to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area.

They are resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security.

They therefore agree to this North Atlantic Treaty.

Article 1.—The parties undertake, as set forth in the Charter of the U.N., to settle any international disputes in which they may be involved by peaceful means in such a manner that international peace, security and justice are not endangered, and to refrain in their international relations from the threat or use

of force in any manner inconsistent with the purposes of the U. N.

Article 2.—The parties will contribute toward the further development of peaceful and friendly international relations by strengthening their free institutions, by bringing about a better understanding of the principles upon which these institutions are founded, and by promoting conditions of stability and well-being. They will seek to eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and will encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them.

Article 3.—In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack.

Article 4.—The parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened.

Article 5.—The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and, consequently, they agree that, if such armed attack occurs, each of them in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence, recognized by Article 51 of the Charter of the U.N., will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Any such armed attack, and all measures taken as a result thereof, shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

Article 6.—For the purpose of Article 5, an armed attack on one or more of the parties is deemed to include an armed attack on the territory of any of the parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France, on the occupation forces of any party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction of any party in the North Atlantic area north of the Tropic of Cancer, on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the parties.

Article 7.—This Treaty does not affect, and shall not be interpreted as affecting, in any way the rights and obligations under the Charter of the parties which are members of the U.N., or the primary responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 8.—Each party declares that none of the international engagements now in force between it and any other of the parties or any third State is in conflict with the provisions of this Treaty, and undertakes not to enter into any international engagement in conflict with this Treaty.

Article 9.—The parties hereby establish a Council,

on which each of them shall be represented, to consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty. The Council shall be so organized as to be able to meet promptly at any time. The Council shall set up such subsidiary bodies as may be necessary; in particular, it shall establish immediately a Defence Committee which shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5.

Article 10.—The parties may, by unanimous agreement, invite any other European State in a position to further the principles of this Treaty and so contribute to the security of the North Atlantic area, to accede to this Treaty. Any State so invited may become a party to the Treaty by depositing its Instrument of Accession with the Government of the USA. The Government of the USA will inform each of the parties of the deposit of each such Instrument of Accession.

Article 11.—This Treaty shall be ratified and its provisions carried out by the parties in accordance with their respective constitutional processes. The Instruments of Ratification shall be deposited as soon as possible with the Government of the USA, which will notify all the other signatories of each deposit. The Treaty shall enter into force between the States which have ratified it as soon as the ratifications of the majority of the signatories, including the ratifications of Belgium, Canada, France, Luxemburg, the Netherlands, the U.K., and the USA have been deposited, and shall come into effect with respect to other States on the date of the deposit of their ratifications.

Article 12.—After the Treaty has been in force for ten years, or at any time thereafter, the parties shall, if any of them so requests, consult together for the purpose of reviewing the Treaty, having regard for the factors then affecting peace and security in the North Atlantic area, including the development of universal as well as regional arrangements under the Charter of the U.N. for the maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 13.—After the Treaty has been in force for 20 years, any party may cease to be a party one year after its notice of denunciation has been given to the Government of the USA, which will inform the Governments of the other parties of the deposit of each notice of denunciation.

This Treaty, of which the English and French texts are equally authentic, shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the USA. Duly certified copies thereof will be transmitted by that Government to the Governments of the other signatories.

In witness whereof, the undersigned plenipotentiaries have signed this treaty.

Done at Washington, the day of April, 1949.

The Pact and World Politics

In reality, the Pact registers the assumption, by the United States, of the leadership of world affairs. This development reminds us of what Great Britain did in 1823 when her foreign minister George Canning stood

behind the then United States—a minor Power so far as human and material resources were concerned—to issue what has been called the “Monroe Doctrine” taking its name after the then President. A USA historian has said that there was “a ringing warning against Russian ambitions in the Oregon Territory and against European interference with the *status quo*.” In the evolution of the Atlantic Pact, the United States has played the part that Britain did one hundred and twenty-five years back.

In a way this Pact can be said to be the logical culmination of the Marshall Aid plan which since 1947 has been helping 16 European countries to rebuild their war-shattered economy. We have been told that the United States will be spending about Rs. 1,700 crores in goods and services along this plan up to 1952. For reasons of her own the Soviet Union and her group of States have not found it possible to take part in this work of re-construction. And it is but natural that she should be denouncing this Pact which extends USA influence from economic to military fields in Europe. Though by Article 8 of the proposed Pact the Anglo-Soviet and Franco-Soviet treaties are kept intact, it has not persuaded the Soviet Union to look kindly on the Pact.

The Soviet Union has characterized the Pact as aggressive in purpose and intention; the Western Powers have declared their innocence of any such evil designs. All the same, their press have been talking of the “creation of a joint defence machine capable of deterring an aggressor.” The following description issued from Washington on the 20th March, 1949, gives us an idea of this “machine”: “Its hard core already exists, as far as organisation is concerned, in three bodies. They are the Combined Chiefs of Staff (America, Britain and Canada), a relic of war-time co-operation with its seat in Washington; the American-Canadian Joint Defence Board, created before the United States came into World War II; and the permanent military organisation of Western Union, set up under the terms of the Brussels Treaty.

“The immediate tasks to be fulfilled, observers here believe, can be summarised as follows: (1) A decision on total overall strength of Atlantic Union; (2) a decision on what proportion of this total, in men and material, should be provided by each member State out of its own resources or in the shape of aid, primarily from the United States; (3) a decision on how the newly invited Powers (Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Italy, Portugal) are to be brought into existing planning organisation; and (4) necessary legislation by individual member Governments to render effective the above decisions.

“The three existing planning organisations will not, it is thought, be merged as such, but an overall military organisation, probably with headquarters in Washington, to co-ordinate their activities is regarded as essential.”

The problems precipitated by this Pact will cause

headaches to our statesmen and diplomats. The question that will be increasingly asked of them is: Can we expect to remain unaffected by it to play the part of a distant observer? The talk about a Pacific Pact of the same nature presents an identical problem before us.

The Sugar Debate

A Bill to grant protection to 18 industries including sugar, artificial silk, cotton mixed fabrics, motor vehicle batteries, etc., has been passed by the Indian Parliament. Strong opposition to further extension of protection to the sugar industry was voiced by several members in Parliament. The period of protection to sugar, however, was finally reduced to one year. Reduction of the import duty was also suggested. Disbandment of the Sugar Syndicate was strongly urged. Of the 20 industries which had been enjoying protection, only two have been able to stand on their own legs and protection to them has been discontinued.

Referring to the sugar industry the Commerce Minister said that the protection to the industry was granted in 1932. In 1939, the quantum of protection was reduced from Rs. 7-4 per cwt. to Rs. 6-12 per cwt. and it still continued to be the rate of duty composed on foreign import. When the period of protection which was extended up to March 31, 1941, came to a close it was found that the industry had not made improvement to any appreciable extent. In view of this fact and also having regard to the unsettled conditions due to the war the duty was extended as a measure of protection from year to year.

When the legislature agreed to the extension of the protection in 1946 Government gave an undertaking that further extension thereafter would be asked for only after a proper Tariff Board enquiry. Accordingly, an interim enquiry was made. The Board recommended continuation of protection for one year from April, 1947.

The Board expressed the view that the Indian sugar industry was likely to require protection for some time more to come and detailed enquiry would be undertaken when conditions became normal. The Board was then asked to make a regular enquiry into the industry. But a regular enquiry was postponed in view of the fact that the economic conditions were abnormal and unstable. The Board, therefore, adopted action of summary method.

As a result of that summary enquiry the Board had recommended extension of the protection for two years more in the hope that later it would be possible for the Board to undertake a fuller enquiry into the position of the industry, if the Government desired.

Mr. Neogy said that during the first five or six years the industry made considerable improvement both in regard to sugarcane and also the yield of sugarcane, but, unfortunately, during the last five or six years the progress had not been maintained. There were signs that there had been deterioration both in respect of sugarcane and the yield.

Sugar industry, he added, was a very costly industry. Perhaps the percentage of cost of raw materials had been the highest. The cost of sugarcane now stood somewhere between 60 to 70 per cent of the cost of sugar. Recently, there had been reduction in the price of sugarcane as a result of which price of sugar had either decreased or would decrease. In view of the difficulties confronting the industry Government had further increased their contribution to the fund of the Central Sugarcane Committee from one anna to annas four per cwt. The amount thus available to the Central Sugarcane Committee totalled Rs. 50 lakhs a year. It was hoped with this additional help from the Government of India it would be possible for the sugar industry to make substantial improvement and that at some future date it might not be necessary for the House to agree to a proposal of this kind, namely, extension or protection to the sugar industry from time to time.

The Commerce Minister, clarifying a point raised, said that the import control under the general tariff and trade agreement was not primarily intended for the purpose of giving protection to the industry. Such control could be justified only on the ground of balance of payment difficulties except in certain cases which were specifically dealt with in the agreement itself. Therefore, it was extremely difficult to invoke the tariff and trade agreement for the purpose of maintaining any effective control on import of sugar for giving protection to the sugar industry.

Prof. Sibbanlal Saxena said that there was no case for continuing protection to the sugar industry which during the past 17 years of existence had made more than Rs. 150 crores of profit. The Government themselves were deriving a revenue of about Rs. 30 crores every year in various forms of duty from the industry. During the past 17 years the industry had paid over six times the total investment by way of profits. The Sugar Syndicate, he strongly urged, should be broken if protection was to be extended. The consumer was being asked to pay heavily because the price of sugar was high compared to prices in other countries. Instead of treating sugar as primarily relating to U. I. and Bihar it should be treated as an all-India industry.

Mr. Ananthasayanam Ayyangar said that according to this calculation the sugar industry meant a burden of Rs. 10 to Rs. 12 crores a year on the consumer. Every year the industry had been "befooling" the Government, saying "tomorrow we will be able to stand on our own legs" but that "tomorrow" never dawned. There was still a difference of Rs. 4 between the sale price of Cuban sugar in Pakistan and the price of Indian sugar, even after making allowance for the excise duty on Indian sugar. In the statement circulated to members, the Commerce Minister had stated that the percentage of profits in the sugar industry was not available. That was surprising, he said. Why should the figure be not available to the

Government? It was strange that one of the most well organized industries in the country was not prepared to place before the Government its statistics. Mr. Ayyengar also demanded that the Sugar Syndicate be liquidated. He said, "At a time when there is unfair and unhealthy competition in the industry, it may have to be saved against itself. Today it is not so. Today the consumers have to be saved against the industrialists. Therefore, there is no longer any need for a syndicate inside the country."

Mr. R. K. Sidhwa said that if a free vote was taken on the continuance of protection to sugar, the Minister would get a negative vote. Before the war the industry made a profit of 60 to 70 per cent. What had happened to all that money? He himself had been a member of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry for two seasons and he had complained to the Federation that the industry was making 120 per cent profit and that if it frittered away the profits instead of building up the reserve fund, it would at a later stage, at the cost of the consumer, again ask for protection.

During clause by clause consideration of the Bill Prof. Saxena moved an amendment to reduce the period of protection to one year and said that continued protection should be conditional upon (1) liquidation of Sugar Syndicate and restoration of internal competition; (2) holding of an inquiry into the profits made by the industry in the last 18 years and the manner of their distribution among labour, cane growers and industrialists; (3) holding of an inquiry into the progress made in the development of sugarcane since 1932 when protection was first granted; and (4) submission of a plan to place the industry on a sound footing within a limited period of three to five years, after which the industry should not ask for any further protection or aid.

The Commerce Minister accepted Prof. Saxena's amendment and informed the House that it was extremely unlikely that the Tariff Board would be able to produce a report dealing with all aspects of the industry by that time. Some auxiliary aspects like the Sugar Syndicate and the possibility of further reduction of sugarcane could be inquired into. This had been urged by the sugar industry. Referring to the demand that the Sugar Syndicate be abolished, he pointed out that it had been created by U. P. and Bihar. He would forward the sentiments expressed in the House to these two Governments.

Protection and the Sugar Industry.

During the past 17 years of its protected expansion, the sugar industry has not made the least effort to reduce the cost of production by making improvements in cane cultivation and productive methods. It has done nothing to consolidate itself in such a manner as to be able to face foreign competition within a reasonable time. During the past ten years of war and post-war period, it has enjoyed an additional protection and

an opportunity to establish itself as a national industry being completely shielded from foreign competition. But instead of availing of this opportunity, it has thrived in the blackmarket, the few millionaires controlling the industry have amassed fabulous wealth. It has let down the consumer very badly instead of coming to his aid at the most crucial moment. An industry which is unable to stand on its own legs after a period of 17 years and shows not the least sign to do so, must forfeit its right to claim any sort of protection.

In this connection the following observations of the "Eavesdropper" of the *Indian Finance* in its issue of the 26th March are very much to the point:

"In the case of the sugar industry, its establishment on a large scale and in a short period was made possible by a significant departure—unintended perhaps, but certainly effective—from the established principles and methods of the policy of discriminating protection. The margin of protection was not cut fine as in the case of the older protected industries, but was so wide as to attract a large-scale inrush of new investment. This led to the accentuation of competition within the country to dangerous limits and, understandably enough, to the formation of the sugar syndicate whose monopolistic nature has provoked the outcry for its dissolution. That is however a different story. What is important to the present context is that the benefits of this intensive internal competition—such as no other protected industry had experienced before or after—to productive efficiency were limited in time and extent. Up to a point, productive efficiency did increase. The percentage of extraction from cane rose up and interest in utilisation of byproducts was whipped up. But the formation of the Syndicate and the outbreak of the war and, before that, the Provincial Government's policy of helping the cultivators in the essentially predatory prosperity of the sugar industry, a policy which has been strengthened in many ways since, the advent of controls and import restrictions, all these have tended to spare the industry the discomfort of a thought for the poor consumer and the headache about a possible cessation of protection.

In protection, the two principal difficulties are firstly, to ensure fair play on the part of the industry and secondly, to secure a fair rate of development of resources and progress in realisation of possible economies. Taking the latter first, it is not as well known as it should be that the reduction of costs in the sugar industry was mostly a question of reducing the cost of the raw material; and this in turn depended on improving the yield per acre of cane and the quality of the cane. Considerable, though by no means satisfactory, progress has been made in this regard. But the cost of sugarcane to the factory has gone up and the end of protection, which was at the far end of the horizon, was thus pushed out of sight. And this is principally because of the U.P. and Bihar Governments' policy of pushing up the minimum price of cane at every opportunity.

Though, of course, that is by no means the whole of the story. It is undeniably true that the sugar industry has exploited to the full every phase of scarcity as it arose during all these years, whether naturally or artificially. The increase in the price of sugar immediately after decontrol is a classic instance of the cynicism of the sugar mills. But the alacrity with which the issue was settled by the U. P. Government in favour of a share in the profits for itself and an increase in the price of cane is not less cynical merely because the beneficiaries form a larger class. Exploitation is exploitation whether it is for the benefit of a small section or a large section. So long as the benefits of development, effected by the sacrifices of the whole community, are not passed on to the whole of the community, there is exploitation.

The national problem in regard to the sugar industry was obscured in the first instance, confused in the next, and demolished thereafter. What does the country want to make of the sugar industry today. Nationalisation in itself is no answer, welcome as it is. For the problem of costs and the problem of prices will remain the same. Are the profits of the industry and the price of cane to be determined by the price of sugar or *vice versa*? So long as the possibility of free imports remain a more or less distant aim, we have a yardstick with which to measure the cost of sugar to the consumer. In a simple protectionist regime, we retain and use the yardstick. But in a regime of controls, we necessarily throw it to the winds. Assuredly, we cannot have the best of both worlds. Without being clear in our minds as to the extent to which we shall deviate from a free economy we cannot decide any question concerning the grant of protection to any industry. For the data on which reasoning and judgement are to be made become vague and indefinite. If the price of cane, as directed by a vote-seeking provincial Government, is to rank equally with the yield of cane per acre or the recovery percentage as data for judgment, then necessarily, the consumer comes at the very foot of the order of priorities. The price is not the result of economic costs, but only the sum of the demands which the poor consumer has to meet.

The mentor of all these warring interests is the foreign importer. The value of protection lies in disabling him from becoming a tyrant in the first place, and in the second place, keeping him near enough to be a terror, and too far at the same time to do harm. That happy mean of a level of duties, which can just keep alive the threat of foreign competition, was discarded at the outset in the case of the sugar industry. Thereafter, war and paucity of exchange have turned that threat into an empty one. It would be disastrous if avowed public policy should also work in the same direction. The need now is not to revive foreign competition but to make the threat of it a real, live one. Abolition of protection is just vengefulness of the suicidal kind. What is required is the narrowing of the

margin of protection on the basis of estimates of fair selling price which do not give in to the rapacious demands of any section of the industry, from farm to factory."

Bigness in Industry

In opposition to the general belief of today that only by a large-scale organisation can the greatest industrial efficiency be achieved, Prof. S. R. Dennison, Lecturer in Economics at Cambridge University, in a talk on the B.B.C., advances the argument that the belief is contrary to both general reasoning and actual evidence.

The Professor says that one of the most widely held economic beliefs in the Western world of our time is that an economic organisation on a large scale must be efficient and that the trend towards bigger organisations is inevitable. Entangled with this belief is the view that the planning of economic affairs by a Central authority is superior to a system of free enterprise not only because the Central authority will take better decisions but also because production will be carried on more efficiently. Here is the basis of the promise of the higher standard of living held out by the believers in economic planning. According to Prof. Dennison, this promise is illusory.

Defining the meaning of efficiency as an approximation, the Professor says that it consists of achieving a given result with the greatest economy of effort and means, producing with the minimum of cost in capital, labour, materials and so on. Comparing the efficiency of big and small production units, Prof. Dennison asks, "Is a large firm efficient? However many highly paid officials it employs, however up-to-date its system of cost accounting, and so on does it use less resources for a given production than are required by a smaller concern? A smaller concern does not have the same elaborate organisation, hierarchy of officials, and all the rest, simply because it does not need them; they are in fact, the costly necessities of bigness, worthwhile only if they are more than offset by other economies in production which are not available to the smaller producer."

Modern experience, specially in the sphere of consumer goods industries, shows a definite trend towards dispersal of production in small units scattered all over the country with a plan. This ensures production in a healthy surrounding of family life, provides employment for larger number of people by eliminating the necessity for labour-saving devices and acts as the greatest insurance towards monopolistic combination. It is also easier to regulate and aid smaller industrial units. The local and provincial official bodies can very well look after them with the minimum of interference which is essential for the development of a healthy and normal economic life. In the modern Western world, public opinion is gaining in strength against the "race for gigantcity" and a clear tendency is developing in favour of the dispersal of industries, particularly of the consumer goods, in smaller units. This method

of production had been suggested in India by Kautilya and was followed in this country uninterrupted for nearly 2,500 years when the British imports of mechanically mass-produced goods destroyed it and brought about a chaos in our national economic life. Prof. Dennison says, "Mass production does not necessarily mean huge organisations; the scale needed for full exploitation may, in fact, be quite modest. In certain directions, moreover, technical progress is on the side of the small unit. Electric power, for instance, though it needs a big unit for its efficient production, has almost certainly reduced the size needed for optimum efficiency in many other branches of production." The Government of India talks of small and medium units but acts in a way which brings about disaster for such centres and favours concentration of production in bigger units attended with all the resultant evils.

The efficiency limits in size depend upon individual human ability to comprehend and control the details of a complex whole. The "best" men are very scarce; and even when they can be found their abilities are not unlimited. It certainly seems that at least the very big firms are too large to be operated at optimum efficiency. However elaborate the system of checks and controls in a big firm, there will be room for waste and mismanagement which never gets known at the top. Administrative devices can never overcome the fundamental dilemma that there is a choice between decentralisation, with its freedom to exercise initiative, and co-ordination with its fitting of separate parts into a centrally determined scheme. Prof. Dennison clearly says, "The nice co-ordination and smooth-running efficiency of the large concern is something which exists only in the imagination of economic planners; those who have first hand experience are more aware of the difficulties, the wastes and the imperfections."

Regarding nationalised industries, Prof. Dennison says that these considerations apply to them with added force. "Much seems to be expected from a single control of a whole industry to secure the blessings of administrative machine on top, of course, of that already existing in the firms which comprise the industry. Given the premise that the industry has to be controlled, such a machine is of course necessary. But if any diagnosis is correct the blessings of co-ordination are, in fact, illusory, whereas the problems created by the simple fact of the establishment of a huge organisation will become very obvious: The nationalised industry has, moreover, certain features which are likely to intensify the disadvantages of bigness—the scale of operations will be greater than that of any private concern, the controlling body has special monopolistic powers, and the form of organisation adopted creates ill-defined and divided responsibilities. . . . The real answer, however, is that large organisations are deliberate creations. There is nothing inherent in our modern economy which makes them inevitable. This is so obvious for nationalised industries that it hardly seems worth saying. In private

industry, the giant firms usually result from conditions other than a search for increased efficiency, one important reason being an attempt to create monopoly, and all that this implies."

We also take this opportunity to ask our Industrial policy makers to take note of what Lord Keynes also wrote on this subject, "The advantage of the decentralisation of decisions and individual responsibility is even greater perhaps than the nineteenth-century supposed."

Dissolution of Planning Committee

The National Planning Committee, which was appointed by the Congress 10 years ago, having completed its work has decided to dissolve. The Report of the Committee will be submitted to the Congress President and a copy will be sent to the Government of India. The Report, which was adopted at the Committee's final meeting, includes the Reports of its 29 sub-committees, which have been published in 26 volumes. A Press Note issued by the Committee says: "Many of the Reports still remain to be integrated, their suggestions and recommendations co-ordinated, and an over-all national plan prepared. Under the changed circumstances of today, the Committee considers it unnecessary to do this, as this function, of right, belongs to the Government of the country. Nevertheless, as it is desirable to keep up to date the material collected and published in this series, the Committee have resolved to appoint a Committee of the following: The President of the Congress, the Prime Minister of India, the Minister for Industry and Supply, Prof. A. K. Shah, Dr. J. C. Ghosh and Mr. Ambalal Sarabhai. The Committee will draw up a scheme for the purpose and meanwhile carry on the work in connection with the series."

So, the National Planning Committee of India is at last reduced to a Study Circle. The people had so long been given to understand that as soon as the National Planning Committee's work, mainly in the nature of survey, would be over, the National Planning Commission would be set up which would be entrusted with the final preparation and execution of the National Plan. In one of the Resolutions (No. 3), passed at the Conference of Ministers of Industries held in Delhi on the 2nd and 3rd of October, 1938 under the chairmanship of Shri Subhas Chandra Bose, then President of the Indian National Congress, it was clearly stated that the National Planning Committee "will submit its Report to the Congress Working Committee and to the All-India National Planning Commission provided for hereafter within four months of the commencement of its sitting." Pandit Nehru, the Chairman of the Committee, had to restate this fact to the members of the Committee, in his Memorandum, dated June 4, 1938, in order to spur them into action when it was found that the Committee had failed to specify its work within the time specified in the Resolution. The resolution on the formation of a Planning Commission, runs:

"This Conference is further of opinion that a Commission, fully representative of all India, including the British Indian Provinces and the Indian States, should be appointed for the purpose of giving effect to resolutions 1 and 2 after due consideration of the recommendations of the Planning Committee. The Commission to be called the All-India National Planning Commission, shall consist of the following members with powers to co-opt :

(a) one nominee of the Government of each Province or State co-operating in this work ;

(b) four representatives of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce ;

(c) a representative of the All-India Village Industries Association ; and

(d) all members of the Planning Committee."

Resolution 1 reads :

"This Conference of the Ministers of Industries is of the opinion that the problems of poverty and unemployment of National defence and of the economic regeneration in general cannot be solved without industrialisation. As a step towards such industrialisation, a comprehensive scheme of national planning should be formulated. The scheme should provide for the development of the heavy key industries, medium scale industries and cottage industries, keeping in view our national requirements, the resources of the country, as also the peculiar circumstances prevailing in the country. The scheme should provide for the establishment of new industries of all classes and also for the development of the existing ones."

Resolution 2 :

"This Conference having considered the views of several Provincial Governments, is of the opinion that pending the submission and consideration of a comprehensive industrial plan for the whole of India, steps should be taken to start the following large-scale industries of national importance on an all-India basis and the efforts of all provinces and Indian States should, as far as possible, be co-ordinated to that end :

(a) Manufacture of machinery and plant and tools of all kinds ;

(b) Manufacture of automobiles, motor boats, etc., and their accessories and other industries connected with transport and communication ;

(c) Manufacture of electrical plant and accessories ;

(d) Manufacture of heavy chemicals and fertilisers ;

(e) Metal production ;

(f) Industries connected with power generation and power supply."

Although some work has been done in this sphere, it has not been done on a planned basis. Pandit Nehru, the Chairman of the Planning Committee, in one of his Memorandums, drew the attention of the Committee to some of the guiding principles and objectives which should govern national planning. In that it had been stated : "The fundamental aim to be kept in view is to ensure an adequate standard of living for the masses. An adequate standard implies a certain irreducible minimum plus a progressive scale of comforts and amenities." The current fallacy about the per capita national income was then analysed and the Memorandum stated, "An approximate estimate puts the average annual income per capita at Rs. 65. This

includes the rich and the poor, the town-dweller and the villager. The average of the villager is estimated to be somewhere between Rs. 25 and Rs. 30 per annum per capita." This analytical attitude in calculations implied a great step forward towards a complete re-orientation of Indian economic ideas. "A really progressive standard of life will necessitate the increase of the national wealth five or six times. But for the present the minimum standard which can and should be reached is an increase of national wealth between two and three times within the next ten years. It is with this object in view we should plan now."

This is only a short summary of what Pandit Nehru thought and wrote in 1938-1939 as Chairman of the National Planning Committee. This Committee now stand dissolved. After the achievement of Independence, an Economic Planning Sub-Committee was appointed by the A.-I. C. C. on 17th November, 1947, with Pandit Nehru as its Chairman. On January 25, 1948, Panditji submitted the Committee's Report in which he said : "To implement the programme outlined above, a permanent Central Planning Commission should be appointed to advise and assist the Congress Governments in the practical steps that should be taken."

We expect that the appointment of a National Planning Commission, with scope and powers outlined in the Resolutions quoted above, will soon be announced so that the present misconception about the economic policy pursued by our Central Government may not gain ground.

Internal Peace and Security

Sardar Patel, while moving the Budget grants under Home Ministry in the Indian Parliament declared, "I make bold to say that so far as internal peace and tranquillity is concerned, the country is not faced with any serious threat now. We shall not however relax either vigilance or preparedness."

Referring to the Communists, Sardar Patel said he would like to assure the House that Government did not seek to exterminate the ideology underlying Communism. "Our quarrel with them is in regard to the methods which they employ—those anti-social and anti-national activities which they pursue so remorselessly and with such ruthlessness. Their philosophy is to exploit every situation to create chaos and anarchy in the belief that in such conditions it would be possible for them to seize power."

Sardar Patel incidentally referred to the situation in Far Eastern countries, and said that he had no doubt that the House would not in any way tolerate those methods in India. "We are wedded to constitutional progress. It is open to the Communists to use those means to change the social order or to change the Government. But if they resort to other means—violent, treacherous and mischievous—then Government must take up that challenge and suppress them with all the forces at their command."

"I am glad that the country has solidly stood behind Government in dealing with this threat. Whenever we have dealt with such threat with firmness and determination, we have generally succeeded in achieving our object with popular support.

"I have no doubt that if we continue to follow the same policy as I hope to so long as I am in charge of law and order of this country, we shall be able to deal with this threat to internal security successfully and efficiently."

Reliability of Government Employees

Rules designed to safeguard national security by ensuring the reliability of Government employees and their loyalty to the State have been published in the *Gazette of India*. They give power to the Central Government to require a Government employee to retire from service if he is engaged in or associated with subversive activities in such a manner as to raise "doubts about his reliability."

These rules, which are called "the Civil Services (Safeguarding of National Security) Rules, 1949," provide that a person so retired will get such compensation pension, gratuity or provident fund benefits as would have been admissible to him if he had been discharged from service.

No person shall, however, be compelled to retire thus unless the Head of the Department or the Governor-General is satisfied that his retention in the public service is prejudicial to national security. When such action is necessary, the Government servant may be required to proceed on leave from a specified date and will be given a reasonable opportunity to show cause why action should not be taken against him. Any representation made by him will be taken into consideration before final orders are passed. No such order will be passed without obtaining the prior approval of the Governor-General.

The Federal Public Service Commission will not be consulted in respect of any order passed under these rules.

We do not understand the need for evading the Federal Public Service Commission, which is composed and can be composed of non-political men of highest integrity, and placing this extraordinary power in the hands of the Governor-General, or in fact, at the disposal of the Cabinet, a political body, under whose advice the Governor-General must act. Extreme caution must be taken to ensure that this power is not misused and unjustly utilised to get rid of the very few existing honest officers who have become stumbling blocks in the present "normal" atmosphere of corruption, rampant in most of the departments. Most of the present departmental heads, chosen poste-haste after Independence, have proved unworthy of the trust placed on them. It is high time that an Investigation Commission was set up to examine their activities first before asking them to forward the names of "unreliable and disloyal servants."

A Charge-sheet Against Assam

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Indian Union's Home Minister, has promised to "serve" Bengalees. This assurance he gave in course of a speech made at the 26th session of the Prabashi Bangiya Sahitya Sammelan (Conference of Bengali Litterateurs Outside Bengal) held at New Delhi on the 13th March last and succeeding days. We should not build many hopes on such promises made by a politician under the impulse of a momentary inspiration. However that be, as one of the policy-makers of the Indian Union, we can only hope that Sardar Patel will try to understand anew the genesis of their present discontents, as we are of opinion that his Government has failed to appreciate the various factors that have played their part to make things difficult for the Bengalees. Certain of these are implicit in the partition of India.

Sardar Patel has told us that the elimination of British power from India needed and demanded a price; it was partition; there was no other way to the goal of freedom that we reached on August 15, 1947. We accept this appreciation of the situation as it confronted him during the fateful month of May, 1947, when the partition plan was accepted as a desperate remedy. But what the representatives of the Congress and the League did after deliberation falls into a category of short-sightedness. Let us consider the "option" which allowed Government officials, high and low, from the I.C.S. to the *chaprasi*, to choose the State where they wished to serve—Pakistan or "the Rest of India." The option device was manufactured in the Special Committee of the Partition Office, Government of India, New Delhi, appointed to "work out the machinery for implementing the Partition of India." The words put within quotation marks make it clear that the Governments of the successor-States bind themselves to face the consequences of this proposal. "I am to make it clear to you that the representatives of the two future Governments mentioned above guarantee your existing terms and conditions of service," was stated clearly in a confidential circular addressed on the 25th June, 1947, to Government officials in Assam by the Chief Secretary.

And how has the Central Government of India stood by the assurance given on their behalf? Before twelve months were out they betrayed the hopes of some Government officials. On the 19th March, 1948, Sardar Patel in course of a reply to a question put by Pandit Hriday Nath Kunjru is represented as saying that, "It was not a guarantee given to the employees of any Provincial Government." In this a fair and true interpretation of the Partition Office's directive? We assert, with all due respect to India's Home Minister that it is not. We regard it as a betrayal because it has led to the victimisation of the Bengali officials in Assam. They opted for the "Rest of India" on the guarantee of June 25, 1947, quoted above. But how has the Assam Administration, its Governor and

Ministry, been implementing this guarantee? The Memorandum submitted to Sardar Patel on January 2, 1948, during his all-too-short visit to Shillong described the conditions as follows in Para 3: "Four negative decisions thus hold the field now, each adversely affecting the interests of the released employees in a vital way:

(a) Not to give them full pay, but only half, for this long period of wait, extending from month to month; (b) Not to absorb them in any other vacancy in the province than those caused by the transfer of Pakistan-choosing personnel to the East Bengal Government; (c) Not to admit right of the surplusage, thus artificially created, to remain in service but to 'relieve them on pension or gratuity as the case may be'; (d) Not to give any consideration whatsoever to the temporary or work-paid personnel, however long or efficient their services may have been.

The Government of Assam taking advantage of Sardar Patel's certificate of March 19, 1947, based on their own biased and none true representations, have been persisting in their injustice to those Government employees who "opted" for the "rest of India," thus even risking their properties in areas that fell within Pakistan. For all practical purposes they are Indian Union's citizens, and a unit of the Indian Union, Assam, discriminates against them! And the Central Government of the Union has been looking complacently on this betrayal of the basic principles of citizenship. The Governor-General of India has stated in extenuation that about "1153, or more than 75 per cent have been placed in employment." There is trickery in this estimate sent by Assam. For, we have reasons to believe that most of them have been put on a temporary basis; many of these persons held permanent posts, and the new device has been resorted to by the Assam Administration to get rid of them on the sly behind the back of the Central Government. Advertisements have appeared in the *Assam Gazette* inviting applications for the recruitment of lecturers in colleges, teachers in schools, medical men while hundreds of qualified people, holders of permanent posts in these lines, have been kept out of employment by the Assam Administration.

The story related above has been summarized from a statement of Prof. Digindra Chandra Datta of the Murari Chand College of Sylhet who is a victim of the chauvinism of the Bardoloi Ministry. First Duff scholar of the Gauhati Cotton College, a professor of English in his old college for years on end winning golden opinion from Assamese-speaking students and their parents Prof. Datta has passed months at New Delhi in trying to convince the Ministers of the Central Government that by their policy of complacency to the Assam Government in its acts of discrimination against Indian Union's citizens, they have been bringing into contempt the values and the sanctity of the rights of citizenship of their own State.

News from Purulia

News from Purulia in Bihar has an ugly ring. The majority community of Bengalis of Manbhum is being driven to the launching of Satyagraha to be started on 6th April, 1949, as a protest against the frankly outrageous attack of the Bihar Ministry on their language. Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh, President of the District Congress Committee till last year and President of the Lok-Sevak Sangha, an organization of Gandhi's disciples, will lead the Satyagraha. The genesis of the movement will be explained by clause 1 of the resolution passed by the Purulia Bar Association.

"This Association views with great alarm and surprise the start made by Purulia Zila School from this year in teaching all non-language subjects in all the classes of the school through the medium of Hindi only to the total exclusion of Bengali, which had hitherto—since the foundation of the School—been the medium, when it is an indisputable fact, known fully to the authorities, that whatever might be the position of other places in Bihar, the District of Manbhum, of which Purulia is the headquarters, is a predominantly Bengali-speaking area, and particularly, so far as the Sadar is concerned almost all the inhabitants are Bengali-speaking and as such nearly all the students of the school there are necessarily those whose mother-tongue is Bengali."

The resolution described conditions that started on January 1, 1949. During these three months, neither the Central Government of India nor the Bihar Ministry appeared to have given thought to the solution of this knotty problem. Fanatics for converting a Bengali-speaking people to Hindi-speaking ones have been left to their own devices, and the result of their activities has not taken long to erupt into attrition. The following despatch from "*The Correspondent*", dated March 19 last that appeared in the *Hindustan Standard* (Calcutta) of March 24 describes the story of hooliganism that has been released over Purulia which has forced such a seasoned Congress leader and follower of Gandhiji as Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh to resolve to start Satyagraha. We have no desire to add to the resentment that will be felt by all right-thinking people at the atrocious conduct of a section of the Bihari people. Only one comment we will make. The Central Government must give up its sitting-on-the-fence policy in the matter of the linguistic problem. As the three and half crores of Hindi-speaking Biharees do not desire that 30 lakh of Bengali-speaking people should live in Bihar with dignity, the Central Government should preside over the parting. This is the least that they can do. Postponing decision will mean tacit approval of outrages as described below:

Purulia, March 19.—The Manbhum Lok Sevak Sangh has decided to start Satyagraha from April 6 in order to seek remedy for the oppression perpetrated on the local Bengali population during the last Holi festival. Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh, organizer of the Sangh, says in a statement in this connection: "We are going forward towards a new struggle in the midst of freedom. It has today come into d-

ably in our life. We have decided that we shall start this Satyagraha movement on April 6, a famous day in the history of India's freedom movement. This decision was taken by the Executive Committee of the Sangh on March 15 last.

Mr. Ghosh further says: "A many-pronged attack has been launched against the people of Manbhum. Attempts are being made to bring a state of anarchy in Manbhum by disrupting their moral strength and creating division and hatred among them. In order to wean away the people from the evil path and to make the life of the district peaceful and systematic, contact must be established with the common people. This dangerous situation has forced us to realise the need of a Satyagraha."

In another statement with regard to the incidents during the Holi festival, Mr. Ghosh says: "The connection of the local officials with these incidents is most regrettable. I consider it a grave dereliction of duty on the part of those who are responsible for the maintenance of peace, to be associated with acts resulting in the disturbance of the peace of the locality. We can hardly expect such behaviour from officers under the employ of the Congress Government. It is expected that they will be known as servants of the people."

Mr. Ghosh has sent telegrams to Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya, the Congress President, and Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India, which say that the state of affairs in Purulia town is increasingly becoming serious. Government servants are determined to incite people to stage another Kharswan. They collect the *goonda* elements of the town together who move about the town and show discourteous behaviour towards the people and are guilty of acts of violence against the Bengalis. If any protest is lodged against these acts of violence, it is only the oppressed who are arrested. Peace and security are in danger at the hands of these Government servants.

Here is a report of the incident in brief. The Holi festival started in Purulia as usual on March 14. Between nine and ten o'clock in the morning two employees of the New Cinema were going in a rickshaw in Chack Bazar distributing advertisements, when a party of Marwari boys attacked them near Ganesh Mela and sprinkled coloured water on the advertisement board they were carrying. One of the employees of the Cinema company said that they were free to sprinkle colours on them, but why should they damage the advertisement board? The boys paid no heed to him and they continued to besmear the board with colours.

Several Marwaris at this stage began to sprinkle colours, dyes and mud on the Bengalis as freely as they liked. When some of them protested, they began to abuse them in nasty language and incited others to assault the Bengalis. They threw stones on some of the Bengali boys and assaulted them with *lathis*. This created a sensation in the town.

On the following day, several persons, including some policemen in plain clothes (there were some Muslims also among them), some police officers and some Marwaris and Punjabis entered that area in jeeps and started giving colours and mud on all and even women were not spared. When they threw colours into a Bengali-owned co-operative stores, the occupants of the shop protested. In reply, the miscreants threw more colours and mud into the shop and the police constables started beating the people who protested against such behaviour. As a result, there was a minor scuffle in the area.

After this, a police officer left the place and returned with more police constables in plain clothes, armed with *lathis* and wooden pieces. The Bengalis resisted the assaults on them. When a Congress worker came forward on peace mission, he was struck on his head by a constable with a *lathi* and he started bleeding profusely. Somebody from the crowd threw some bricks, and the constables started beating the people in the crowd indiscriminately.

After this some more *goondas* came on the spot on jeeps and vans and a serious affair started there. The constables attacked some shop-owners near the Mukti Press. They were chased into the press where they had fled for shelter. One of them was hit on his head and there was profuse bleeding from his injury. The gentleman in charge of the Mukti Press went to protect them and he was himself hit by the *goondas*. Thereafter the police stopped people from entering the area and forcibly closed all the shops on the pretext of maintenance of peace without proclaiming Section 144. They even searched many Bengali houses and arrested many people indiscriminately.

Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Indian Union's Home Minister, has a special responsibility in this matter. His efforts at integration of the "rest of India" will be shattered if hooliganism like this is allowed to thrive under a Provincial Ministry and its local agents.

Merging of Maha Gujarat in Bombay

The Central Government of the Indian Union have been finalising steps to merge Maha Gujarat in the Bombay Presidency. This Maha Gujarat is constituted by the areas of Cutch and Saurashtra in addition to what has been administrative areas of Gujarat proper. We think that under the present arrangement Saurashtra and Cutch will be excluded. The reaction to this step on the part of Marhatti-speaking people, does not, however, appear to be soothing. The following from the *Tarun Bharat* of C. P. and Berar is evidence of this feeling:

"All people in Maharashtra, whether Congressmen or Bahujan Samajwadis, are perturbed by the move to merge Maha Gujarat with the Bombay province, which would subject Maharashtra to economic and political helotry.

"Such a development is the logical sequence of the Dar Commission's report, which evidenced a perverted and wicked attitude towards Maharashtra. If this attitude reflects the mentality of the Congress leaders, whether it is not natural that there should be an attempt to suppress and tear Maharashtra into pieces.

"... It is natural for leaders of the Congress to look to Maharashtra in a spirit of distrust, and wants the leaders and the people of Maharashtra to consider how they can remove this feeling of distrust about them from the minds of the top-ranking Congressmen."

It is regrettable that a people as virile as Maharashtrians should be working under the influence of such frustration; doubly so when the Central Government seems to be unaware of the results of such a reaction.

Integration of East Frontier States

A Gauhati news, dated March 22 last, told us that Babu Sri Prakash, accompanied by a Joint Secretary of the Central States Ministry and his adviser for Tribal Affairs and States, left for Imphal. The news is being interpreted in Assam's political circles as a step towards the integration of Eastern Frontier States—Khasi States, Manipur, Cooch Bihar and Tripura—"with due regard to geographical and other considerations."

In this matter West Bengal has very vital interest, and we hope that Dr. Bidhan Chandra Roy is fully aware of its importance. Thanks to the Radcliffe "award", Cooch Bihar has been almost fully detached from West Bengal. Since the days of Brahmananda Keshav Chandra Sen, Cooch Bihar has for all intents and purposes been a Bengal State finding inspiration in Bengal's life. The State of Tripura has shared the same richness of life. These considerations must weigh in any decision that may be made.

We have not liked the arrangement that made the Governor of Assam the "agent to the two Bengal States" of the Indian Union Government. The States Ministry has not taken the public into confidence with regard to this peculiar procedure; considerations other than geographic must have influenced them to decide this issue in this manner. The Congress Working Committee by playing with the idea of the Purvachal Pradesh, accepting it on its own initiative and then going back on it at the instance of the late Governor of Assam, has complicated matters. And the latest news about the Assam Governor shows that something is afoot that needs careful watching by the West Bengal Government.

While on the subject we desire to bring to the notice of the public the goings-on in the Cooch Bihar State. A potential Pakistani is Chief Secretary in the State; he and his kind have been exploiting its 40 per cent Muslim population for group interests, dynastic and reactionary. These 40 per cent are affected by the Pakistani greed from across the border in East Bengal. As in Assam so in Cooch Bihar Pakistanis infiltrate with the aid of the local Muslims. The Bardoloi Ministry have not been able to halt this peaceful penetration; the Cooch Bihar State authorities have been turning the blind eye on what Pakistanis have been doing in their midst. We should like to know what the West Bengal Provincial Congress Committee have done or propose to do in the matter as revealed by the report of the deputation sent by it to Cooch Bihar. Engaged in their family quarrels they appear to be blind to the possibilities of danger to the interests of their own province.

Orissa Today

After the definite declaration of the Indian Union's Prime Minister that the State of Mayurbhanj will stay in Orissa, we hope the mischief-makers at the

back of the Adibasi agitation would cease from troubling the ordered progress of this province. From the Orissa Press we get the impression that the ex-rulers of the Orissa State have not yet been able to accommodate themselves to the new climate of opinion and practice. But this is not the greatest handicap that halts Orissa's advance in modern trends of life. Her ultimate fate will be decided by the weakest of the elements of her population—the Adibasis. We hope that the new ruling classes of the Province realize this responsibility and all that it means. From certain points of view, it is an all-India problem.

But in a special sense, it is Orissa's problem. During the budget discussion we have noticed a need of complete dependence on the financial support of the Central Government. Orissa's Premier Shri Earekrishna Mahatab has tried his best to neutralize it by drawing attention to the limitless possibilities of her human and material resources lying untapped. In a way she is fortunate that past commitments will not halt her progress; the major portion of her area is State-owned on which her people can lay the foundations of an ampler life better than the so-called progressive provinces clogged by vested interests.

The integrated States are said to have caused a deficit of Rs. 55 lakhs as shown by a budget compiled in June, 1948; this will cause a deficit of Rs. 77 lakhs 67 thousand in 1949-50. As things go now when neighbouring provinces have registered budget-deficits running into crores of rupees, Orissa has no reason to be afraid of her financial solvency. She should face the future with equanimity.

West Punjab Politics

Making extremely important pronouncements on Muslim League policy in Pakistan in the immediate future, Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman, President of the All-Pakistan Muslim League, in an interview with the *Statesman* correspondent at Lahore, said that his mission in West Punjab was to endeavour to bring about "peace" in the ranks of the Provincial League and he would do his best to resolve seemingly insoluble problems in West Punjab politics. Armed Muslim League National Guards were standing outside his hotel room when he spoke on several problems of great importance to West Punjab and Pakistan.

He said that he would first meet all the West Punjab leaders separately and then, if there was a possibility of free discussion between them, jointly. He would like to see new leaders elected from amongst Muslim Leaguers but "this will only be possible when the present groups in the West Punjab League agree between themselves to create such a position and offer every support to those who may be elected leaders of the party."

Asked whether he believed that if the Muslim League failed in the elections in West Punjab, the

existence of the Muslim League of Pakistan would be jeopardised, he said, "I sincerely believe it. If one of the important limbs stop functioning, the rest of the body must suffer. But whatever may be the position, it is the West Punjab League that alone can find new leadership. *It cannot be imposed from the top.* The general feeling is that new leadership is necessary of which the Muslim League of the province also ought to be aware."

He said that in his opinion, elections in West Punjab would be held in seven or eight months.

"I have indirectly said that West Punjab is the backbone of Pakistan. I want to stop its disintegration by making the League strong. I shudder to think what will happen if the League organization here fails. The elections will be fought on individual tickets by only those who can afford to spend large sums of money. Persons returned on individual tickets will not belong to any party or group and they will be a law unto themselves. If the Provincial League can find better leadership it will be welcome to me.

"Revolutionary changes are necessary in the economic set-up of the country, particularly in regard to the land question, and I still believe that that question is the most important one so far as Pakistan is concerned. It is obvious that those changes will have to be effected in stages. For instance, in Sind the tenants have no land rights. They have to be given land rights and the system of division by half of the crop has also to be revised. Cash rental should be introduced. Similar questions arise in other provinces and have to be dealt with. The Pakistan Muslim League discussed a resolution for the abolition of the *jagirdari* system and the creation of land rights for tenants and the matter was referred to the League Working Committee for deciding the issue on the basis of the Shariat law."

In regard to the formation of a new political party in the country, Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman said: "To tell you the truth, I would welcome such an organization for then only will the people be divided on some real economic issue. What is happening is this; people of different organizations have come into the Muslim League and want this organization to serve their interests."

Referring to Indo-Pakistan amity he said that the Government of Pakistan was doing all in its power to achieve this end and that recently there had been a change in the mental attitude on both sides *but so long as the Kashmir question was in the balance real friendship between the two Dominions will be lacking.* There must be an attitude of give and take in all inter-Dominion agreements.

India's Protest to Pakistan

Instances of the real attitude of Pakistan towards India are coming to us through different channels, and Indian statesmen and Indian people in their usual

oblivious way are completely ignoring them. Talking loudly of Inter-Dominion friendship, Pakistan is wrestling out advantage after advantage from the hands of India while its relentless war on the Indian minorities within its own territory is going on unabated. Western Pakistan is already rid of all Hindus, in the Eastern Pakistan, the introduction of Arabic script for writing Bengali simultaneously with the declaration of Pakistan as an Islamic State will produce the same result in a different manner, a silent extinction of Hindus in Eastern Pakistan. In India, separatist politics have again started raising its head; the demand for a Moplastan is again being heard and at the time of the Hyderabad episode it assumed such a proportion that the Government of Madras were obliged to transfer all their Muslim officials from Malabar to other safe places. Chaudhury Khaliq-uz-Zaman says that unless Kashmir problem had been solved "satisfactorily," lasting friendship between the two Dominions was a distant matter. Recently, the Frontier Government had made a serious insinuation that India had been a party to the recent anti-Pakistan activities of the Red Shirts and mentioned a "Pandit Saheb" in its official communiqué. The context at which this phrase was used evidently meant Pandit Nehru. The Prime Minister of India took serious notice of it and told the Indian Parliament that the communiqué issued by the N.-W. F. P. Government in which allegations had been made about a plot in which Red Shirts of Hazara district were said to be involved was "unwarranted by fact and unfortunate in its effect on Indo-Pakistan relations" which they had been trying to improve. The communiqué alleged that a plot had been made to kill the Frontier Premier at the instigation of certain anti-Pakistan elements in the Indian Union and checkmate Pakistan efforts to bring Kashmir within Pakistan.

The Government of India sent a strong note of protest to Pakistan against the Frontier Government's communiqué, Pandit Nehru told the Parliament:

"The Government of India have seen the communiqué with surprise and great regret. While it does not mention the Government of India specifically, the entire wording of the communiqué insinuates that the Indian Union is a party to some plot against the N.-W. F. P. and Pakistan Governments and it is stated that money has passed from India to the Red Shirts.

"So far as they are concerned, the Government of India repudiate these allegations and have made a strong protest to the Pakistan Government in regard to the insinuations contained in the communiqué, which must have an injurious effect on the relations between the two Dominions."

The Prime Minister added that the Government had refrained from expressing any opinion so far in regard to the "very serious happenings" in the N.-W. F. P. as well as the north-west tribal areas because of their desire not to interfere in any way with the

internal affairs of another Government. "They have, however, viewed these developments during the past year with increasing concern."

"It is well known that the Khudai Khidmatgars, or the Red Shirts, as they are sometimes called, under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan and Dr. Khan Sahib, played a very notable part in the struggle for the freedom of India from foreign domination. The high integrity, selflessness and patriotism of these leaders have been admired not only all over India but in other parts of the world. They showed a remarkable example of peaceful action, even under the greatest provocation and set a standard which it was not easy to follow even in other parts of India."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan took the doctrine of non-violent action to the brave and warlike Pathans and turned their great energy into peaceful channels. Though perturbed by the partition of India, he accepted it in all sincerity and publicly declared his adherence to the new order of things, claiming, however, that the Pathans were entitled to autonomy in regard to their internal affairs. He followed this policy for accepting Pakistan, but at the same time advocated peacefully for the internal freedom of the Pathans and it was impossible for any person acquainted with this gallant fighter for freedom to believe that he could be associated in any way with any underhand activities.

While the Indian Government and people, having accepted partition and its consequences, loyally abided by these changes and did not wish to interfere with local happenings within Pakistan, it was impossible for them not to take the deepest interest in the fate of some of the "bravest and finest soldiers of freedom that India had produced." They were distressed at the series of happenings in the N.-W. F. P. during which "intense repression" took place of the peaceful Khudai Khidmatgars, and their leaders were more especially subjected to "treatment of a kind which one would not expect from any Government."

Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan had been kept in solitary confinement for over a year and his health had suffered greatly during the period. "We have remained quiet and have not had any kind of contact with the Khudai Khidmatgars or their leaders ever since partition. But the sufferings of our old comrades of the days of our fight for freedom have distressed us exceedingly."

Pandit Nehru said that the communiqué mentioned the name of Sheikh Abdullah and Kashmir and pointed out that the N.-W. F. P. Government, more particularly its Premier, played a very active part in organizing and helping the raiders to enter Kashmir in October, 1947, and onwards. "In particular, it is well known that his activities in regard to Kashmir have been most objectionable."

The Pakistan Government has sent reply to this Note which is fully characteristic of that Dominion's policy. It has denied that Pandit Nehru was the "Pandit Sahab" mentioned in that communiqué but

it has taken care not to mention who this "Pandit Sahab" was. Not content with its denial, the Pakistan Note proceeded to find fault with Panditji's speech, quoted above, and said that "the manner and terms in which the Prime Minister of India has referred to the Red Shirts and their treatment by the Provincial Government for activities subversive of law and order in Pakistan are liable to create serious misunderstanding and have caused considerable resentment in Pakistan."

We wonder how long this "heads I win tails you lose" game will continue in Indo-Pakistan politics.

Food-Grains

The problems of *dal-bhat*, of food-grains, and of cloth, have been getting more and more complex in India as the years go ahead. Our Central Government have been finding it hard to solve these. Their latest resolve is to cease to import food-grains from abroad on and from 1951. For, it has been proving "no joke" to pay out over Rs. 100 to Rs. 125 crores every year to buy this necessity. This decision is welcome for more than one reason, the financial reason the least. There is a demonstration of ineffectiveness in our national polity in having to depend on other countries for food-grains. This is specially so when we have a government of our own to guide, instruct and admonish us, to teach us the implications of citizenship in a free India under modern conditions. We emphasize the words "under modern conditions," because food is being used as an instrument of world-politics.

Whatever that be, self-sufficiency in food-grains is the best of all arrangements under every conceivable social economy. And the decision of the Government is a "challenge" to all of us, to use the word of Sri Jairamdas Daulatram, Indian Union's Agriculture and Food Minister. But, we feel that success in this campaign of self-sufficiency can only be reached if the Indian public is clearly told of difficulties ahead. We are told that the Indian agriculturist have been producing less food-grains. What are the causes of their failure? Failure of monsoon is adduced as one cause; and during recent years severe floods have been another deteriorating factor.

But since the Second World War, there has come a human element that has become the most potent factor in this problem—the greed and dishonesty of officials and business people. The Bengal Famine Commission's report spoke of the profiteer gaining Rs. 1,000 for every man, woman and child who died from starvation. The officialdom of India during the British regime had to wink at their nefarious activity for its war purpose. The administrators of India since 15th August, 1947, have been as ineffective in bringing to book the Indian profiteer and blackmarketeer.

Let us, however, return to realities. We have seen an estimate which said that there is a 14 per cent food deficit in the Indian Union; procurement figures on behalf of the State bear this out. The figures are :

Madras 28.8 per cent; Assam 15 per cent; West Bengal 14.9 per cent; C.P. 8.7 per cent; Bombay 6.5 per cent; Orissa 5.4 per cent; United Provinces 4.2 per cent; Bihar 2 per cent. These figures are incomplete. But they make it clear that a 14-per cent deficit need not have been so much publicized, giving the profiteer an opportunity to exploit the situation. It has also been made clear that all areas have not been pulling their weight equally in this effort. During the Linlithgow regime Provincial and State narrowness in this particular matter came under review and severe criticism. But the evil has persisted. Free India's Central Government has not been able as yet to inculcate the message of equalization of sacrifices in meeting the food shortage amongst us.

Sanskrit as State Language

The "discovery of Sanskrit" by Western scholars quickened the renewal of self-confidence on the part of Indians, and the restoration of their faith in the values of their life. Since August 15, 1947, when British authority was ceremoniously withdrawn from India, our leaders have been engaged in a heated controversy with regard to the choice of a State language for India. We do not propose to enter into the many issues that have cropped up in its course. The protagonists of Hindi, pure and undefiled, and of Hindusthani as it is spoken are locked up in a fight. And to throw oil on the troubled waters, we cannot do better than heed to what a Western savant has spoken in praise of Sanskrit as a quite likely State language. Prof. Louis Renou, Professor of Sanskrit in Paris University speaking to the Annamalai University of Tamil Nad, did not specifically make the suggestion. But the drift of his remarks is unmistakable, and we share these with our readers.

"India is loved and respected in the world because it is the land possessing a long and honoured heritage, intellectual, moral and spiritual. This heritage is preserved in the treasures of Sanskrit literature.

"One cannot deny the importance of Tamil here, of Bengali in Calcutta, or of Marathi in Poona.

"I know Tamil enjoys in the family of modern languages a unique character owing to the grand continuity of its literature. But Tamil is one of the many regional languages. The forms of expression which have given to Indians their unity, which have shaped their culture, belong to Sanskrit alone and to no other language.

"In India, Sanskrit is the basis of all religious, philosophic and scientific tradition which has made her what she is. In other words India possesses one of the best civilizations that still remains in the world.

There may be Dravidian literature as we have Bengali or French literature. But there is no religion, philosophy or science with that denomination. Great savants like Sankaracharya and Ramanujacharya used Sanskrit.

"The very ancient Tamil works (especially in the field of philosophy) have also come under the healthy influence of Sanskrit both in vocabulary and thought."

While on the subject we propose to draw attention to the article published in certain papers in the Central Provinces and the United Provinces. It was written by Pandit Ravi Sankar Sukla, Premier of the former Province in reply to the Indian Union's Prime Minister's recent statement on a State language reproduced elsewhere in this issue. The latter has suggested amongst other things the following :

"A list of a number of basic words, say 3,000 or so, 'which may include alternative words in common use for the same idea' (probably Perso-Arabic alternatives are meant), should be made and taught to all those desirous of knowing the all-India language. Yet another list of technical words should be made. And the rest should be left to the natural growth of the language, no limitation being put on anyone writing in what might be called pure literary Hindi or pure literary Urdu or anything in between. As for the script, the Persian script should also be recognised along with Devnagri, and taught where desired."

Pandit Sukla expresses disagreement as follows :

"To say that people may be left free to write in anything from pure literary Hindi to pure literary Urdu does not help us in the least. Firstly, it is immoral to place Urdu on a par with Hindi. Secondly, there is nothing like 'anything in between' that can serve the purpose, and Hindi and Urdu are not the same thing. Simply to give freedom to all to write in anything from Hindi to Urdu won't do. . . . it does not answer the question what shall be the State language (and script) of the Centre, of the Central Secretariat, of the Central Parliament, the Federal Court, etc. Will or rather can it be both Hindi and Urdu? Fourthly, this linguistic licence to be given to writers and speakers in conjunction with Pandit Nehru's recommendation that the Persian script should also be recognised, boils down to this : that both Hindi and Urdu, with their scripts, should be recognized as national languages; that Hindi writers and Urdu writers should all be recognized as writers of the national language; that Hindi literature and Urdu literature together should constitute the literature of the national language; that Hindi newspapers and Urdu newspapers should all be regarded as newspapers of the national language, etc. Are we prepared for this?"

There are other points referred to by Pandit Sukla which men and women speaking languages other than Hindi should know. Evidently he has forgotten them or ignored their special claims to integrity.

" . . . Hindi has already been declared, and rightly so, the language and medium of instruction in the vast territory extending from the eastern boundary of Bihar to the western boundary of Rajasthan, and it is fast wresting this place from English. The language of this centrally situated region is bound to diffuse to all the corners of the country. The language of the centre has never been and can never be different from the language of this region.

" . . . It is significant that opposition to Hindi in the shape of advocacy of Hindustani has not come from the non-Hindi speaking people. They have every reason to prefer Hindi and Devnagri to Hindustani and both scripts. Opposition to Hindi has come from the microscopic minority whose mother tongue is Urdu and who are receiving encouragement from some high quarters.

"... If the majority should not impose Hindi in Devnagri on the minority for some reason, can the minority impose its Hindustani and both scripts on the majority? Let us not copy Pakistan whose ruling class has for political and communal reasons imposed Urdu on its people, a majority of whom speak Bengali."

Shri Atul Chandra Gupta, the President of the 26th Session of the Prabashi Banga Sahitya Sammelan (Conference of Bengali Litterateurs Outside Bengal) dealt on this matter in his address. Shri Atul Gupta's speech is a sustained plea for regional autonomy for languages and scripts. And we cannot do better than summarize his arguments here.

"The ideal of the Nation-State which we have borrowed from West Europe entitles each of the language-areas in India to claim autonomy; the richness of life represented by these entitles them to separate existence as the vehicle of their regional life. The ideal towards which we must work is a *Maha-Rastra*—a Federation of States—the experiment-house of the Federation of the World which has been the dream and aspiration of the world's best minds through the ages. A new technique will have to be developed for its building-up. The practice of the Soviet Union is inapplicable to our problem; in that Federation the Slav-language groups dominate the scene. In India, no language group can claim this primacy; if any of them entertains that ambition, it will not take it long to be disillusioned."

"Controversy has been swelling round the question of a State language. It can be simplified by deciding that this language will be a 'working' language of the State, confined to describing the activities of the Indian Union. Men and women with all-India ambitions need not find it difficult to learn it. It would be preferable to have a language of the South India group as equal with Hindi in this transaction. This State language or languages need not be imposed as a compulsory subject on all children in India. Men and women other than those who feel the urge for all-India political life should not have this 'unwanted' language forced on them."

"If anybody wants to go beyond this he will be inviting angry controversy; the trouble will come when the State language will be sought to be forced as a National language. The upholders of the cause of State language as National language evidently believe that Nation and State are indistinguishable. But it is a heresy at the altar of which Germany and Italy had to immolate themselves; the Soviet Union appears to be moving towards an identical catastrophe. Politics is a part-expression of life, not even its highest expression. Let us not raise it to that bad eminence. The Providence that presides over India's destiny will save us from this calamity."

The thoughts given expression to, and the suggestions made by Shri Atul Gupta are indications that any dragooning in the matter of the State language for India is fraught with danger to her abiding interests.

Election and Expenditure

In the 13th March issue of the *Harigan*, Bhabu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Indian Constituent Assembly, wrote of the cost to the State and to the candidates who will seek the suffrages of their people during the next election in India which is expected to be held sometime during 1951, if not later; he put it into "crores" of rupees. He also described the preliminary work that is being done so that the 17½ crores of adult Indians can take part in the parliamentary game.

In this election affair paper will play a major part. The electoral roll will require 70 lakh pages containing 25 names in each page. About 3,100 maunds of paper will be used. The printing presses in the country will be wholly engaged for months at this job. The candidates will require paper for their propaganda, the printing of which will cause them no end of trouble.

To check the names of voters on the rolls, and to issue ballot papers to one thousand registered voters per day will require the services of 1,75,000 presiding officers and 3,50,000 polling officers. If the election is spread over, say, 8 days "from one Sunday to another Sunday both days inclusive," the number of presiding officers can be reduced to 22,000 and polling officers to 44,000. Assuming that each polling centre will require a police officer and four constables, the next election in the Indian Union will demand the service of 22,000 officers and 88,000 constables.

The number of polling officers will be nearly doubled if the Central and Provincial Elections are held simultaneously; the same will happen in the case of polling stations, of presiding officers, of police officers and constables.

All this is in the realm of estimates; in actual fact the present calculations may prove inadequate. Bhabu Rajendra Prasad refers to motor cars, lorries, quantity of petrol and other incidentals, and we are at present not in a position to judge the validity of all the information supplied. But on the eight-days election period, we register objection, it will open the gates wide to many evils.

Destruction of Railway Property

Apart from bribery and corruption that have prevailed in Indian Railways, the wanton destruction of Railway property had been a phenomenon that retarded its growth during the war years. It appears that the evil is not confined to India. An old copy of the *London Sphere* described on March 3, 1944 conditions in Britain. We hope things have improved since then in that country.

"On the L.N.E.R. alone an average of 2400 electric light bulbs in Railway carriages are broken or stolen (usually the latter) every month. The monthly figure for the four main line companies is 14,500. During 1943, 45,000 blinds were removed, stolen or destroyed; 20,000 window straps ditto; over 13,500 seats damaged by slashing, while many

of the removable cushions were stolen. More than 5,500 mirrors were stolen or smashed as well as many other fittings. Even first aid and A.R.R. equipment have been stolen. In addition to these over 25,000 carriage windows were wantonly smashed and 13,000 luggage racks rendered useless, mainly by cutting. This pilfering and damage are general throughout the country, but are much worse in the heavy industrial areas, especially on workmen's trains. It is also serious on trains carrying large numbers of Services personnel.

Sister Nivedita

In the January number of *Prabuddha Bharat* (Awakened India) an article appeared attempting an estimate of the life-work of Sister Nivedita (Margaret Noble), the Irish disciple of Swami Vivekananda. The writer, Mr. Dayamoy Mitra, has had opportunity in his youth to see Nivedita at close quarters; in this article, we do not, however, get his personal experiences; he has confined himself to discussing what Abanindranath Tagore, Rabindranath Tagore, Ratcliffe and Nevins had written on her. And the editor of the paper has left the topic by deploring that "such a life and character and understanding as were hers should so quickly pass out of view." Apart from the general mutations of human reputation and prestige, the fault in this particular matter cannot be shifted from the shoulders of those of the thought-leaders of the Ramakrishna Missions who are the custodians of Nivedita's traditions as a labourer in the field of India's heritage and of India's stored past. The well-informed amongst our people know of her splendid service to Indian renaissance of the opening decades of this century. But few know of her contribution to the politically revolutionary activities of this period. If the Ramakrishna Mission is not in possession of this information, who else can supply it? Now, when the full and true story of India's fight against British Imperialism can be said without fear or suppression, the Ramakrishna Mission should come forward to help in telling of it. Then truly the cause of complaint referred to by the editor of the *Prabuddha Bharat* will have been removed.

Sarojini Naidu

On the 13th February, 1949, Sarojini Naidu stepped on her 70th year. On March 2, 1949, she left the field of her mundane activities. The former occasion was celebrated with songs and rituals appropriate to one of the supremest world-artists in life and thought; the latter with a world in sorrow. For, Sarojini Naidu had lived a life that fulfilled the standard laid down by Tulsi Das: "When you come into the world you cry and the world laughs; so live that when thou departest, thou mayst laugh while the world will be in tears."

We have known Sarojini Naidu so long and so intimately that it is not possible for us to write on her departure with calmness. We will allow a foreigner

to assess his life's work. Representative Frances P. Bolton, while addressing her colleagues in the U.S.A. House of Representatives spoke as follows:

"She brought to the Indian struggle for freedom a warm, vital personality, deep understanding of and interest in people, and the gift of a ready wit. A brilliant, persuasive speaker, she gave the women of India a realization of their responsibilities to their country, and they flocked to follow her lead. Her countrymen and women came to know her as a tireless, sincere worker in the cause of independence, and an inspiring Leader."

And how did Sarojini Naidu come to take the burden and song of this great work? Let her speak herself:

"Often and after they said to me: 'Why have you come out of the ivory tower of dreams to the market place? Why have you deserted the pipe and flute of the poet to be the most strident trumpet of those who call the nation to battle?' Because the function of a poet is not merely to be isolated in 'ivory towers of dreams' set in a garden of roses, but his place is with the people in the dust of the high-ways; in the difficulties of the battle is the poet's destiny."

And the vision splendid of a renovated life for her people that floated over her mind in early youth she described in her invocation to her Motherland *To India*, published in the *New India*, the English weekly of the Swadeshi days:

TO INDIA

*O young through all thy immemorial years!
Rise, Mother, rise, regenerate from thy gloom.
And, like a bride high-mated with the spheres,
Beget new glories from thine ageless womb!
The nations that in fettered darkness weep
Crave thee to lead them where great mornings
break
Mother, O Mother, wherefore dost thou sleep?
Arise and answer for thy children's sake!
Thy future calls thee with a manifold sound
To crescent honours, splendours, victories vast;
Waken, O slumbering Mother, and be crowned,
Who once wert empress of the sovereign Past.*

And she wrote her own epitaph in her poem entitled "Farewell":

*Farewell, O eager faces that surround me,
Claiming the tender service of my days,
Farewell, O joyous spirits that have bound me
With the love-sprinkled garlands of your praise!
O golden lamps of hope, how shall I bring you
Life's kindling flame from a forsaken fire?
O glowing hearts of youth, how shall I sing you
Life's glorious message from a broken lyre?
To you what further homage shall I render,
Victorious City girdled by the sea,
Where breaks in surging tides of woe and
splendour
The age-long tumult of Humanity?
Need you another tribute for a token
Who rest from me the pride of all my years?
Lo! I will leave you with farewell unspoken,
Shrine of dead dreams! O temple of my tears!*

To this "temple" we bring our tribute of our tears.

MY LAST INTERVIEW WITH GANDHIJI

By PRINCIPAL SHRIMAN NARAYAN AGARWAL, M.A., F.R.ECON.S. (Lond.)

I had to be in New Delhi on the 9th January, 1948, in connection with a meeting of the All-India Radio Hindustani Advisory Committee. In the evening I went to the Birla House and attended the prayer meeting. There were a large number of Hindu and Sikh refugees from Bahawalpur that day. As Gandhiji walked to the prayer pavilion, these refugees shouted loudly: "Save Bahawalpur Hindus! Stop Muslim atrocities in Bahawalpur!" The whole atmosphere was very tense; there were several refugees who were half-mad and a few, perhaps, totally off their heads. They had lost all their family members and earthly belongings and attended Gandhiji's prayers for some help and solace.

After the prayers I went to Bapu's room and touched his feet. I had to discuss several problems with him relating to Wardha institutions. But Gandhiji appeared to be very tired and worried, and so I sat in the room quietly for a while and then took his leave that day. "I will be here tomorrow again, Bapuji," said I. "Yes, we will talk over a few topics tomorrow in the evening," said Bapuji in a low voice.

On the 10th January the attendance at the prayer meeting was quite thin. A few half-mad refugees disturbed the meeting in the beginning and Gandhiji had to pacify them and make them sit down quietly after a sharp rebuke. He asked them to curb their anger and have patience, for mere angry words were of no avail.

Speaking about the problem of decontrol Gandhiji very feelingly remarked:

"Some people tell me that decontrol is not beneficial to the public and that the reports that I receive are not correct. I am not a prophet. You should not accept a thing simply because I say it. You should use your own eyes and intelligence. Even if a thousand Mahatmas like me tell you a thing which your brain does not accept, you should reject it at once. You will be able to retain freedom and be worthy of it only if you behave in this manner."

After the prayers I went with Bapu to his room. Gandhiji looked into a few urgent papers, gave instructions to Shri Bishen who was then in charge of his correspondence, and then asked me to walk with him in the room itself as it was sufficiently cold outside. For a few minutes I enquired about his health which had definitely deteriorated; his face had grown notably darker owing to great pressure of work and endless worries following the partition of the country. Later, we discussed several problems connected with

the Wardha institutions. Speaking about the Mahila Ashram Gandhiji said:

"I am against accepting any Government grants for our constructive work; nor should we beg for money from the public year after year. The Ashram should follow the principles of Basic education and try its utmost to grow into a self-sufficient colony."

Pouring his soul about the future of Hindustani Prachar, Bapu observed:

"So far as I am concerned, the partition of the country does not make the slightest change in my attitude towards the problem of Hindustani. The picture of future India before my mind's eye is the same as before. I insist on the learning of Hindustani with both the scripts, Nagri and Urdu. India may have been divided politically and geographically, but from the cultural standpoint I refuse to recognise any division!"

We all know how Gandhiji pleaded with the Congress Working Committee not to accept partition as it would make confusion worse confounded both internally and internationally. And when the Congress did not listen to his advice and accepted partition at the June session of the A.-I. C. C. in Delhi, Gandhiji passed restless days and nights. I had the privilege of staying with him at Bhangi Colony for several days, and we could all mark the remarkable change that came over him ever since the vivisection of the country. What is most noteworthy, he lost his sense of unfailing and genial humour after the deep shock of partition.

"Do you intend visiting Pakistan, Bapuji?" I enquired.

"Yes, I would like to leave for Pakistan this moment if I were in a position to do so. But how can I go to Karachi while Delhi is burning under my very nose? What shall I tell the Muslims in Pakistan when I have failed to pacify the Hindus and Sikhs in Delhi?" Every word uttered by Bapu was soaked in sorrow and regret. His throat was almost choked with emotion.

"Bapuji, I know very well that you were deadily opposed to the partition of the country. Still you advised the A.-I. C. C. to accept the decision of the Working Committee. This act of yours has been misunderstood by some of your closest associates. If you had advised the A.-I. C. C. otherwise, the whole history of India would have been different. This is what many people sincerely feel! Have your views undergone any change after the actual partition?" I asked.

"Not a whit," remarked Bapuji at once. "How could I change my views when I am daily seeing with my own eyes the consequences which I clearly visualised before vivisection? But I am sorry my attitude towards the Congress has been misunderstood. For the clarification of all let me state my views to you very clearly." And then Gandhiji went on speaking sentence after sentence in a low but firm voice :

"I have always regarded the Congress Working Committee as the National Cabinet. The Cabinet of the Government of every free and responsible country has and should have the necessary authority to negotiate treaties with foreign powers. Otherwise, if the Cabinet is required to consult the Parliament on every issue at the time of important negotiations, all political work would be impossible. Under the present circumstances, the Working Committee has already accepted the Partition of India. There are three parties to this treaty, the British Government, the Muslim League and the Congress. The Working Committee could not have consulted the A.-I. C. C. which corresponds to the Parliament while delicate negotiations with the British Government and the Muslim League were in progress and the situation was so fluid from day to day. The Parliament or the A.-I. C. C. has, therefore, no option but to ratify the decision of its Cabinet or the Working Committee. It may pass a vote of no-confidence in the Working Committee and ask the members to resign forthwith. But as a responsible nation, India cannot but ratify the decision of its Cabinet. This is the constitutional position in very plain terms. If India does not observe this international procedure, the world would laugh at her. That is why I had, though most reluctantly and with the greatest regret, advised the A.-I. C. C. to ratify the decision of the Working Committee regarding the vivisection of India. I could not have torn the Congress to pieces and made India the laughing-stock of the world!"

As Gandhiji uttered these words, he was full of

deep seriousness. I think history cannot and will not be able to show a more remarkable example of a true democrat. Gandhiji was totally opposed to the idea of division. But he bowed his head to the decision, however wrong it may be, of the Congress which was, after all, an institution of his own creation!

"You do not know, Shriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through!" exclaimed Bapu looking towards me. "Each day hangs heavy on me now!"

Gandhiji paused for a while and then continued in a low voice :

"Delhi today is burning with communal hatred and violence. The Hindus and Sikhs seem to have lost all balance. My appeals to them are of no avail. There was a time when my voice wielded magic with the masses; today it appears to have lost all its power!"

And, then, he said no more. We had been walking for about thirty minutes in the room. I had never intended to take so much of his valuable time. But that day Gandhiji poured out his agony in a tone which was altogether unfamiliar. Exactly at seven, Pandit Nehru entered the room; this was his daily programme. So I hurried to take Bapu's leave and went into the adjoining room.

As I left Birla House that dark night, these words of Bapu continued to ring in my ears :

"You do not know, Shriman, what deep agony my soul is passing through! . . . Each day hangs heavy on me now!!"

I had been in close contact with Gandhiji for the last twelve years. But I had never found Bapu in such a pensive mood. Nevertheless, I could not even dream that the "heavy days" would end so suddenly and soon, only twenty days after my last meeting with Bapu.

Gandhiji was undoubtedly great in life. He is even greater in his death. But the world will remain poorer in his death for a thousand years!

Wardha



MAHATMA GANDHI

A Tribute and an Attempt at Estimate of His Personality and Achievement

By PROF. P. R. DAMLE, M.A.

In this article, I desire to put forward for consideration, on the material provided about Gandhiji's life for an average educated reader of newspapers and published books, my ideas about and analysis of the extraordinary events that constituted the life and career of this great countryman of ours. It is appropriate that we should make a dispassionate and earnest attempt to understand the meaning, significance and worth of the life and achievements of a great Indian whom we had the privilege of having as our contemporary and who has left so deep an impress of his work that the civilized nations of the world know India as 'Gandhi's motherland.' There will be time enough to go into the real meaning, importance and limitations of Gandhiji's work in various fields, but nothing that we may then arrive at is likely to affect the actual experience of each one of us, of the astounding gifts and achievements of the frail little sage of Sabarmati, the half-naked fakir, who shook an empire, and paid the price of his life for his gospel of concord. While I have not hesitated to express myself frankly when, in my opinion, devotion to truth required criticism of Gandhiji's attitude or work, I am sure that it will be agreed that the first title which I have given to this article—namely 'a tribute' is amply borne out by the tone and the content of my analysis and description.

For the purposes of this article, I assume and I am certain I can easily do so, that the main events of Gandhiji's life are known to the readers of this article. I shall therefore proceed to analyse and comment upon the various facets of his many-sided activities and work.

In a very real sense, it could be said that the last few months of his life (and perhaps his earliest days in Africa) and even the manner of his death were a fitting crown, and a true index of the quality of Gandhiji's life. Gandhiji is not the first prophet who has been killed by one of his fellowmen. Humanity has always been intolerant of its best men and continues to be so today. Little did those who conspired to kill him understand that they were but following in the footsteps of all, who in human history, sought to silence the voice of conscience which pricks inconveniently. But even in the months preceding, ever since the tragedies in Noakhali, and the dawn of independence, Gandhi the saint, the real friend of all oppressed, triumphed completely over Gandhi the practical politician—he lived only for his principles and ultimately literally died for them. No man could have had a nobler and a more victorious or a more glorious death. The paeans of praise and tribute showered on Gandhiji after his death are literally unprecedented in history, and although they do not mean that the world or even India, understood Gandhi they prove that Gandhi died in fulfilment of the best he stood for.

Not much argument indeed is needed to show that neither the world in general, nor even his own country India understood or appreciated with sincerity, the great things for which he stood in life. In spite of Gandhiji's gospel of love and non-violence for which every one expressed admiration, the nations of the world were till only a couple of years ago engaged in a mortally violent global conflict, in which more civilian casualties and destruction took place, than ever before in history. Those who use V bombs and atom bombs have indeed no claim either to utter the name of Gandhiji or of their own Saviour, Christ. Nor was India found a loyal or honest believer in Gandhiji's great teaching of mutual understanding and forbearance, nor indeed his teaching of simplicity, or real courage, or purity in life and genuine courtesy.

On the other hand, almost like Hindu incarnations Gandhiji has had the good fortune of receiving tremendous expressed appreciation in his own life-time as well as after his death. No leader in recent Indian history has had a hold over the imagination of millions of his countrymen for so long. For thirty long years, Gandhiji was the undisputed 'dictator' of the biggest political party in the country, and friends and enemies treated him and dealt with him as almost the sole representative of the country. Even Mr. Jinnah acknowledged his supreme place in Hindustan! In this respect Gandhiji's life and career are nearer that of an *avatar* than that of a mere reformer or prophet, though he died the death of a prophet. This departure is due to the fact that Gandhiji combined in himself the role of a patriot, statesman, and rational leader, along with his role of a servant of truth, goodness, and God; to that combination indeed, we owe many of the characteristic features of Gandhiji's life and career—both its excellences and its drawbacks. In what follows, I shall attempt briefly to indicate what these are, and what therefore we as Indians, who have had the privilege to be Gandhiji's contemporaries, should learn from his career. For convenience of treatment let us consider Gandhiji's career in two aspects, first as a patriot or national leader, and then as a man of God. These two aspects are of course intimately interwoven in Gandhiji's person and have had important mutual reactions but it is best first to consider each separately. Without going into details and assuming that everyone present knows of the main events of Gandhiji's political career, I wish in the first instance, to advance for consideration my thesis about it in the following words: Gandhiji was undoubtedly our most powerful national leader, and the designation 'Father of the Nation' which has been spontaneously used about him is truer about him than of any one else. It is undeniable that the awakening which his 'movements' during the last thirty years resulted in, is a very important factor in the achieve

ment of Swaraj. It must also be gratefully acknowledged that owing to his great personal ability and the remarkable character of his methods, the battle for freedom was fought in a more civilized way than might have been otherwise likely. On the other hand, it appears to me that Gandhiji's achievements in this respect, great as they are, compared to those of other national leaders have certain important limitations. These arise because of the fact that Gandhiji had not the temperament nor the gifts to build up a really democratic, awakened, active national consciousness. In that respect, he could not make use of the true, 'liberal' tradition in Politics although he was in personal qualities an admirer and a true follower of the great liberal leader Gokhale. His followers let him down in many important matters. They had (with few and rare exceptions, of course) neither his saintliness, nor his realism; as a result some of his finest and constructive ideas in politics went to waste except as platforms of agitation. In the event, the Swaraj which has come is a truncated and an almost hollow affair and we seem in many ways to be at the beginning rather than at the end of our troubles. Nor should any one forget, as some of Gandhiji's followers tend to do, that Gandhiji's work was led up to and made possible by the work of earlier patriots, like Dadabhai Nowroji, Ranade, Surendranath Banerjee, Tilak, Gokhale and others, and that although not so intense or widespread, their work had a healthy quality which is missed in some of Gandhiji's activities. Again even at its best neither Gandhiji's own work nor all that went before it, was by itself enough to bring even political independence to India but for world events. Our fight for Swaraj was never so intense, nor so widespread, as to justify us saying that by our own unaided efforts we have secured it. Even the proverbial tact and foresight of the Britisher who knows when he is unwelcome, is responsible for the advent of Swaraj in August, 1947. Not for nothing was a 'hustler' Viceroy sent over to transfer power somehow to this country.

The fact that we are so unprepared for Swaraj in every respect must ultimately be laid in part at the door of our leaders, the greatest of whom was Gandhiji. Let me briefly state what I consider to be his limitations in this respect. Temperamentally and by aptitude he was unsuitable (admittedly) for constitutional work, and therefore the systematic education of the public mind in civic and political matters, which alone makes them fit citizens of democracy, he could never give; nor did he find a colleague great enough to do it and supplement his own work of awakening. Secondly, having rightly conceived and vitally initiated elements of a constructive programme which could have well-substituted political by moral education could not help its being neglected and sacrificed and to be used merely as a platform for political agitation. Thirdly, as regards inter-communal understanding and concord which were dear to his heart and for which he

laid down his life, he did not adopt a realistic and constructive attitude, but an idealistic and self-centred approach which at once alienated and pampered recalcitrant elements. As regards the other constructive and vital elements in his programme, there seems to have been a confusion as to the scientific, the practical, and the idealistic approach; and at any rate a connivance at their patent actual denial by those who professed to follow them. Let me briefly explain and try to substantiate these statements.

In my opinion, *khadi* was undoubtedly one of the finest items of Gandhiji's programme. It is the most appropriate symbol of Swadeshi in a country with large textile possibilities, a suitable exhortation to the much needed simplicity, a real connecting link between the rich and the poor and therefore a potent force behind any national movement, political or otherwise. Neither then nor when Congress was in opposition nor now when they are in power do they seem to have appreciated its real place in national regeneration, and although they have often been intolerant of those who do not wear *khadi*, they have not often used it themselves for the right reasons. *Khadi* as a mere party-badge, as a conquering election outfit, is of course far from an ideal thing. It is nothing short of a denial of true *khadi*, even when as sometimes was the case it was not imported from Japan and did not represent huge dishonest profits. One wishes that far from slackening as he occasionally did the conditions re spinning and wearing of *khadi*, Gandhiji should have insisted on the Congress organization being thoroughly 'khadised' in the truest sense of the word. Thus would he have built a real organization of servants of India, simple, active, disciplined and in real contact with the masses of this country in, at least, one important item of daily life.

Neither the problem of untouchability nor obviously that of Hindu Muslim relationship was at all solved during Gandhiji's life-time although everyone knows that he felt very acutely about it and more than once showed willingness to lay down his life for the cause, and ultimately actually did so for Hindu-Muslim unity. The reason, it appears to me, is that his method of approach, useful perhaps, amongst a few devoted followers, was unsuitable as between large masses of ignorant, uneducated people on both sides not able to look much beyond themselves or understand much beyond practical gains and losses. His methods including his fasts, his blank cheques, etc., both irritated and dis-satisfied the party which he sought to please, and silenced but did not convert, the majority party which he desired to teach to be just and even generous. In the hands of some of his followers, the approach sometimes became even definitely disingenuous. They never had the courage to refuse saying 'yes' to him even when they had no faith; they took their revenge by defeating his plans in spirit if not in letter. The last few months of his life and the manner of his death stand as a

great exception to this muddle; then understood or not, he stood for the full truth and made no compromises; as a result I have no doubt that the lessons which he sought so vainly to teach earlier may gradually be learnt by both the parties in a greater measure than before. A very serious additional complication in the situation was of course the presence of the British in the country and the fact that everything consequently had a political complexion. The Minorities inevitably exploited the situation until the British for their own reasons decided to withdraw and leave India to her problems. It must also be admitted that the Congress claim, as voiced by Gandhiji at the Round Table Conference and other occasions, of representing the whole nation certainly alienated and created fear and distrust amongst leaders of minorities. A mind better versed in constitutional proprieties and parliamentary methods from the Congress ranks was sorely needed to supplement Gandhiji's idealistic role; much bad blood might not have been shed and perhaps even the communal award and Pakistan might have been avoided.

Among what I consider to be the drawbacks of Gandhiji's work as a national leader is his failure to give or even make possible a new orientation in our economic outlook. With his blessing and support the radical elements in the country could have prospered, and the timidity and shilly-shallying about fundamental economic aspects of our situation which characterize the activities of our Provincial and Central Governments could have been avoided. Not for nothing do Socialists claim Gandhiji as their friend, he was their friend as he was a revolutionary in his own way and as he too had the same goal in view as they, although his methods were somewhat different.

Actually, whether it was economics or education, or social reform, he had fundamentally sound ideas as to their goal, and as to what is wrong with us in these matters today, but he did not always have a clear idea as to means, and in any case he allowed mere politicians to use these and other platforms for purposes of mere agitation.

If a speculative fancy would help to throw light on the discussion I would say that if Ranade and Gandhi could have worked together, then we would have had perfect results. Both rightly sought to touch all aspects of life and also rightly to associate religion as the foundation and goal of all national activity. But whereas Ranade's approach was rational, Gandhiji's was intuitional or rather emotional. Ranade's work therefore lacked the intensity and practical effects of Gandhiji's work, Gandhiji's work lacked that stability and solidness which make for permanence.

Since we are speculating I shall indulge in one more fancy. This is something on which here in Maharashtra much has been said earlier. What would have happened if Tilak had not passed away in July

1920? Personally, I think, Gandhiji's spontaneous reaction on hearing the news gives a correct lead—he said, 'My greatest bulwark is gone'—I think, that is exactly what happened. Gandhiji and Tilak could not have gone into opposite camps—both knew each other's worth too well. Of course, Gandhiji's movements would have been modified but they would not have been milder. Tilak would have been a real bulwark, at once the limit and support of the torrent that was Gandhi. Neither Tilak's nor Gandhiji's followers realize this properly. The former imagine that Tilak would have opposed Gandhi as some Mahatras did, nothing would be more unjust to Tilak. The latter imagine that Gandhi went further than Tilak could—that too is not correct. In politics, Gandhi did in his way (and at his time) nothing less or more than Tilak did in his own.

The two most brilliant political ideas of Gandhiji were 'Non-co-operation' at the first stage and 'Quit India' in the last stages of his political career. They are not intellectually novel but practically they are original and only a political genius could have conceived or even phrased them. Not only did he conceive of them but he put them into action in the nation, and staggered friends and foes alike by their novelty and force. That a person who made his entry into public life as a staunch co-operator should expound and stake his all for these ideas shows at once the essential unnaturalness of foreign rule and Gandhiji's sincerity of purpose and response to a practical situation, as he understood it from time to time.

I shall now turn to the other aspect of Gandhiji's life and personality—his work as a moral and spiritual leader. He himself considered that to be his real role and all said and done, history, I believe, will ultimately give him a place among men of God, rather than patriotic statesmen. Referring once again to the last months of his life, and death, or if one likes, to the earliest days of his career in South Africa, or even in India, those, I think, represent him at his purest and highest and judged by these alone, his spirituality is nearly flawless. But Gandhiji lived amongst us for eighty years and his public career in India itself extended over 30 years. It is necessary and worthwhile to make a brief review of the whole of his career from the point of view of estimating and recognizing his spiritual worth. Whatever faults and limitations, if any, we may notice are not noticed with a view to detract Gandhiji's greatness which is unquestioned, but with a view to our own clear understanding and the better following of the best in him.

In one sense, Gandhiji himself and his followers (admirers, would be a more correct description) always insisted on the priority of the spiritual in life, public and private. In a famous controversy against Tilak's position that the rule of conduct in public life is to return good for good and evil for evil, Gandhiji is reported to have maintained that he on the other hand would, even in public life, insist on returning 'good

for evil' and that he would rather that India remained unfree than achieve freedom through violence or unrighteousness. I do not think that Gandhiji fully understood what he criticized or differed from; nor on the other hand can it be said that he remained true in letter and spirit to his own avowed method. That in our situation and with our habits and also certainly to a degree, owing to Gandhiji's leadership, political agitation in this country did not result in as great a violence as elsewhere is true; that was also partially due to the fact that the British to whom we were opposed are even as opponents practical-minded and temperate and constitutional and did not do many things to incite violence amongst us. If one compare the British regime to some other possible regime one may appreciate this aspect of the matter although this is not to say that the British acted here as kind or beneficent trustees! Nevertheless, since we are judging these matters not merely by reference to the quantity of overt actions, but by reference to the essential loyalty to principles, I think we shall have to admit that we were neither truthful enough, nor non-violent enough.

The responsibility of this, although directly that of the people of India and other leaders, is also ultimately that of the foremost leader himself. In the vexed correspondence between Gandhiji and first Lord Linlithgow and later Lord Wavell after Gandhiji's release in 1944, is a letter in which Lord Wavell says that as Commander-in-Chief of the Indian army he had occasion to know that war effort was being actively and forcibly disorganized in the name of the Congress, and that Gandhiji was too shrewd a person not to know this. And whether or not we attach much importance to or give full value to Lord Wavell's statement, those of us who lived in this country at all and saw things being done, learnt of the organizations set up for these activities, etc., could not but have felt that the word 'non-violence' was being ridden to death. Actually as many of us know interesting correspondence between some Congressmen passed as to what non-violence may properly cover whether, *e.g.*, the derailing of trains since it does not mean doing direct personal violence is or is not non-violence. At least cutting of telegraph wires and preventing communications was certainly included in the permissible activities. If you ask me as a student of moral philosophy, or even as a commonsense man, I do not need even a second to reply to these queries. The morality of an action depends on its motive and no casuistical arguments can convince me that the cutting of telegraph wires, *e.g.*, is not violent. In fact, as we all know recourse to casuistry is always a sign of lack of hold on the deeper strains of moral existence. I am not here maintaining that politically or practically and even in some sense morally, these acts are not justified. In my opinion, under certain circumstances physical violence is justified, but that would include the efforts of Subhas as well as those

of the organisers of 1942 or similar movements. If Gandhiji meant this, he at least did not make it clear and his professed understanding of non-violence was often inconsistent with the practice of his followers during all the movements since 1921-1942.

Gandhiji's fasts, as we know, constituted an important item of his programme of social and moral uplift. In the hands of most of his followers, it has definitely and admittedly become a coercive and irrational weapon, now rejected as unjustifiable by Congress leaders themselves. In his own case, it must be admitted that they were never entirely unsuccessful, but history will show more and more that neither the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity nor that of the untouchables or any other was permanently served by them; actually they have had undesirable repercussions in the long run. For as it happened, they coerced both parties, they compelled the majority party—for fear of Gandhiji's death—to accept things they did not mean to and therefore ultimately defeated and gave concessions to the minorities which were extravagant but not generous, for they too were under a pressure. Perhaps Gandhiji did not realize that neither of the parties loved him enough to justify his fasting on their behalf, and to persuade them; the fact of the matter is that such hasty persuasion is always dangerous. My own personal opinion is that consciously or unconsciously Gandhiji allowed the purely private spiritual thing, which is the penance of fast, to become a means of social ends, as a result it lost its spiritual value, and as a practical method it had serious drawbacks. It in effect neither converted, nor permanently brought about practical change.

One of the finest things in Gandhiji's life and routine and what is at all times the noblest thing about man, his prayers too were spoilt by being made prayer-meetings..

A prayer is an essentially personal thing between man and his Maker, and although community prayers in a church, temple or *ashram* are desirable, among large masses of people used to attend public meetings they are wasted as prayers, and to use them as instruments of anything else is to impair them as prayers. Here too, I make exception of the last few months of Gandhiji's life, where leaving all else behind, he preached the one gospel he stood for and as fate would have it, literally died in doing so; but one cannot help feeling that even there was less of that kindly defence, and attempted justification of the ways and methods of his eminent followers in charge of administration. He had best to have left them alone.

In view of all this, the claim made on Gandhiji's behalf (of course, never by him) that he successfully achieved in the social and national field what Christ and Buddha did in the individual field and suggesting (the writer himself has heard this from eminent Congressmen) that he was greater than these or such, is misconceived. Almost without exception, the attempt

to combine the spiritual with socio-political ended in an impairing of the former (and sometimes also of the latter). Even theoretically it is clear that saintliness and diplomacy (needed for success in social and national affairs) cannot be combined and the attempt to do so does not mean Saintliness *plus* Diplomacy but Saintliness *minus* Diplomacy. Personally, I believe that both the urgent call of the nation and his own temperamental shrewdness resulted in Gandhiji's seeking to apply his principles in practical matters as he did, and I for one do feel that if this country was able to spare its Gandhiji from politics, or if he had been able to subordinate politics completely and always to his saintliness, his achievement would have been flawless.

I have not the least doubt that in personal life, Gandhiji was as all that those who came in contact with him at all found—and as even others can imagine from his utterances and actions—that he must have been a most charming and captivating personality. The simplicity and discipline of his life, his sense of humour, his habit of making every one feel at his ease in his presence, his superb courtesy, his ceaseless industry, each one of these were mighty instruments of fashioning a rare personality, at once sweet and compelling, and those of us and these are most, who have no pretensions to public life should cultivate these virtues of character, habit and manner and if we do so we shall find we are much happier and much more useful and welcome everywhere.

I shall close with one remarkable aspect of Gandhiji's personality, his remarkable powers of expression without being in any sense a scholar. These, and in fact all his powers may be traced back largely to the singleness of aim and to his hitching or at least seeking to hitch his all to a single lode-star. He had, what few people have or try to have, a well-understood plan of life, and judged and accepted everything in terms of that—if not always in action, at least in desire; as a result he had with him ready at his command a finished weapon with which to deal with, and master all situations in life in all provinces of experience. Even when he was talking of matters of which he had little actual knowledge he was often wiser about it than many who knew more about it. I have in mind at this moment the impression which his statements and his utterances, even when one disagreed with them, made by their weight, terseness and lucidity. These qualities came ultimately to his utterance from his personality and point of view. No man with conviction can fail to find adequate utterance, and no man without it can ever make himself effective. That is the simple truth of the situation.

Briefly then, I do not think that Gandhiji's actual life taken as a whole, could be taken as a flawless instance of spirituality such as that of a *God-like* man or a *Jivan-Mukta*. I feel he lacked both the total absence of ego and that perfect vision which characterize such emancipated individuals. Nor were his

circumstances, namely his connexion with Indian politics, and Indian people in any sense an unmixed blessing in this respect. Nevertheless, judged by all ordinary standards of spirituality and idealism and in spite of his handicaps he made a magnificent effort at self-conquest which certainly came very near success by human standards and he did at moments and during short periods even reach the goal and lied at a time when he appeared to have definitely settled on the summits.

My conclusion as to Gandhiji's spirituality and piety therefore is that while his achievements here too were great he lacked real heaven-born gifts or aptitude for it and also that his participation in Indian politics harmed its purity. That, in spite of these handicaps, he manfully struggled against his own inadequacies and those of his environment and triumphed over them in a great measure, constitutes his greatness and his lesson for all of us who had the privilege to live with him as his countrymen. No one was more conscious of his imperfections than Gandhiji and when you and I mention them, we do not do so in comparison with ourselves, but with the ideal, with what Gandhiji himself might have been but for his handicaps. One of these was the birth in a country and among people so backward, so undeveloped, so insincere, and so slothful as we are.

Lest what I have stated above seem too strange and unorthodox for serious consideration let me quote a few lines from the present Governor-General of India Mr. C. Rajagopalachari in his contribution to the reminiscences of the late Lokamanya Tilak in 1922 :

"I always felt that Lokamanya and Mahatmaji were strange contradictions of their respective philosophies While Mahatmaji's gospel is peace and the abolition of all wars and armed rebellions, his own nature is essentially of the military type. . . . So, also, I venture to say about diplomacy that Mahatma Gandhi is fitted by nature to practise and does indeed practise the highest arts of diplomacy and tact. . . . In spite of his insistent worship of Truth, he (Mahatmaji) is ever ready to yield to the dictates of true Expediency."

I would now like to deal with the subject from another angle so as to make my position clearer and also to suggest what I consider to be important practical uses of such studies. Let me begin with Gandhiji's critics. None but the God-head is perfect, and in a sense, it is the duty of every one of us, however humble, to recognise a mistake whoever happens to commit it. Dealing as Gandhiji dealt with national life in many of its aspects, and with moral life, the questions which he raised and answered were of vital importance to his countrymen and so many others. It was not wrong therefore for any of them to have their own opinion, to express them or even to work for them actively. It is to be sincerely wished that both within and outside the Congress organization there had arisen during the last thirty years, person or

persons having the stuff, sincerity and ability to supplement and truly criticize Gandhiji's work. We would have made more genuine progress in several ways if that had happened, and it was Gandhiji's misfortune that not one man of his calibre, with the possible exception of Subhas and Jinnah existed during all his time really to help him and share his burden. To an extent of course, Gandhiji's methods are responsible for that. Saint as he was, he was not a democrat, and he could not nurse others to be his equals although he was kind to them. But in any case there was not even a single person who had his stuff and could be his equal—in fact latterly he had become almost a superman stalking the world of smaller mortals who could follow and obey or run away but could not either effectively resist or co-operate with him as colleagues.

Gandhiji therefore had, in a sense, no critics. Some of the liberal leaders come nearest to be considered as serious critics but the liberal party as a whole during Gandhiji's era proved itself incapable of making sacrifices or taking any trouble at all, and no armchair expressions of opinion have value either in politics or in morality. British and foreign critics of Gandhiji were often enemies rather than critics and sometimes they were just indifferent. They both could not and would not understand him and his actions, till at the end of his long career, when the Indian political problem was in its last stages, people all over the world came to realize and acknowledge both Gandhiji's power as a national leader and his significance for world-peace. If European nations had minds not so closed, nor so self-absorbed, they might have been able to utilize Gandhiji's personality to help the cause of world concord and world peace, but just as they have denied their own Saviour during all these centuries, so they refused to listen to or even treat seriously this visionary Indian. Of course, there were a few exceptions to this but these were not representative of the common man in the West and were therefore ineffective.

Let us turn to some other 'so-called' critics. They are the men and the journals who during the last many years not only showed great bitterness, but did all they could to create dislike and contempt for Gandhiji. They did it for the simple reason that they were small men and had not the strength or sincerity to be bonafide critics. These activities ultimately ended in the fatal act of shooting Gandhiji by one or more thoughtless persons who had, to say the least, lost all sense of proportion. Actually, such vilification of any one arises both out of stupidity and meanness. It can never harm the person concerned. Gandhiji's death, as for example, has definitely made up any deficiencies in Idealism which were present in his life, and those who sought to do away with him have made his place in history surer than it might have been. That some of his own countrymen should have, because of their differences from him, come to look upon him,

whom millions considered as the Father of the Nation, as an enemy of the nation is so strange that had it not actually been the case it could not be believed. Negative and destructive attitude is always suicidal and can never make any one achieve anything and when it is directed towards a person, who, whatever his limitations, was incorruptible and devoted all his time and energy to the cause of his people, it becomes fantastic, absurd and contemptible. Not for the first time, of course, has humanity so treated its best men. Gandhiji has only followed in the wake of Socrates and Christ.

Let me now turn to Gandhiji's followers. That his critics and others should not understand him and know his real worth is intelligible, but facts show that the vast majority of those who professed to follow him did not understand the best in him, nor did they sincerely follow what they understood. I have already referred above to the neglect and misuse of Gandhiji's constructive programme. That really covers all but I shall try to put it in another way. As one looks round oneself and surveys the administration of the provinces and the centre by professed followers of Gandhiji—almost without opposition and having the whole field to themselves, and authority and discretion to do with what they believe in, one is shocked at the appalling waste (in addition to corruption) of public money and time. It is certainly intriguing to have to be told by India's Prime Minister in moving the grant for the Governor-General's expenses which run into lacs that the Governor-General is the simplest of individuals. I am quite certain that Gandhiji could have managed without detriment to efficiency to cut the item to about one-tenth or some such proportion. People have laughed at many of Gandhiji's ideas before and they may be doing so still but I personally feel that his insistence that no salaries in this country at present should exceed Rs. 500/- per month has more sense than most people imagine. In all their arrangements, whether it is special posts being created by Provincial or Central Governments, or on our many embassies or other places, our Governments are paying salaries which this country cannot afford, and that is a conclusive argument as also is the fact that as the avowed followers of the great worshipper of *Daidra Narayan* it is their bounden duty and should be their privilege and pleasure to try and live up to his ideas. Simplicity was probably the most fundamental of them, as well understood it leads to all other excellences. Not for nothing have wise men talked of *plain living and high thinking*, it is very difficult to spare time or energy for the latter if we are not scrupulously careful of the former. Besides, we are admittedly a poor nation, and common sense and prudence and common sense of responsibility even apart from high idealism should make us follow rigorous simplicity. The responsibility on the members of the present Indian Governments as at once popular leaders and administrators to set an example in this matter

is great. Examples and not precepts are at any time really convincing.

Gandhiji stood for truth—honesty, if he stood for anything at all. I do not think to put it mildly that honesty and straightforwardness and real impartiality can be said to be at premium today. Whether you ask Government servants or members of the public at large you will not find two opinions about the matter. True, there are difficulties, and that people lack training, but there should at least be evidence of a change of outlook among the leaders and those in charge. I am afraid we cannot say that it is there. Remember also, that only yesterday we were being told that India is fit for Swaraj and that the efforts of the Congress have made it so. When, so soon after, we are told that things are bad with us because we are really worthless, it is difficult to avoid the impression that this is an excuse and an apology and not an explanation!

We could go on endlessly like this—I shall however close this part of the subject by referring to two matters. Every one knows that in his last testament and will, Gandhiji had desired that the Congress as a political organization should be dissolved. Not even Pandit Nehru who is admittedly one of Gandhiji's sincerest followers seems to have understood the significance of that testament or to make any attempt to work in the direction. The Congress under Gandhiji and earlier had a definite political objective, which has now been achieved. On the other hand, it was also a reformist and revolutionary organization of social service in the widest sense. Gandhiji desired that it should continue as the latter—even if as would happen its membership dwindled considerably, leaving the Government of the country to newly formed parties on a democratic basis with different programmes and ideas of national reconstruction. That indeed is the real fulfilment of the Congress, and therein, and not in Premierships or Governor and Governor-Generals, lie real honour and service for persons who profess to follow Gandhiji. The Congress will find that the result of neglecting this aspect of the situation is fatal to them even practically. They will not for long be able to withstand the opposition they are helping to grow. On the other hand, if they dissolve themselves as a political party and continue to do in all seriousness the revolutionary work of social reform in the widest sense, then the prestige of the Congress will grow and Congressmen will be loved and respected more than they ever can be as Governors and Governors-General and Prime Ministers.

Gandhiji's death seems to have created a repulsion against communal conflicts in the minds of people and he seems to have at least partially achieved by his death what he could not in his life. But the attitude towards this problem is still largely negative, and it is not right to imagine that the problem of minorities has already been well-solved yet. We shall have to learn much more tolerance and impartiality and fair-

mindedness than we yet have. In this task sincere Congressmen could help best if only they are not also the Government. When one thinks of this matter sincerely one feels convinced that so long as we do not learn of this *inside* the country it is no use only talking about the high and noble role which India has to play either in Asia or in the world generally. We are neither strong enough, nor good enough, to mention such ambitious projects.

The memorial fund being collected in Gandhiji's name has to, say the least been badly managed. In the first place, it was never realized that the greatness of the fund did not depend on its bulk but in its universal contribution. I would have kept even one pice or pie as the subscription and it would have been more fitting to Gandhiji's memory if every single man and woman in this country had contributed a pice or a pice and the proceeds had amounted only to some lacs. I would also have put a majority of non-Congress Indians in charge both of collection and distribution of the memorial fund, for Gandhiji was a national and not a party leader. And finally as a Congressman I should have felt it my duty at least to work actively for the collection. In my opinion in none of these respects have Congressmen acquitted themselves well. As a result the memorial fund of a person who started no fund which was not over-subscribed, is brought down to one-tenth or less of the original target, and yet there is considerable uncertainty of reaching even the lower target, during times when the entire charge of administration and the places of influence and power are in the hands of people who owe their all to him. Here too they would succeed better if they are also not the Government of the country.

I am writing this on Gandhiji's birthday (October 2, 1948) and many of us who are connected with educational institutions have read the circular in which we are advised or exhorted by the Department of Public Instruction to celebrate Gandhiji's Jayanti in one or other ways mentioned. I could not imagine a worse method of achieving the object in view, namely paying homage to Gandhiji. Gandhiji is described as the Father of the Nation, he is not the constitutional head of the Government, the king of earlier days, whose birthday or coronation could well be celebrated through official channels and ways. It would have been more appropriate and more useful to have left the whole thing to the spontaneous reactions of the public. Government circulars have, as Congressmen should know, a nasty habit of producing exactly contrary response. On the other hand whether Congressmen know it or not Gandhiji's place in the hearts of Indians is so unquestioned and unique that left to themselves, with a general exhortation to pay each in his or her way homage to Gandhiji's memory, people would have responded very sincerely. The Congress as a party of course could have a regular programme of their own and be active about it, but Congress

as Government should have left the thing entirely to people's natural sentiment. Here too, the dissolution of the Congress as a political organization would have been more effective.

I am not pleading for the acceptance of any other actual political party in the country. None which could take over administration appears to exist today although there are anticipations of some and I do not think that there is any need to expect a 'deluge' if Congress ceases to rule! My remarks are induced merely by the desire to anticipate what would be best for Congress to do and therefore for the country also in view of its being the most important representatives of Gandhiji's principles and programmes. In assessing and apportioning the blame for the final

result, that this nation has not been able to benefit more from the life and work of Gandhiji, one cannot absolve the large majority of educated Indians. On the whole they remained indifferent and avoided the effort to understand the extraordinary events of which Gandhiji was the author or main agent. Consequently the excellences of his work were not utilised as they should have been, the limitations not appreciated and amended in time. It is to be hoped that now at last when he is no more, followers and critics, and all the others who remained comparatively indifferent will come together in all humility and with a real desire to understand the principles and methods of Gandhiji and appreciate their precise significance for this country and the world at large.

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FOREIGN EXCHANGE BANKING IN INDIA

By PRINCIPAL B. S. AUDHOLIA, M.A., M.COM.

FUNDAMENTAL OBSERVATIONS

THE multi-sided history of economic penetration in India deserved and still deserves our serious attention at all times and at all stages of our struggle for achieving economic independence. We know the thing rather too well that India was laid under a ceaseless economic onslaught ever since the advent of the British East India Company. As a matter of fact, the whole of our economic life was kept under a systematically planned attack by the alien rulers. In the domain of foreign exchange banking, the foreign bankers were allowed a free entry and an unfettered expansion. The result was that they soon rose to power. The indigenous bankers* that handled the foreign business were completely wiped out in no time. Soon after the unlimited co-partnership banks (Anglo-Indian Banks) that were started between 1829 and 1845 to handle this business were also outdistanced and outstripped. Thus the foreign exchange business became a monopoly of foreign bankers. This monopoly they still enjoy although attempts have recently been made by the Indian banks to take an increasing share in this business. In a nutshell, therefore, their monopoly is not substantially broken. The oft-repeated resentment of the Indian Merchants Chambers, the opposition of the nationalists, the efforts of the Indian banks and the counsels of the Reserve Bank have all proved powerless to improve the situation. The organised opposition of the Bombay and the Calcutta Exchange Banks' Associations has remained too much for them to break through. Thus the enormous profits that arise out of our foreign trade continue to be drained away by these foreign agents. It is in this light that I strongly oppose their existence and call them as a strong garrison stationed in our country to guard others and to loot us.

FOREIGN TRADE, THE BASE OF EXCHANGE BUSINESS

The foreign exchange business arises mostly out of the requirements of a country's foreign trade. The aggregate value of India's foreign trade has been normally high. It is true that there have been some occasional set-backs. But their extent has never been so great as to seriously jeopardise the importance of her foreign trade which forms a weighty consideration for her economic life. Even during the stress of the war when Exchange controls and import restrictions became necessary, her foreign trade did not record any distressing effects. With the loss of European and Far Eastern markets she had built up valuable trade connections with Russia and non-empire countries notably Iran, Iraq and Egypt. The future prospects of this trade as also our trade with the East African colonies and the Middle East are very bright. They will provide fruitful opportunities for Indian banks to finance this trade. But will these opportunities be got?

The situation calls for a necessary and a positive answer. As pointed out above, the Indian banks did not and do not have much share in the Exchange finance. And their greatest impediment was the government support of foreign banks that, with their commanding resources, ever remained powerful to challenge any attempts to disturb their monopolistic position. During the war that has just concluded great quantities of goods were sent out by the U.K.C.C. and the British Supply Mission. India was made one of the major supply bases for the United Nations. Persia, Turkey, Syria, Palestine and Russia all in turn had got huge shipments of goods from India. The total value of these consignments was tremendously high and so must have been the profits that resulted from financing such trade. But these profits from trade as also from finance were reaped by the foreign agents. Normally however, the profits that result from trade are shared by the Indians but not so the profits from exchange finance with which we are concerned in the present article.

* Until 1796, the governments of the provinces always entered into contracts with the indigenous bankers for securing funds in the different centres to finance foreign business (*vide* Government Manuscript Records, Imperial Record Office, the 7th January, 1800. No. 47).

THE MECHANISM OF EXCHANGE FINANCE

This brings us to the consideration of the many ways in which foreign bills are drawn and negotiated. Roughly speaking these can be arranged under four heads : **

- (1) Imports and exports,
- (2) Gold and silver,
- (3) Invisible trade,
- (4) Capital movements.

The exchange bank is the product of the modern system of international organisation. Therefore, it follows that when goods, bullion, services and capital movements take place between different countries its services become essential. Its profits are thus the result of the services that it renders and they arise out of the purchase and sale of the rights to foreign currency. This is done principally through the bills and the letters of credit. The whole thing is arranged under various 'Kinds of Exchanges' that vary according to the urgency for purchase and sale of different currencies.

The import bills are of two kinds: (a) with documents against acceptance, and (b) with documents against payment. They may also be classed as (i) bills against credits and (ii) bills for collection. In India, the imports are usually financed either through (i) 60 days sight D.P. drafts drawn on the Indian importers or (ii) London Banks' acceptance of house paper. In the first case the D. P. drafts are collected by the Exchange Banks from the importers or their representatives. In the second case, the London exporter draws a bill on the London office of a foreign bank which accepts the bill. Thus the drawer is enabled to discount it in the London Money Market. The accepting bank sends the relative documents to its branch in India for collection of the proceeds from the foreign office of the exporting firm and thus a remittance is arranged to London on or before the maturity of the bill. Both kinds of bills or instruments are drawn in sterling. In the first case interest is payable at 6 per cent from the date of the bill to the date of the arrival of funds in London. In the second case, the bill is dishonoured at a lower rate in the London Money Market, and thus the merchants who can arrange their acceptance in London gain thereby.

For exports generally the Indian exporter draws three months sight D.A. or D.P. drafts. Such drafts are always purchased by the Exchange banks who get advice to this effect either from their head offices or high financial houses with which the foreign importer of the Indian produce has opened credits. The exchange banks send such bills to London which when accepted by the London Banks or finance houses are easily discounted in the open market. Thus the exchange banks receive back in sterling the equivalent of their rupee payments in India. The drafts may sometime be

sent to exchange banks for collection by the exporters. In this case the exporters have to wait for money till the bills attain maturity. The exchange banks even when they have purchased the bills, may also hold them till maturity under conditions when trade is not brisk.

The bulk of the foreign exchange finance is done through bills in sterling. Formerly, before the war, drafts from and to Japan were in yen. Bills connected with China are drawn in rupees. Usually, however, India does not maintain direct rate connections with other foreign centres for which a demand is now incessantly made. We now hope that such direct relations will soon be established on stable footing to foster our foreign exchange business.

DISCRIMINATORY TACTICS

In the mechanism of finance discussed above two things are specially noteworthy. First, the bulk of our trade, both imports and exports, is financed by means of sterling bills and secondly in the finance of import trade D.P. and not D.A. bills are commonly used.

These things have rightly been found unsatisfactory. Surely, if our import trade is financed by D.P. bills, much benefit can be had by rupee bills. For the export trade the Indian exporter no doubt gets an advantage by means of sterling bills because drawing bills in London so long as credit can be opened obviously gives him an access to the London Money Market. But in the case of import trade this does not happen. A very small part of the bills gets an advantage of the London market as they are not D.A. but D.P. *Thus the Indian importer has to pay the interest at the rate of 6 per cent which might still go up in case the Bank of England Rate exceeds 5 per cent on all such 60 days sight D.P. Drafts.* Thus it is clear that the rate paid by the Indian importer does not depend upon the open London Market rate of discount. In fact, import bills hardly play much part in the London Discount Market, and thus the process was never so cheap as was supposed. Therefore, rupee bills would have been to India's advantage. The Exchange Banks' representatives remained always opposed to the rupee import bills. Sometimes they laboured hard to give weight to their arguments by suggesting D.A. bills in place of D.P. bills. But even then it is desirable to have the rupee bills for they will help the development of our bill market. The contention of the exchange banks that these bills are in small amounts and are of no use for a discount market can not be accepted. Mr. Sircar rightly points out :

"If the Exchange Banks can lend as much as 30 crores to Indians on their local advances against import bills, in spite of the bills being in small amounts, surely, a discount market could do the same and if it wanted to borrow on them, it might rediscount them in parcels to make up sufficiently large amounts. It is not, therefore, the size of the bills which stood in the way of creation of a discount market in India, but the reluctance of the banks to part with the profit of the business."

** Sometimes exchange banks also indulge in pure exchange speculations. For our purposes, however, they are not important, for they depend on wide conjectures for happy hits.

Thus it is clear that the Indian Money Market suffers from the lack of an internal bill and rediscount market mostly due to the existence of the immigrant banks. And this has been one of the greatest defects of the Indian credit organisation.

But this is not all. In their business operations these immigrant banks have managed to function on a most unsatisfactory and discriminatory system. In a word these banks have not been of much use and advantage to Indian trade and business. It would be interesting to note the grievances of the Indian traders that have been voiced through their representative organisations from time to time. These are :

(1) The Indian importers, as pointed out before, are compelled to do business only on D.P. terms.

(2) In order to get a confirmed letter of credit opened, even first class Indian importing firms have to make a deposit of 10 to 15 per cent of the value of goods with the exchange banks, while European houses in Calcutta are not required to make such deposits.

(3) Satisfactory bank references are not supplied by the Exchange banks to overseas merchants, though in the case of foreign merchants with considerably lower resources, the banks of foreign countries supply very good references.

(4) The Indian merchants have no opportunity of knowing under what rules the members of the Exchange Banks' Association work and that they are not consulted with regard to alterations made therein from time to time.

(5) The Exchange Banks charge penalty for the late completion of exchange contracts. The penalty is high and is capable of reduction.

(6) When a foreign exporter draws a bill on an Indian importer and the draft is with an exchange bank for collection the Indian importer has to pay in rupees at the bank's selling rate for demand drafts and he is not allowed to pay it either by the demand drafts of another exchange bank which may be had at more favourable rates or by his own cheque on his London agent.

(7) The exchange banks discriminate between Indian and foreign insurance companies and they are forcing Indian exporters to insure their goods with foreign insurance companies. As a result of this attitude of the banks India has been paying annually insurance premium to the extent of nearly Rs. 2 to 3 crores.

(8) When a draft comes to an Indian importer through an exchange bank the former merely gets an informal note asking him to go to bank and examine the documents although in the case of some European firms the facility of sending the documents to their officers is allowed. The reason given by the Exchange banks is that the party is not available. But it may be true only in the case of some small merchants. It can not be thought in the case of big Indian merchants, for example those in Clive Street, Calcutta or the Fort Bombay.

(9) Although the exchange banks enormously profit by our foreign trade yet they do not employ Indians and do not make any provision for their training. Not a single Indian has been appointed in the superior grade of their service. It can hardly be accepted that these banks could not find a single Indian competent to hold a superior post in their business.

Thus it should be known that of the enormous profits that these banks make, a substantial portion is due to a policy of racial discrimination between Indian and non-Indian firms.

STATISTICAL CONCLUSIONS

Below are given two tables which reveal the position of the foreign exchange banks as regards their deposits and the advances which they make in India.

TABLE A

From a consolidated Balance Sheet of foreign banks (Pre-war analysis)

	crores
1. Total deposits (Indian and non-Indian)	63
(a) Indian deposits—39 crores	
(b) Non-Indian „ —27 crores	
2. Deposits with British Banks	57
3. Deposits with Non-British Banks	9
4. British Banks' advances in India	37
5. Non-British Banks' advances in India	9

TABLE B

Increase in deposits of different classes of banks (from 1938 to 1944-45)

	1938	1941	1944-45
Imperial Bank	8151	10892	22459
Exchange Banks	6720	10672	14019
Other Scheduled Banks	9187	12904	19965
Non-scheduled Banks	1494	2005	4342

Of the increase in deposits the percentages up to 1941 are worked out as given below :

Exchange Banks	59
Imperial Bank	34
Other Scheduled Banks	40
Non-scheduled Banks	34

The co-operative banks recorded an increase only to the extent of 8 to 9 per cent.

Now the conclusions from these tables are obvious. Clearly the foreign exchange banks have established a 'foreign money trust' and 'an insidious system of economic penetration' into the interior of the country. These banks have been doubly fortunate. They inflicted severe blows on our economic and banking structure with our own resources. This is the tale amply told by the tables given above. Even the Indian deposits of these banks (as shown in table A) are not advanced in India or utilised in India's securities. Table B shows about their great penetration and influence. The percentage increase of their deposits during the first four years of the war has left behind all other classes of banks. And this is a situation for great caution for future for huge amounts were drained away which should have necessarily fallen to the lot of our nation. Is it not, therefore, a sad thing for us to observe that these immigrant banks should enjoy

their prosperity mainly through our resources? Surely, the Indian banking structure is being robbed of its legitimate strength by the presence of this monopolistic gang.

BUT WHAT IS THE WAY OUT? THE QUESTIONS CONSIDERED

This question has been often considered. The lines of discussion had centered round two points:

- (a) That an Indian Exchange Bank is needed and
- (b) That some restrictions be imposed on the working of the foreign banks.

It is undoubtedly true that we require a powerful Indian Exchange Bank. But is the atmosphere congenial to bring it up? Surely the suggestions, schemes and discussions in this respect have only been our pious hopes so far. The path is not clean and clear. The opposition is too strong. The other day we heard of a resolution passed by both the Bombay and Calcutta Exchange Banks' Associations that 'no member should part with any portion of the commission and that there should be no rebates or repayments to the Indian banks and the agreements should be terminated.' The Indian banks as observed earlier do not have direct agency arrangements with New York. Therefore, those Indian banks that were authorised to deal in exchange business had gone through commission arrangements with the Exchange banks. The above-quoted resolution is a sequence of these arrangements and it clearly records a strong disapproval of any such agreements from the Exchange Banks' representative bodies. Furthermore it also gives us the hint that the foreign banks mean to continue their monopoly in future. In fact, their whole history is an expression of this mischievous policy.

Nearly seventeen years ago these foreign exchange banks and the foreign experts attached to the Banking Inquiry Committee came out with a similar opinion in the foregoing words:

"The present facilities of exchange finance are adequate. Since it is unsound, unthinkable and inconceivable to apprehend the withdrawal of the Exchange Banks, they (foreign experts) do not see much use from the establishment of an Indian Exchange Bank much less with any kind of state support and patronage."*

As such it is clear that the Exchange banks resent restrictions and also the establishment of an Indian Exchange Bank. And this is natural for them. But we have to meet them on their own premises and do what is natural for us. At any rate we have to take out the sting in them. An Indian Exchange Bank is our urgent need and we must establish it. But before its initiation the way for its development should be made smooth and clear.

BUT HOW TO DO IT?

Suggestions to impose restrictions on the work of the foreign banks had undoubtedly a time and a place. At present however, they seem to me wholly inopportune. The disease is strong and deep. Mere res-

trictions will not now do. For post-war developments we want to rid our banking organisation from all such evil effects. All banking facilities must primarily rest in our hands and to achieve this objective in this sphere of banking we will have to plan forthwith with a strong hand and with stringent measures. I aim at the complete liquidation of all immigrant banks. None need startle over my proposal, for I sincerely believe that is worth attempting. India, as we know, has huge sterling balances to the extent of Rs. 11,35,32,89,000 to her credit. Much headache has been and is being caused over their utilisation. India, U. K. and the world monetary conferences have all discussed and come out with numerous suggestions. Thus the knotty problem has had for it both knotty and nagging solutions. I, for one, will propose a simpler method and it is that these balances should be utilised in taking over the assets of foreign banks under a well-planned scheme of the Government. The assets so acquired should be nationalised and a State-patronised Indian Exchange Bank be started. The details of this bank may be worked out by appointing committee of experts. The views of the Indian industrialists' delegation need not here disturb us. For, I believe that is the best use for our sterling balances. It frees us from the complicated considerations of exchanges and the capacities of the Industrial countries to supply us with capital goods. In short it sets at naught all speculative and uncertain resources. Moreover, since most foreign banks are British-owned, the process of purchasing over the assets will not be circuitous and complicated. Again, the national government which we have now installed is definitely out to kill all vested interests. It will, therefore, be in the fitness to clear policy to fully strike at the root of this loot which is prevalent in the sphere of our foreign exchange business. I wish that our national government should take fullest consideration of this aspect of our national life at the time when they might conclude the Indo-British treaty with which the air is so thick at present.

The suggestions which I would like to make are therefore, given below:

(1) Complete liquidation of all foreign banks. A plan should be chalked out. The liquidation need not be sudden, it may be spread over a period of five years.

(2) Immediate setting up of a State-patronised Indian Exchange Bank. The other Indian banks under a license to be granted only after the fulfilment of certain conditions should be permitted to handle foreign business in close co-operation with the Indian Exchange Bank.

(3) Any encroachments on this business from foreign countries should be banned under law for at least a period of fifteen years. After that the law may be relaxed and the foreign banks might be permitted to open their offices under restrictions similar to those as are generally imposed in other countries.

* See Annexure A, page 571.

APPLICATION OF SCIENCE IN FREE INDIA FOR SOCIAL WELFARE

By DR. H. K. MITRA, M.Sc. (Cal.), Ph.D. (Pitt.), M.A.M.I.Cer.E., M.M.G.M.I.

I do not quite like the limitation implied by the title of discussion "Application of Science in Free India for Social Welfare" and the angles from which it has been suggested to be discussed. Promotion of social welfare in free India through the avenue of industrialisation demands that a more honoured place has to be assigned to the industry I have the privilege of being associated with, for, Refractories Industry has aptly been called the industry at the back of all industries.

In the first place, this problem is not a problem of free India alone, but is a problem of problems for every country in the face of the earth—for the entire human race. As a matter of fact, on the last analysis it would be found that failure to find a solution has suddenly confronted us with a new problem. This problem is the problem of the very existence of the human race in the new age that has been ushered in by the scientists and which has been variously described as the Age of Atom Bomb or the Age of Nuclear Energy. Tinkering of the problem piecemeal or countrywise, therefore, would be of very little avail.

In the second place, the angles of approach to the problem seem to emphasise application of science mostly in the industrial and allied fields. It is this tendency to narrow down science in the process of application, that has made promotion of social welfare difficult, if not wellnigh impossible. A fundamental discovery in science brings in its trail a long set of demands. It shakes at times our long-cherished religious beliefs. It demands re-orientation of our economic system. It tends to crack the foundation of our political order. It dictates to us to come out of antiquated social orders and so forth. We should not therefore be bogged down to consideration of application of science to what at first sight may seem to be its obvious field of application, *viz.*, the industries; though here again it is heart-rending to find the neglect of science in their day to day operations.

The promotion of social welfare by application of science, therefore, must take into account this wider perspective—about which I mentioned a moment ago—whether looked at by a votary of fundamental sciences or the so-called applied scientist whose lot it is to utilise some of the known facts of science in running an industry, or help grow more food, or promote better health. Without this all-out approach, social welfare by application of science will remain a utopian dream.

In the history of march of science, a few facts emerge :

(1) Between a scientific discovery and its application there is a long gap. Between Watt's watching

of the boiling kettle and the application of steam for locomotion to drive the wheels of industry there was a long gap. Between the discovery of Electricity and the advent of what is known as the age of Electricity there has been a still longer interval.

(2) The scientist, as a rule, has been content to make his discoveries but has not concerned himself much with the possibilities of its application of the implications of such applications.

(3) This apathy on the part of the scientist has resulted in the application of science being left in other hands. The actions of these latter have, not as a rule, been motivated by a conscious desire for promotion of social welfare, *i.e.*, welfare of the human community at large. On the other hand, the pattern for application has been designed for providing enormous luxuries for a few and not enough of the essentials for the many. If a comparatively large number has progressively been the beneficiary of a discovery, it is because this pattern could not help it to be otherwise. In this so-called Scientific Age, when technical triumphs of science are loudly advertised, what has just been stated might sound as rank heresy. But facts of history cannot be changed by merely wishing them to be otherwise. The steam age helped the agricultural land-lords to turn Industrial Barons. True, a few more individuals got some more clothings or shoes or this and that necessities of life but it also raised a new monster—the 'slums' with its attendant evils. The Age of Electricity has not meant less drudgery for the worker, though for the lucky few it has brought in endless electrical gadgets to amuse themselves with.

(4) And finally, the age of Nuclear Energy was heralded with emphasis on its destructive possibilities. Here is one exception where between a discovery and its application, the interval was negligible. At the risk of being dubbed a cynic, one may well ask, was the interval shortened as the intended application was more heinous, more diabolical and more brutal than previously known?

Turn to whatever field of human activity you may, this pattern of application will stare you in the face. Probably nowhere is this more glaring than in the domain of economics. Nowhere has the failure to harness logic of science been more responsible for bringing in unhappiness and misery.

Take an instance within living memory : In the early thirties of the present century there was a worldwide depression, with consequent mass unemployment. The warehouses were full of food and other daily necessities of life. Yet men stood on bread line while coffee was burned in boiler and a Chicago merchant staged an egg-breaking contest. The highest

prize went to the man who broke the largest number of eggs. Overproduction was diagnosed as the malady. All sorts of crazy remedies like the above were suggested and people who were rendered penniless were advised to eat more food, buy more goods, etc.

In less than two decades afterwards we are told now to eat less, buy less and the new slogan is 'produce or perish.'

While in production methods science can legitimately take pride in its triumph, in the field of distribution of the benefits of production there has been little use made of its dictates. The result has been that impression has gained ground that science is a force for the evil and the scientist is the evil genius behind it.

Can the scientist be altogether exonerated of this charge? By his apathy or passivity he has been instrumental in allowing not only the denial of the fruits of his discoveries to a majority of the people, but in bringing in positive miseries for them. This misery may be unemployment or insecurity of their very lives, hearths and homes, as has been amply demonstrated in the case of what happened in the two Japanese cities in the last World War.

The need for a more positive, if aggressive role by the scientist is overdue, if any scheme for social welfare by application of science is to become a reality. Pursuit of science for the sake of science will not do. As pointed by Dr. Erdman, Professor of Philosophy at Columbia University at a symposium similar to ours :

"Scientists are obligated to regard research from the point of view of world citizens and responsible members of the human race."

This is an invitation to the scientists to come out from the seclusion of the laboratory and to occupy their rightful places of leadership in every domain of life in a community.

The recent formation of the Federation of Atom Bomb Scientists is a step in the right direction. The object of this Association is to prevent misuse of Atomic Energy and thus to avoid the repetition of the grim tragedies that were enacted in Japan some three years back. The Federation has taken upon itself the task of educating politicians and statesmen and the average citizen about the situation created by the discovery of the atomic energy. Inevitably, they speak of setting up a world authority for the control of this energy. They warn that without this world authority or World Government the very existence of the human race is threatened, and the need for social

welfare by application of science would then vanish for all times.

But the formation of the Federation is only the first step. Many more associations like this are needed to prevent misuse of science in every sphere of human activity, be it industrial, economic, social or religious. But trying to prevent misuse is a negative role. These bodies have to play an aggressive role and to see that the application is always directed at more positive ends—the ends being the greatest good not only to the greatest number but to every living human being in any corner of the globe. This positive role demands not only a programme for extensive education all round but also demands that some of the points of vantage, from where policies are dictated, are occupied by the men of science.

Today the scientists are the greatest creators of wealth. In them therefore lies the greatest strength, even though at the moment it may remain in potential form. To make it kinetic and dynamic is the need of the hour, and it brooks no delay. Whether in war or in peace, those that have the power to mould the shape of things in the community on a national or international plane, turn to men of science for the execution of their plans. The key therefore lies with the scientists. It is for them to dictate their terms and specify what this mould should be like. Mere associations of men of science for educating the politicians or the average men will not be enough, for, in the race between attempts at mass suicide and true mass education the latter has a habit of being always bogged down at the starting post. Such associations must operate on a more positive and effective basis. They should operate through every community and every country not for securing any sectional advantage for science, scientist, or any country, but for the attainment of that common factor, viz., the good of the human community.

Science has been aptly described as having an endless frontier. In this new age of science, it is the moral obligation of scientists to see that in its applications, misuse becomes impossible. They have allowed themselves to be utilised in a Manhattan plan for destruction. They have now to engage themselves in a much harder plan for eliminating sources of conflict in the process of application of their discoveries. If social welfare by application of science is to become true and real, the logic of an endless frontier for science demands an endless frontier for the globe in which the human community lives.*

* Address delivered at the 36th Session of the Indian Science Congress, Allahabad, January 1949.



RAMAKRISHNA AND VIVEKANANDA

The Prophets of Spiritual Democracy

By DR. NANDALAL CHATTERJI, M.A., Ph.D., D.Litt.,
University of Lucknow

"*Ekam sad vipra bahudha vadanti*" (i.e., Truth is one, the wise call it by different names). This dictum formed the basis of India's ancient conception of religion and philosophy. The principle is as simple as it is indeed logical, yet it is an irony of fate that the cultural life of India has been almost a negation of this simple message. India became a battle-ground of creeds and dogmas, no less than of races and communities. The Indian people have committed, in the name of religion, atrocities before which the savagery of the primitive peoples would pale into nothingness. It was destined for Sri Ramakrishna, a humble, barely educated Brahmin priest of the 19th century, belonging to an obscure village of Bengal, not only to glimpse the long-forgotten ideal of unity in diversity, but also to proclaim to a world, sick of the present-day strife of religions, the fundamental unity of all faiths.

Unlike other great men of religion, Ramakrishna founded no separate religion of his own. He did not attack any religion, nor did he teach anyone to change his faith. Like a man of true religious faith, he had boundless tolerance and humility of spirit. He felt that religion is not mere creed, but is God-understanding, and so he strove to realise God by submitting himself to all the rigours of spiritual and moral discipline, without renouncing the world in the conventional sense. He went through the entire circuit of spiritual realisation, not in its abstract intellectual philosophy but in its concrete expression of self-surrender and God-intoxication. He sought to realise God in diverse ways in the spirit of an explorer—through devotion, through prayer, through songs, through meditation, and often through *samadhi*. As a living Parliament of Religions, he accepted the disciplines of all faiths known to him—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity and other cults, one by one, to realise God in every possible way. He was indeed an undaunted and untiring discoverer in the domain of spirit.

Popular opinions differ with regard to the place of Ramakrishna in the hierarchy of saints and men of God. Some regard him as the greatest mystic of modern India, some as a great seer, and some even as an incarnation of God. Whatever be the truth of each of these views, it is an undoubted fact that he was the greatest living synthesis of multiple spiritual forces of India. In him was blended the inner intellect of seers like Buddha, Sankar and Ramanuja and the inner faith of devotees like Kabir, Nanak and Chaitanya, and he saw the same spirit working in every faith, and saw the same God in every living being, high or low. As the Messiah of a new spiritual democracy, Ramakrishna appeared like a star of hope for the afflicted humanity, and taught us the lesson of harmony of religions, which alone can usher in universal peace, love and brotherhood. Civilisation is

today passing through one of its worst crises, and humanity is overwhelmed by the impact of irreligion and scepticism on the one hand and philistinism and intolerance on the other. In a crisis like this Ramakrishna's life and teachings may yet inspire mankind to banish all bigotry and narrowness and comprehend religion in terms of spiritual democracy. Thus alone humanity can still find its spiritual moorings.

The name of Ramakrishna is indissolubly linked up with his spiritual disciple, Swami Vivekananda, who cast all over the world, as St Paul did for Christ, the seed of truth that was given unto us by Ramakrishna. And, let us not forget that Vivekananda, the chosen favourite of his *Guru*, was non-Brahmin. But, when he broadcast to the world his Master's gospel of faith, unity and service, he silenced the orthodox protectionists of religious lore, and powerfully struck at the roots of that perverted Hinduism which he called 'Kitchen Religion'—the empty formalism that makes a Hindu identify his religion with formalities of caste.

"The only God in whom I believe is the sum total of all souls, and above all I believe in my God the wicked, my God the miserable, my God the poor of all races."

That was how Vivekananda put in a nutshell the real essence of his Master's teaching, and it is this teaching which underlay Vivekananda's blazing passion for service, and which ultimately inspired the birth of the world-wide Ramakrishna Mission with its ideals of the happiness of service and the service of happiness. In the flesh for merely thirty-nine years, Vivekananda triumphantly carried to all parts of the world, like some spiritual conqueror, the gospel of the divinity in man as preached in *Advaita* philosophy, and popularised the concept of the basic oneness of all religions—the fundamental belief of Ramakrishna. (*Yata mat tata path*, i.e., all religions are paths to God).

Like his master, Vivekananda had seen life in all its aspects. He had come into contact with the down-trodden millions of India, and had realised their abject degradation, poverty and ignorance. So, the philosophic idealist in him was transformed into a servant of "God among the wretched"—*Davidra Narayana*, as he himself put it. Through his gospel of service and man-making mission, Vivekananda prepared the ground for Mahatma Gandhi's constructive programme, and initiated the main lines of social service and reform which later became part and parcel of India's freedom movement. He was no politician, yet he released these springs of spiritual force which nourished the political movement in India. He was a nation-builder in the real sense of the term.

Ramakrishna and Vivekananda are a study in



Sarojini Naidu
By Chitranibha Chaudhuri



Marshal S. K. Timoshenko, who breaks the myth of the invincibility of the Nazi war machine, addresses a group of his Red Army officers



Mao Tse-tung (standing third from the right) and these other young Red Army leaders are now veterans in the present civil war of China

contrast, for each was the complement of the other. Vivekananda once said of his Master :

"Outwardly he was all *Bhakta*, but inwardly all *Jnanin*. I am the exact opposite."

That the free-thinking iconoclast in Vivekananda was transmuted into an ardent devotee was a marvel which could be possible only through the superior

attraction of Ramakrishna's supernatural mysticism and faith. The two together preached to the world the truth that religion is not a cloistered article, but that, like a moving stream, it is a perennial quest—a spiritual process which alone can heal the strife between matter and spirit. This message is of vital significance to modern India and to the modern world.

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SAROJINI NAIDU, THE GREATEST WOMAN OF OUR TIME

The Idol of the Nation

By PROF. K. K. BHATTACHARYA, M.A., B.L. (Cal.), LL.M. (Lond.), Barrister-at-Law,
Dean of the Faculty of Law, Allahabad University

THE spirit fled out of the physical abode of the brightest jewel of womanhood on 2nd March, 1949, when the dawn was just breaking out. Born at Hyderabad on 13th February, 1879, of parents well-known in Bengal for their high connections, intellectual attainments and culture, who had migrated to Hyderabad, Sarojini being the eldest child of the parents received the prodigal's share of affection from them. From her father she inherited catholicity of views, freedom from communal passions, high intellect and appreciation of a good man's worth, however lowly his station in life might be. From her mother she inherited the gifts of poetry, grace, and a benevolent nature. The father wanted her to be a scientist, the mother would like her to take to literature and poetry and in the end the mother had her triumph and she became a poet and published three volumes of poetry in exquisite English which have been translated into all Indian languages and some into European languages. Carefully brought up from early girlhood by her kindly parents she manifested in her early proofs of a "wondrous child." She had her education partly in India and partly in England. In England, she was educated at the King's College, London, and Girton College, Cambridge. At the age of 12, she matriculated from Madras University and completed her education in King's College, London, and Girton College, Cambridge.

Happily married to a gentleman of rising position, Dr. G. R. Naidu, in 1898, she settled down in the midst of a happy family circle and wrote exquisite poems which drew the admiration of art critics and the educated public. She could have rested upon her laurels and written more and more poems, but a slave country agonising under the deep humiliation of an imperialist power could not allow the restless passionate soul to repose in the ivory tower. She therefore put aside poems and domestic happiness to dedicate her life to the cause of liberation of her motherland ever since 1919. Jalianwala Bagh was the turning point in her career and she jumped into the stormy sea of Indian politics.

Her career as a politician is too well-known to recapitulate. Into the vortex of politics which was the

politics then of self-sacrifice, she threw herself with great ecstasy, and did inspire men, women and children with patriotism. Through her poetic prose, she sang, as it were, the songs of liberty in different platforms and in different provinces in India—nay—even in far-off countries. The grateful people voted her for the supreme position of trust and responsibility by electing her as President of the Indian National Congress in 1925. Since 1920, when the battle was waging with fury between India and England on the score of freedom, she became an ardent devotee of Mahatma Gandhi. She loved him as passionately and as intensely as she did love her earthly father, Dr. Aghore Nath Chatterji in girlhood. Mahatma, she looked upon rightly, as a crusader, and she joined the band of the crusaders and became their bard and minstrel carrying the hopes and aspirations of India to the hills and the dales, to towns, villages and hamlets. Gandhiji was her spiritual father, her *Guru*, who had baptised the Nightingale of India with the unquenchable thirst for freedom. In the famous Dandi March, though Mahatma asked her not to follow him on his arrival at the appointed place to break the lawless laws of the British Government, he was welcomed by her with a broad smile.

She accompanied him on many tours and also attended along with him the Round Table Conference in London. At Ahmadnagar Fort both of them along with Kasturba and other front-rank leaders of the Congress were kept in detention where she looked after Mahatmaji as a daughter would after her dear father. She rightly thought that Mahatmaji was her treasure and also the Nation's glory, and must be preserved with great care.

'Nightingale of India' she is called. Her poems show great heights of poetic genius flavoured with grandeur, beauty, brilliance and fragrance. Her books on poetry alone would have entitled her to immortality; when coupled with it, the privations she endured for the freedom of our country are taken into account, posterity will gratefully remember her not merely as a politician but as a collaborator of Mahatmaji for India's freedom.

As an orator she has perhaps no equals in any land. Words danced out of her lips in perfect rhythm,

and sentences after sentences she would pour out without pause or hesitation, investing the theme she would speak on with sanctity and nobility breathing intense patriotism.

We have not heard Fox, Sheridan, Pitt the Elder, and Pitt the Younger, Gladstone, Disraeli or Bright, but this can be asserted in perfect confidence that she outstripped Ramsay Macdonald, Churchill, Simon, Attlee and Eden, who were and are noted as well-known speakers and whose speeches I heard. Her peroration was striking and majestic and when she would sit down after a speech, the general feeling of the audience, spell-bound as they would remain, would be, "Why have you stopped now, why don't you speak for sometime more?" The unbroken flow of sonorous and dignified language, the symmetry thereof, the verve, the fire, the passion and sensitiveness of her utterances, her historic art, vivid imagery, her modulations, her silvery voice sometimes waxing warm and becoming piercing, sometimes mellowed, would keep the audience all the time in a state of animation.

Some of her speeches can be obtained and read, but where will be the richness of the voice, intonations, the modulations, the swinging of the head, the backward and forward motions, the large sparkling eyes becoming larger still, the voice becoming more animated and face emitting radiance? There was the verve of Surendra Nath, the cadence of Srinivasa Shastri, the vitality of Annie Besant in her speeches, yet she towered above them all because of the magnetism she imparted to her speeches.

She was the most representative woman not merely of this country but also of the world. President of the Women's Conference she was an ardent champion of women's cause in India and within a decade of her entering the political field invested the women of the country with greater prestige and sought to remove their disabilities. I am yet to be told of any woman in the world at present or at any time who combined in her so many traits and played so many conspicuous roles. One might hear of a great woman writer, of a great woman poet, of a great woman educationist, of a great woman politician but the combination of all was to be found perhaps in her. She resembled Gargi, Matreyi, Anasuya in scholarship, and Rani Lakshmi Bai and Joan of Arc in patriotism, Rani Ahalya Bai in strength of character, Mrs. Pankhurst and Eleanor Roosevelt in women's movement, Miss Wilkinson in Parliamentary activities, Pearl Buck in literary gifts, Madame de Stael and Madame Roland in brilliancy of conversation and in drawing-room charm and yet she was greater than all of them individually. It is no wonder that she shall remain the most representative woman of all times in all countries—the combination of all the virtues which a woman, Indian or foreign, should possess.

Her role as Governor of the U. P. was unique. She was the people's Governor, selected by the people, as it were. She had no snobbishness. She fulfilled her

engagements with dignity and grace, hurt nobody and acted the role of a constitutional Governor to perfection. She reigned—reigned not merely in the parties and meetings or in the assembly of the learned but she radiated light and effulgence, amongst the poor and the downtrodden. She was at once the idol of the nation, yet she was so natural, so unassuming, so human and natural. She was a ministering angel to men and women in distress.

As Chancellor of the University her heart throbbed with love for the students, and she would accept invitations to all hostels, to the University Unions with the desire to elevate the students to a higher plane of life, and when she would be in the midst of the boys she would exhort them to lead noble lives eschewing communalism and grow sturdy intellectually, morally and physically. It is not generally known that she was besieged by students whenever she would be at Allahabad with various requests. In 1947, a large number of students besought her with petitions for telling the Vice-Chancellor to give clemency marks in 1947 examination on account of India's attainment of freedom. She told me smilingly. "I had to tell the Vice-Chancellor Dr. Tara Chand to award some clemency marks for this year only. The boys are following me everywhere in the Government House and I cannot help it."

At the Diamond Jubilee Convocation of the Allahabad University and the present Convocation she brought to bear upon the audience her gifts. In the Science Congress which met at Allahabad in December, 1948, she fulfilled all the engagements and her felicitations upon Sir C. V. Raman on his attainment of 60th year were as touching and personal. In the Silver Jubilee Convocation of the Lucknow University, she as Chancellor, delighted the audience with her brilliant additions to the citations of the Deans and the entire assemblage greeted her remarks with constant huzzas. She herself once wittily remarked that she was not the Governor but the 'governess' of the province whose duty was to look after the people thereof. And she discharged her duties so well by the people of the province.

She had a great fund of wit and humour and sparkled with repartees and sallies. Dullness and Sarojini were strangers. She would shine wherever she would be, and magnetise the men and women she came across and make them her friends. She was every inch like a noble Indian Queen. She could take a beggar girl on her lap and kiss the tears of the poorest wretch. What wonder was there, for had she not received the initiation from Mahatma of 'an all-embracing love'?

Had she any premonition of death? Perhaps she had, for did she not at a public meeting at Naini Ta in June 1948, say that she would not come there next year nor be their Governor. Did she not while complimenting Raman give expression to the same thought? Who knew that death would come so suddenly? Perhaps she did.

It is some consolation to us however that she joined her great master Mahatma in heaven and therefrom they shall pour on us their great benedictions for the country's progress. Is she really dead? Did she not in some of her speeches, especially at the speech at the Inter-Asian Conference in 1947, say that she believed like her father that there was no death; that death

was merely the passing from one form of existence into another and higher form of existence. She is not dead. She shall remain a source of inspiration for all times to come. The country is distinctly orphaned. May her restless spirit rest in peace, and from her celestial abode may she watch with greater zeal and enthusiasm the progress of the country from glory to greater glory.

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ARUNACHALA

A City in Tune With the Infinite

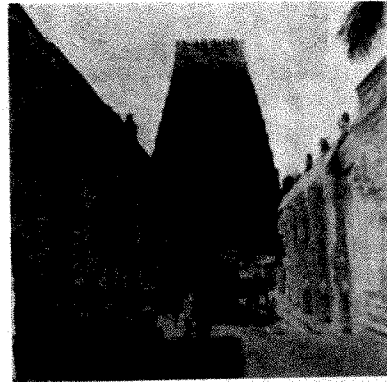
By M. B. S. RAO

ARUNACHALA or Tiruvannamalai, as it is now known, is one of the Temple Cities of South India that has been a great centre of pilgrimage from hoary times. Lying on the chord-line of the S. I. Railway between Villupuram and Katpadi this is within easy reach from Madras, and is of interest to the sight-seeing holiday traveller, the man of religion and the historian, as well as the student of archaeology.

Tradition reveals that its origin lies in the dim and distant past. Once, it is said that the deities in heaven Sri Vishnu and Brahma had a controversy as to who was really the superior of the two. This dispute was placed before Shiva for settlement. Lord Shiva at once assumed the shape of a huge pillar of light and asked them to find out its base and top, and he said that whoever found it would be judged as really superior. Vishnu in the form of a boar bored through the bowels of the earth at the base of the pillar but failed to find out the base. Thus disheartened he lost himself in meditation and attained illumination which makes one immune to physical suffering. Whilst Brahma in the disguise of a swan flew high up in the skies and reached the stars. He was also unable to find the top. But bent upon humiliating Vishnu he adopted a ruse. He picked up a bracket of *ketaki* flowers which he found falling from the skies towards the earth and showing it to Vishnu said that he found it on the top of the luminous column. Hearing this Shiva was enraged, and coming out of the pillar of light he declared that Vishnu was really the superior by dint of his virtuous and true nature. At this Brahma was humiliated and fell at the feet of Shiva and begged his forgiveness. Lord Shiva calling them both, blessed them and according to their request consented to take the shape of a hill which would be his representation on earth, whilst he also promised to assume the form of a smaller *Linga* around which is built the Temple of Arunachala and the city as it now stands. He also told them that on *Kartiki* day every year he would be worshipped on this hill as *Tejolinga* or *Jyotirlinga* in the form of a beacon, and that people would flock here to pay homage. Thus it is that we find that on the *Kartiki* day people visit this hill and shrine and perform worship. They also circumambulate the hill over a distance of eight miles on the well-built road around Arunachala in homage to Arunachaleshwara.

ARUNACHALA HILL WITH SACRED ASSOCIATIONS

The temple and hill at Tiruvannamalai are dedicated to Arunachaleshwara, hence the name Arunachala. The hill is also known by various other names, as Arunagiri, Sonagiri, Sonasaila and also Tejolinga and Jyotirlinga. This hill that towers behind the temple like a natural pyramid has many caves on its slopes amidst green verdure and trees and is studded with fresh-water springs and tanks here and there. On the cool banks of these springs and tanks have from time to time sprung up hermitages with the advent of great sages and saints, who have visited this hill from time to time. Hence it is associated with sacred memories of sages from the days of yore. The



The main entrance. The eastern Gopura built by Krishna-Devaraya in 1516 A.D.

sage Agastya is said to have visited this place to study the cult of Saivism, which was a predominant religion in those times in these parts. Later the sage Goutama, as tradition has it, performed penance on a hillock near Arunachala Hill called 'Pavalkunru.' Many saints and sages have visited this place for ages and have left memories of their praise of it in the poems and songs behind them. History reveals that Sri Shankaracharya said that this hill was as famous as the *Meru* and the Himalayas, where are found *Shiddha Furushas*. Hence he must have visited this place about the eighth century A.D. Many Tamil saints and scholars have visited this sacred place as we know from the various songs and poems left by them. Shidhopant, grandfather of Jnandev, is said to have visited this place about

the 13th century, followed by Namdev in the 14th and Sannath Ramdas in the 17th century.

For over half a century the presence of the world-famous saint and seer Baghwan Sri Ramana Maharshi has enhanced the sanctity of Arunachala. This sage has disciples in the East as well as in the West, amongst whom may be mentioned the Oxford poet and European admirer and devotee Mr. Duncan Greenlees as well as Col. Chadwick and other admirers as Somerset Maugham and others. Whilst among the Orientals are the renowned Indian philosopher and Professor Sir Sarvapalli Radhakrishnan, the poet Harindranath Chattopadhyaya and others.



Killi Gopura built by Bhaskar Mantri in the 11th century

Born on 30th December, 1879, at Tiruchuzi in Madhura district Sri Ramana Maharshi attained illumination of divine truths whilst yet in his later teens. He left his studies and putting on the garb of a mendicant began to contemplate on God near about the Arunachala Hill and in the temple. Ignorant and mischievous street urchins taking him to be a mad man pelted him with stones, whilst other mendicants in jealousy for the wisdom he possessed tried to molest him in many ways. To escape this, the sage took refuge within the Arunachala Temple as well as in the caves of the hill. Many are the places that are associated with his presence, where he was often found in contemplation of the Supreme Being. Those who recognised his true worth flocked to him and got difficult philosophic questions and problems solved by him. This in due course fetched a retinue of devotees who built for him a hermitage which is to this day found on the southern slopes of the Arunachala Hill. This consists of a beautiful garden, a lecture hall, as well as other things such as a tank, etc. Hence, from then onwards a band of disciples have thronged round Sri Ramana Maharshi and his fame spread far and wide. He began to expound great philosophic truths from such works as *Yoga Vasishtha*, *Viveka Chudamani*, *Enkalya Mahatmya* and such other philosophical works of Sri Sankaracharya. He has a wide grasp of

life's eternal verities and it is his opinion that realisation of divine truths is not bound by any particular system of philosophy and that one who has determination can arrive at the Truth without the help of intricate philosophic systems that claim to throw light on inward spiritual bliss.

HISTORIC TIMES

The researches of the Madras Archaeological Department have revealed much of the past history of Arunachala Hill and Temple. The Epigraphical section of the annual report of 1929, and a reference book on South Indian Inscriptions (1927) are helpful to us in this connection. The deciphered epigraphical records found in and around the Temple of Arunachala reveal the origin of this place from the era of the later Pallavas who were in supreme power in Southern India in the 7th and 8th centuries. They were succeeded by the Cholas who ruled from 9th to the 13th century A.D. and were eventually succeeded by the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagar rulers. These were noted as great administrators and good fighters who extended the Vijayanagar kingdom all over South India, and were in power from 1374 to 1678. Subsequently they were succeeded by the Tanjore Naiks who were in power for some years. These rulers though engaged in warfare for extending their kingdoms never neglected their duty towards cultural and religious institutions and have left their impresses to this very day on the temples of India, which are seen from the art and skill used in building these structures which are the monuments they have left behind them. Thus it is, we find Southern India studded with temple cities all over its territory.

Up to the early part of the 18th century A.D. Arunachala and the surroundings around it enjoyed freedom and were not in danger of invaders. Hence the devotees at Arunachala as well as the seers and saints on the slopes of the hill carried on their religious and spiritual quests unperturbed and peacefully. But in the latter part of the 18th century, though the early Nawabs of Karnatic were tolerant towards the Hindus and Hinduism, the last ones were hard towards the Hindus. They invaded the territory of the adjoining Hindu powers and tried to extend their dominions. So that, from 1853 onwards the portion where Tiruvannamalai was situated was in danger of the invaders, and wars were going on here and there. About the year 1782, Tipu Sultan who succeeded his father Haider Ali as Nawab of Arcot invaded Thondaimandalam, wherein lay the Temple City of Arunachala. He destroyed the temple on a small hillock called Pavalkunru and occupied it. From that position he aimed some shots at the temple, but these miraculously escaped doing any harm to the temple except for a slight damage to its walls. After a stay of some days he returned to his capital leaving the temple unmolested, and allowing the devotees of Arunachaleshwara as well as the saints on the hill to carry out peacefully their meditation and other

spiritual quests. Hence from that time to the present the same peaceful atmosphere pervades this sacred place.

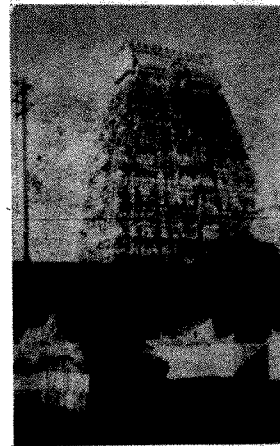
ARUNACHALA TEMPLE AN EXAMPLE OF TYPICAL DRAVIDIAN ARCHITECTURE

South Indian temples are noted for their Dravidian architecture and Tiruvannamalai has in its temple structures constructed in Dravidian style of architecture of the Pallava as well as the Chola type which has been later developed and beautified by Hoysala and Vijianagar styles of architecture. Archaeologists reveal that Dravidian architecture originated with the Pallavas about the 6th century A.D. This style consists mostly of pyramidal towers for the central shrine with big towers for the entrances. The main feature of this style is that stone and other structures are jointed without any use of mortar between them, wherein lies the skill of the Dravidian artisans. The Temple of Arunachala is constructed with structures in Dravidian style of Pallava and Chola periods, later on developed and beautified by Hoysala and Vijianagar styles. The whole temple occupying an area of 26 acres of land is 1500 feet long and 700 feet broad and consists of four quadrangles with strong and well-built walls and towers at the entrances, as well as for the central shrine. Whilst within these enclosures are various temples and shrines and tanks which are memorials of the past constructed by the then rulers and other devotees of Arunachaleshwara. Hence a peep into its details is worth-while.

INSIDE THE TIRUVANNAMALAI TEMPLE

Entering the Arunachala Temple from the East is the 'Krishna-Devaraya Gopuram' or Tower, the tallest in the temple measuring 217 feet in height and having a base of 135 feet by 95 feet. It has eleven stories with flights of steps with beautiful carvings. This tower is encircled by huge walls, which run around the temple on four sides with towers over the four entrances on four sides. In the East we have seen the Krishna Devaraya Gopura, whilst to the South is the Thirumanjara Gopura, in the West is the Paya Gopura and to the North the Ammaniamma Gopura. The main entrance in the East at present is the *Thithivasal*, through which the public enter and leave and the deities are conveyed out for processions on festival occasions. This gate was used by the ladies of the royal family formerly, whilst the main entrance was the Krishna-Devaraya Gopura. This is an injustice done to the great builder who had spent much money to construct it. Entering the inner part of this enclosure we meet with the Thousand Pillared Temple built by Sri Krishna Devaraya. This is a beautiful hall with carved pillars. At the entrance there are two pillars, on one of which is the image of Krishna-Devaraya in a posture of supplication to the chosen deity the *Ishta Devata* on the other pillar. In the centre of the hall is a raised platform. An underground shrine, the Patala Linga, is to the south-west of this hall. Here the sage Ramana Maharshi was

found to meditate in his initial stages of realisation. Next to this is the shrine of Kambathilliyana, built by Devaraya of Vijianagar when he was viceroy here in 1421 A.D. This king seeing the apparition of Subramania coming out of a pillar when the sage Arunagirinatha sang songs in praise of this deity, had a temple constructed with the pillar as the central deity. In the south of this enclosure is the tank, formerly the Vasantkolam constructed by Krishna-Devaraya in 1516 A.D. An epigraph found here says that this tank was connected with an underground channel extending to the Tirumalammasanudram. This was later on in 1902 renovated by the Natukottai Chettiers and called the Sivaganga Tank, as it is now known. Here, and near the Ganesha Temple in a garden was found the sage Ramana Mahaishi in a contemplative condition in his early life. We now approach the entrance of the second enclosure, where we find the monolithic structure of Nandi, the sacred bull of Shiva. Whilst on the right is the extension of the Subramania Temple and on the left the shrine of Sundereshwara Linga. This was built by Devaraya in 1421 A.D. and bears the insignia of the Vijianagar dynasty, the Boar and the Sword.



The southern Gopura. Thirumanjara Gopura
as seen from near Brahma Tirtha

At the entrance of the second enclosure is the Bellala Gopura built by Vira Bellala between 1328 and 1331 A.D. He had a strong wall built around the enclosure, with towers parallel to those above the walls of the first enclosure. These were called the 'Katti Gopuras' and conjointly constructed by the Hoysalas and Pandyas who were then on peaceful terms. The southern walls of this enclosure have panels with figures of Chola and Hoysala kings, as well as their insignias, the Ganda Berunda and the Tiger of Sword. On entering, to our left is the Bhairava Temple near to the Gopura. Next to it is the tank Perumal Thatakam built by Vena Odey in 1230 A.D. which has a garden around it. Next to it is the Porava which has beautiful carved pillars and friezes, whilst the ceiling bears stories from the Ramayana in fresco

paintings. The Perumal Mandapam is a part of the Poravi. Near to it is a raised platform with figures of Vena Odeyan, his father Perunjinga and his other sons. Between the Poravi and the tank is the Manimandap of Tandava Nayak of 1572. To the West of the tank are the four temples of Shiva, Ganesha, Vindeshwara Linga and the Panchamukhi Linga with four faces, representing the four elements such as Fire, Earth, Air and Water, whilst the roof representing the sky is the fifth face of the image. The Amavasya Mandap is to the extreme left of this enclosure with the Paduka Mandap as well as the Kartikeya Mandap close to it. All these are built in the modern style of architecture. Next we come to the third enclosure at whose entrance is another monolithic Nandi which was set up by Vira Bellala.



The richly carved Ganesha Temple built in the 13th century

The entrance to the third enclosure is the Killi Gopura constructed by Bhaskar Mantri and his wife during the time of Bellala. It has six storeys and is a fine structure of stucco work bearing the insignia of the Hoysalas 'the Ganda Berunda.' At the entrance inside this quadrangle we find Mangaykarsi Mandap built by a philanthropic lady and her brother who have spent much wealth in constructing a tank as also to help the suffering public when a famine arose in these parts. In this Mandap during the Kartiki festival the temple deities are seated to watch the beacon lighted on the Arunachala Hill in homage to Shiva whose emblem it represents. To our right are the four temples of the deities, Ekambareshwar, Jambukeshwar, Chidambareswar and Pidari. There is a beautiful Lingodbhava behind the Ekambareshwar shrine. In front of Pidari Temple there is a *Bali Pitha* or sacrificial altar and a stone trident, the *Trishula* facing north. The Pidari temple has within it the deities of Ganesha, Saptakanyas and Renuka, the incarnation of Kali. The Kolumandap which is in the west of the Pidari Shrine is now the Devasthanam office. At the left corner in front of this enclosure in the interior is the Mandap built by Sevappa Nayak

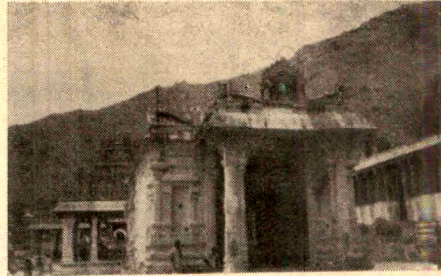
which is now the temple store-room and kitchen. In this enclosure, to our left between the wall of the third enclosure and the other wall are some *Shala Vrikshas* or temple trees, besides which are a few inscriptions on the pavement bearing some inscriptions and epigraphic records of Chola-Aditya as well as the insignias of the Vijayanagar dynasty. On the south of this enclosure are verandas with balconies for the devotees to watch the worship going on in the central shrine. To the south-west is the Makar Sankranti Mandapa built by Krishna-Devaraya and later developed with extensions by the Natukottai Chettians and named the Kalyana Mandap. To the west of this enclosure is the Arunagiri Mandap with a figure of the Shiddha Purusha on a stone who is said to be living on the slopes of Arunachala Hill at a mysterious place. To the north is the Unnomalai Devi Temple with the image of this deity constructed in the 11th century by Bellala, as the panels bearing his figure indicate. Near to it is the Navagraha Mandap used for *yogas* or sacrifices. Thus within this enclosure are five temples of Shiva representing the five elements.

Lastly, we reach the fourth and the last enclosure where is situated the central shrine, the *Garbha Griha*. At its entrance are a Nandi, a Bali Pitha and Dhvaja Stambha erected by Krishna-Devaraya. To our right is the Subramania Shrine, whilst to the left is the Ganapati Mandap. The walls of the central shrine are high and well-built. Part of it was built by Aditya-Chola and part by Uttama Chola in the 10th century. The main door and entrance to this enclosure was built by Vena Odeyan, whilst the inner door by Uttama Chola. The entrance has a stone roofing, below which is a Bali Pitha and also Nandi. In its front is a raised platform that runs round the central shrine for the devotees to circumambulate on their fourth round in homage to Arunachaleshwara, the chief deity of the temple. Near the walls of the central shrine are verandas with balconies supported by a colonnade of pillars in two rows. The southern veranda has many images of 'Utsavamurties' and statues of 63 saints, as well as many Lingas, Ganeshas and Shivas, Parvati etc. North of the *Garbha Griha* is the shrine of Bhairava Murti, an aspect of Shiva. At the entrance of the shrine is a bronze statue of Nataraj in a dancing pose. The central shrine has a raised platform reached by a flight of steps that form the fifth round of the central deity. This is divided in two parts with a passage running from the north to the south and connecting the two inner apartments. Entering the first part is the 'Pradosha Nandi' which is used by the devotees for *abhisekam*. In this central shrine are many inscriptions, which being obliterated cannot be easily deciphered. Whilst on the southern wall within this central shrine are carvings of Ganesha, Dakshinamurti and a Lingodbhava. On the northern wall are Trimurties and Parvati. One part of this shrine is for special worshippers coming through the agency of the chief priests, whilst the other part consists of the

Linga, the central deity of the temple, the Aroopa Niskala Arunachala, the formless emblem of Shiva. This is an ancient Linga worshipped for over 2000 years. On usual days nearly 200 devotees worship this deity, whilst on festival occasions more than six times this number pour forth their devotion in homage to this deity, which is the silent representation of the egoless and formless self in the form of the Linga.

Thus, entering from the east we have traversed through various enclosures round the temple and in the end reached the central shrine, the *sanctum sanctorum* of the temple, and seen the deity of Arunachaleshwara who is represented by the Linga in the central-most part of the Arunachala Temple. On our way we have seen many shrines of various deities, built and erected from time to time by various sovereigns and devotees of Arunachaleshwara. Thus unmindful of

the various distractions our chief aim has been to see the central deity and so we have reached it. Likewise is



The shrine *Kambat Iliyanar* built by Ponda Devaraya or Devaraya II, 1421 A.D.

realisation of the egoless non-self attained after undergoing many vicissitudes of life.

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RICE CULTIVATION IN THE U.S.A.

By HIREN C. GANGULEE

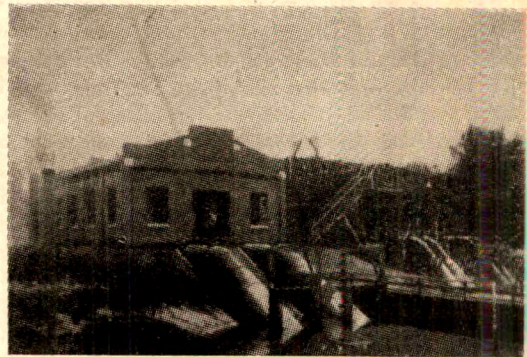
THE United States neither produces a great quantity of rice as do countries like India nor is her yield of rice per acre as high as in countries like Spain, Italy, Japan or Egypt, yet her method of rice production has certain outstanding features which are bound to be of the greatest interest. The American method of rice production compares with that in the Oriental countries in the same way as the American methods of mass production do with the slow but ingenious methods of the Oriental craftsmen.



The rice-farmer shows his old irrigating tube-well

The history of rice cultivation in the U. S. A. is rather interesting. How the cultivation actually started is hard to tell as there are different accounts of it. One story tells of a ship carrying rice from Madagascar to England being blown off its course and touching South Carolina when the Governor of the colony obtained some rice seed from the ship's captain and

thus originated the Carolina white rice. Although rice is known to be in cultivation in the South Atlantic State of South Carolina prior to 1685, that was the year when the actual period of rice cultivation begins. From here rice cultivation spread to North Carolina on the north and Georgia and Florida to the south. At first rice was cultivated without irrigation on highlands but gradually it spread to the moist lowlands and the tidal lands. All operations were done by hand at that time. At no time has transplanting been



Intake of irrigation pumps from a river practised in America. Things went on like this until the sixties of the nineteenth century when came the Civil War. The changed conditions after this and the growing cost of labour rendered rice cultivation less and less profitable and the acreage dwindled. Then came a new type of farmers with experience of wheat cultivating machines in the North who developed a new highly mechanised system of cultivation extremely

suitable for the flat prairie lands of Louisiana and Texas. From here this cultivation spread to similar prairies of Arkansas in 1905 and river valleys of California in 1912. Thus, there was a diversion of rice cultivation from the South Atlantic States to the four States of Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas and California which alone grow rice now. This change came because only this new mechanised system of cultivation can keep pace with a scarcity of labour and a high standard of living. The following table will show the switch off:

<i>Percentage of total acreage in year—</i>		
	1839	1947
Arkansas	—	20.62
California	—	13.88
Louisiana	0.5	36.65
Texas	—	28.85
All South Atlantic States	99.5	—

United States rice is not grown on low lands that are flooded naturally as in Bengal, but on artificially



Seeding in water with aeroplanes

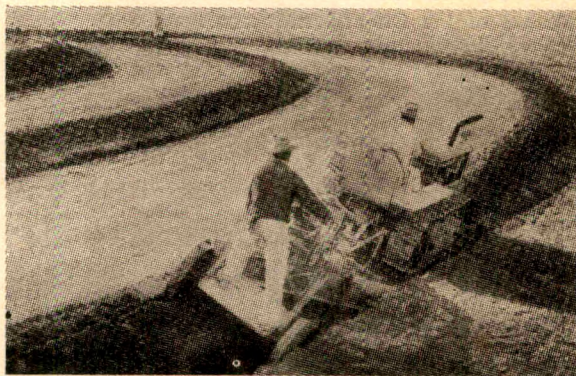
irrigated flat areas. The most important of such areas is that formed by the extensive level prairies along the Gulf of Mexico coast in the States of Louisiana and Texas. It is estimated that there are from 3 to 10 million acres of land suitable for rice along this coast. A similar, though much smaller, prairie area lies in eastern Arkansas that is approximately 50 miles wide and 150 miles long. A third area lies in California in the Sacramento and San Joaquin valleys. In all, about 1.7 million acres were under rice in the United States in 1947. It should be noted that the actual rice growing area is much larger than the acreage shown as a rotation of crops is often practised.

The rice soil somewhat resembles our soil in Bengal—a well-drained heavy soil with an impervious subsoil formed by the 'hard pan.' The climate of the Southern (Louisiana-Texas-Arkansas) region is hot and moist, somewhat like that of ours. This area is also full of mosquitoes but malaria is very effectively kept under control. The mean temperature varies between 70 deg. and 80 deg. F during the growing season of rice. The annual rainfall varies from 36 to 56 inches, a greater part of which is during winter. Irrigation does

not directly depend on this rain. For irrigation big pumps (driven by diesel and butane gas engines or electric motors) are employed to pump water into the irrigating canals from big reservoirs, bayous, small streams or tube wells of big diameters. This pumping affair is undertaken by big farmers or the canal companies who sell the water to farmers having no irrigation facilities. The California area is somewhat different. It is situated on a more northern latitude the land is more sloping, so that the levees are narrower and steeper and the soil is generally drier, the annual rainfall being about 20 inches and all that in the winter, when rice is not in the field. There is a great variation in day and night temperatures (100 deg. F in day and 60 deg. F in night during June, July and August). Due to all these, the long grained tropical rices have failed in this area. The irrigation water here comes from the rivers to the canals by pumps or gravity.

The varieties grown are limited in number. California grows exclusively short grained Japanese types which are high yielding (about 3000 lbs per acre here) but less valued. In the Southern States, long grained (the best of them are of the slender grained Indian 'Patna' type) and medium grained varieties only are usually grown. They fetch a better price although the yield is less, being about 2000 lbs per acre.

The rice farmers are among the most progressive in the United States and most of them are very well-to-do. They have to invest a big amount in pumps and implements and are making a big profit in the present market. Rice sells here at almost double the

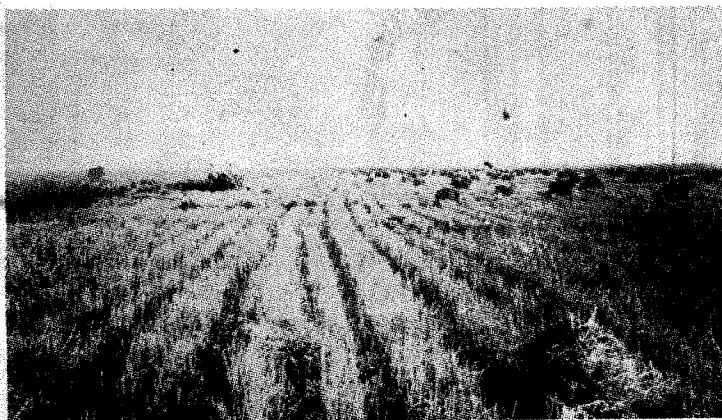


Constructing the levees

current price in India and a greater part of it is exported. There are a number of Indian farmers in California and perhaps there were more before the 1930 depression. The farms are all big, a farm of 200 acres being considered "small". The farmers always keep themselves abreast of current improvements. To help them there are the county agricultural agents and there are four Rice Experiment Stations in the four States worked jointly by the local University and

the United States Department of Agriculture. These Experiment Stations earn a part of their upkeep by selling seed rice.

Coming to the actual method of cultivation, we find rotation of crops to be generally practised. Rice is seldom grown on the same soil for two years in succession by the more progressive farmers. There are different ways of this rotation. A very common practice is to alternate rice with soybean, grown also as a spring crop.



Harvesting with a harvester-binder

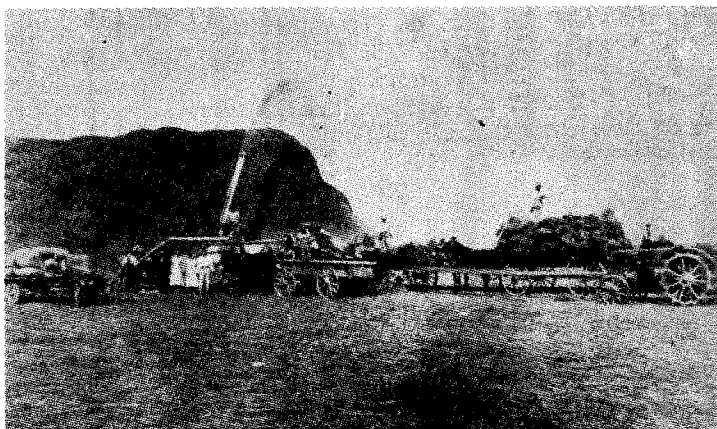
The soil is prepared with tractors while dry. It is usually ploughed to a depth of six inches after the rice is harvested and thus all stubbles are buried. In the spring, the soil is brought to a good tilth by repeatedly disking, dragging and finally harrowing. The next stage is the construction of the levees. For this, the contour lines for every fall of, say, 2 inches, are first carefully marked by experienced people (often surveyors). Then, the levees, which naturally become very crooked, are constructed with special machines.

When the soil is ready, comes the seeding. Many farmers treat their seeds with fungicides to get a better stand of seedlings and many seed farms sell treated seeds. The seeding is done both on dry soil as well as on submerged soil. On dry soil, the seeding is done by grain drills or broadcast seeders, the former of which require less seed (90 lbs per acre as against 110 lbs per acre for broadcasting) and gives a more uniform stand. Sometimes flushing of the soil becomes necessary to get proper germination. The field is put under 2 to 4 inches of water when the plants are about 8 inches high. This depth is gradually increased to 6 inches. In the Southern States, where root maggots cause a serious damage to the crop, the first

water is dried up after 3 or 4 weeks and is re-introduced when the soil begins to crack.

As puddling and transplanting are not practised, naturally weeds are a big problem. Attempts are being made to control weeds by spraying weed-killing chemicals like 2-4-D by means of aeroplanes. But, it is not proving very helpful. Weeds are well controlled by first submerging the land under water and then broadcasting the seed on it. Although this requires a slightly higher quantity of seed, a very uniform and good stand of seedlings is obtained. For this broadcasting special aeroplanes are being used. Most of the rice in California (where labour cost is the highest) is shown in this way and this method is gradually gaining ground in the Southern States. It should be noted that when the seeding is done the water is not as hot as in India. All sowing is completed by the end of May.

Fertilizers are used liberally and the stage when it is applied varies. It may be applied before, during or after seeding, before or after irrigation, etc. Here again aeroplanes are extensively used. Nitrogenous



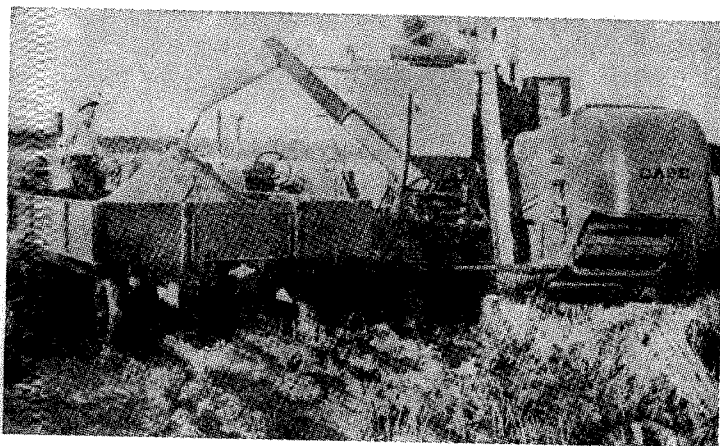
Threshing rice. Note the increasing stack of straw

salts have been found very useful in increasing yield. The application of gaseous Ammonia, which is very economic and has been used successfully with corn and cotton, is being experimented upon and seems to be very promising. Green manuring and grazing on fallow riceland are also practised.

After the rice fields are irrigated the water stands until the ears begin to mature and droop. The water is then withdrawn and the soil becomes hard enough when the harvesters begin working.

Rice is rarely harvested with sickles or cradles only. Two methods of harvesting are in vogue.

First is the binding-shocking-threshing method. In the grain is fed at one end, pass to the drier part this method the harvester-binder in going over the field where it is dried by a current of hot air and then pass to the storage bins. Elevators and conveyer-belts are used for the grain movement. This combining-



Threshed grains are directly obtained from the field by the harvester-combines

(over the levees too) cuts the standing rice and throws them on the field after binding into small bundles. Then, these bundles are placed in small heaps ('shecks') by manual labour and are left to dry in the field. When dry, the bundles are collected and brought to the movable 'threshers.' The same threshers are also used for other small grains, only they are run at different speeds. The threshers rapidly thresh the grains while the straw is blown into a rapidly growing stack. Rice straw is not an important cattle feed here although they are sometimes allowed to graze on these straw stacks.

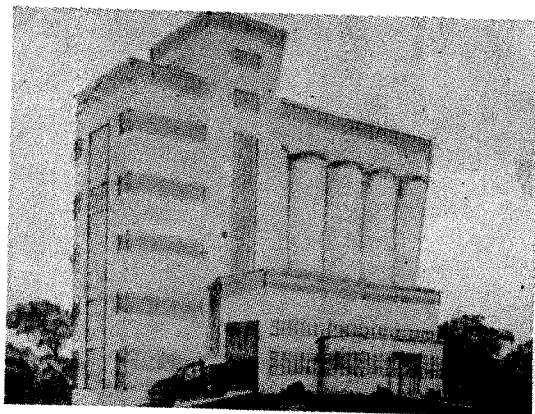
In the second or the combining-drying method, the harvester-combines are used. These machines not only cut the standing rice but also threshes and temporarily stores it on a big bin on the machine. From time to time truck loads of grain are transferred from it. The straw is strewn all over the field and may or may not be collected. The grain thus obtained contains a high percentage of moisture and must be dried before storage. For this big 'driers' with huge concrete or steel storage bins have sprung up. Many of them are run by farmers' co-operatives. In the driers

Now, of course, the grain goes to the rice mills. But, that is another story.

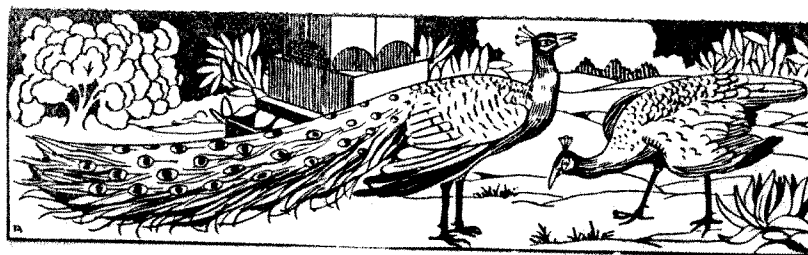
With this extreme mechanisation, it is an easy matter for the farmer with one or two members from his family to carry on all the operations on two, or three hundred acres without any outside labour—a thing not imaginable in India. Not only that, he does all the operations extremely quick. It is possible

for him to prepare the land in a day or two or to harvest the whole field in a couple of days.

This is how rice is grown in the United States. Whether it is advisable or possible to introduce all or some of these methods into India is a different question.



A modern rice-drier with storage bins and elevators



RAFFLESIA ARNOLDII

A Plant Producing the World's Biggest Flower

By ROBINDRA MOHON DATTA, M.Sc.

In this mysterious world, Nature in her bounties has produced numerous interesting and remarkable objects, which have attracted the attention of mankind.

In the plant kingdom many fascinating and wonderful observations have been recorded. When we think of the plants, we are at first much attracted by their flowers, which are in many cases things of beauty. Some of these flowers are decent and nice to look at; some are sweet-scented; some are minute and small whereas some are big. But of all the flowers of the world, so far as the present world knowledge goes, those of *Rafflesia Arnoldii* are the biggest in the vegetable kingdom.

This plant belongs to the family Rafflesiaceae, a small family of fleshy parasitic herbs, mostly tropical and also temperate, of which the vegetative organs are reduced to a mycelium-like tissue ramifying through the cambium and adjoining layers generally of woody roots of the host plants, though other interesting matters concerning the family are given below, where necessary.

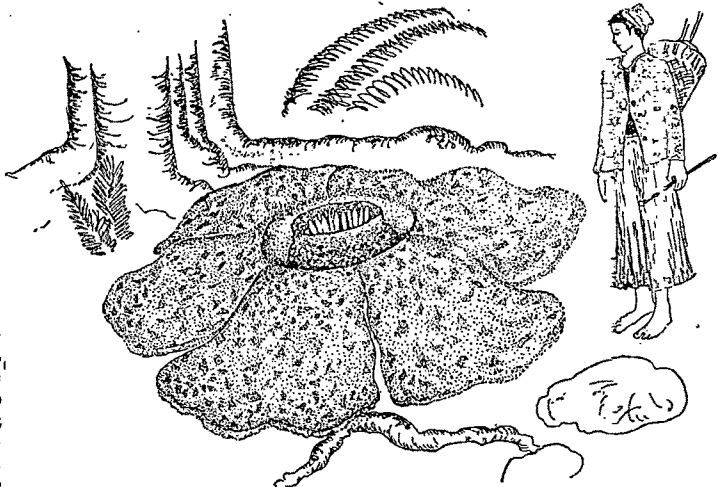
This plant was first discovered in 1818 A.D. by Dr. Arnold, a botanist of some note, while exploring with Sir Stamford Raffles' party in the interior of the island of Sumatra. Sir Stamford Raffles was the Governor of the Malayan regions at that time. The news of the discovery of this vegetable wonder was conveyed by Dr. Arnold in a letter to a friend and it will be more interesting to quote from his accounts than to give the facts in words of our own. The doctor says:

"Here (Pulso Subbas, on the Manna river, two days' journey inland of Manna) I rejoice to tell you I happened to meet with what I regard as the greatest prodigy of the vegetable world. I had ventured some way from the party, when one of the Malaya servants came running to me with wonder in his eyes, and said, 'Come with me, Sir, come. A flower—very large—beautiful—wonderful.' I immediately ran with the man about a hundred yards into the jungle and he pointed to a flower growing close to the ground, under the bushes, what was truly astonishing. My first impulse was to cut it up and carry it to the hut. I therefore seized the Malaya's *parang* (a sort of instrument like a woodman's chopping hook), and finding that the flower sprang from a small root which ran horizontally about as large as two fingers or a little more, I soon detached it and removed it to our hut. To tell you the truth, had I been alone, and had there been no witnesses, I should, I think, have been fearful of mentioning the dimensions of this flower I have ever seen or heard of; but I had Sir Stamford and

Lady Raffles with me and a Mr. Palgrave, a respectable resident at Manna, who, though all of them equally astonished with myself yet are able to testify as to the truth.

"The whole flower was of a very thick substance, the petals and nectary being in but a few places less than a quarter of an inch thick and in some places three-quarters of an inch; the substance of it was very succulent. When I first saw it, swarms of flies were hovering over the mouth of the nectary, and apparently laying their eggs in the substance of it. It had precisely the smell of tainted beef. The calyx consisted of several roundish, dark-brown, concave leaves which seemed to be indefinite in number and were unequal in size. There were five petals attached to the nectary, which are thick, and covered with protuberances of a yellowish, white, varying in size, the interstices being of a brick-red colour. . . . Now for the dimensions, which are the most astonishing part of the flower. It measures a full yard across, the petals being 12 inches from the base to the apex, and the space between the insertion of one petal and the opposite one being about a foot. Sir Stamford, Lady Raffles and myself took immediate measures to be accurate in this respect by pinning four large sheets of paper together, and cutting them to the precise size of the flower. The nectarium (or hollow central bowl of the flower) would, in the opinion of all of us, hold twelve pints, and the weight of this prodigy we calculated to be fifteen pounds."

The plant grows parasitically on the roots of species of vine (*Cissus*) and consists of a mycelium-like tissue.



This picture shows the dimensions of a flower of *Rafflesia Arnoldii* in its natural surroundings on the root of its host as compared to the height of a native woman

The genus *Rafflesia* has been derived after the name of Sir Stamford Raffles because of his keen interests in the explorations. The specific name *Arnoldii* has been derived after the name of the first discoverer, Dr. Arnold. The plant is a permanent

parasite and is dicotyledonous (i.e., having two seed-leaves in the embryo). All its species are Malayan. This plant has become so much parasitic in nature that its stem, leaf and root—all are reduced and converted into microscopic thread-like (mycelial) structures. These mycelial structures attack the roots and the climbing stems of species of *Vitis* and *Cissus*, penetrate the epidermal structures of the hosts and enter into their inner parts. They thrive, develop and grow within the hosts after sucking nutrient materials (food matters) from their tissues. The flower-buds are produced within the host by a local growth of this cellular tissues, ultimately breaking through and expanding above and are solitary and terminal. The flowers are declinous (unisexual) by abortion of one sex and show a considerable variety in forms and sizes in this family, e.g., those of *Apodanthes*, a stem-parasite from tropical South America being quite small while those of *Rafflesia* being colossal.

Dr. Gustav Haberlandt, the renowned Physiological Plant-Anatomist, records that though *Rafflesia* flowers are the biggest, it has got no other organs as are found in an ordinary plant. The plant body is thalloid in structure (undifferentiated), cellular and much branched. Such structures are usually seen in the lower group of plants, such as fungus. Sometimes these multicellular branched mycelial ramifications extend in different directions and form cushions. The biggest cushion of the kind forms the structure known as "Floral Cushion" from which the biggest flower of the world develops.

The same author quoting the observations of Dr. Schaar, who worked out the anatomy of *Rafflesia rochussenii* (another species of the same genus) writes that the cellular tissues of the plant resemble the mycelial structures of a fungus. These tissues invade and pass through the protein-conducting secondary leptome tissue of the host. Other branches pass through the cambial zone and secondary xylem towards the central core of the host. They look and appear like the medullary rays (a kind of tissue) of the dicotyledonous stem. Some of them are also observed to pierce the secondary xylem and phloem tissues of the host. The latter phloem tissues contain starch grains. It is thus evident that this permanent parasite attacks the host tissues in an irregular manner. Its main aim is to suck up maximum food matters for its own self and its tendency is to attack those portions of the host which contain the food matters. The physiological anatomy of all the species of *Rafflesia* is more or less the same.

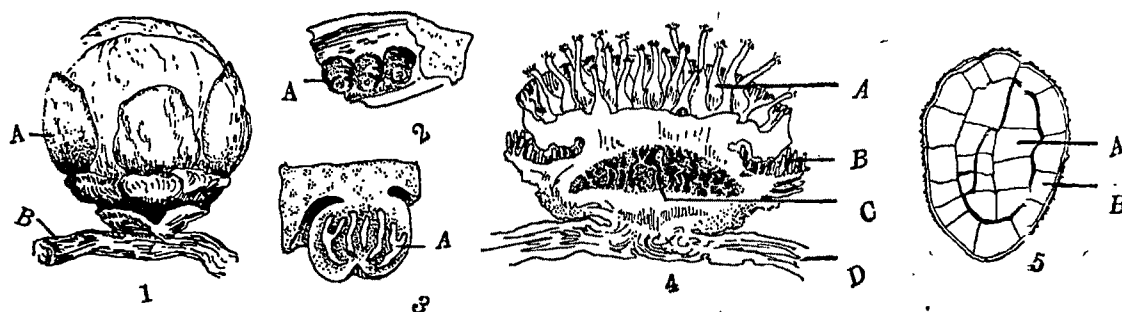
Dr. J. R. Green, F.R.S. observes that the colour of this plant is not green, it is different. Because of its completely parasitic habit and nature, it has got no leaves nor any stems and due to the absence or lack of chlorophyll (green colouring matter found in the leaves with the help of which the plant prepares food with the help of sun-light) in its tissues, it can-

not prepare its own food with the help of sun-light as other green plants usually do.

The family Rafflesiaceae is also known now-a-days as the family Cytinaceae. Dr. J. Hutchinson, F.R.S., who is the propounder of the latest system of natural classification of the Flowering Plants, prefers to call the latter name. The main characteristics of the family are given as below: Fleshy parasites with scale-like leaves, on the roots, stems and branches of various trees and shrubs; flowers often large, solitary, rarely spicate (e.g., *Cytinus*), declinous by abortion, rarely polygamous or hermaphrodite; regular spreading superior or inferior, perianth of 4-10 members, imbricate or very rarely valvate; these segments, except in *Cytinus* are preceded by an equal number of alternating scale leaves; in the centre rises a column, the upper surface of which spreads like a disc and in the female flower bears the stigmatic surface on the incurved edge; anthers sessile, numerous arranged in 1-3 series ring around a fleshy column or in *Cytinus* around the swollen head, 2-celled, opening length-wise by slits or by terminal pores; pollen often viscous; ovary inferior or subinferior, 1-celled or the placentas reaching nearly into the middle; stigma undivided, discoid or lobate or the stigmas divided and numerous on the top of the ovary. Ovules very numerous on 4-8 parietal placentas or in case of *Rafflesia* an irregular complex chamber is formed on the walls of which ovules are borne or from the apex of the cells. Ovule has a single integument. The fleshy indehiscent succulent fruit is crowded by a persistent column and contains numerous minute seeds with a hard testa and a few celled undifferentiated minute embryo, surrounded by a layer of oily endosperm cells; sometimes fruits opening irregularly.

There are 8 genera with about 20 species distributed mostly in the tropical and temperate regions. They fall into 3 tribes; the Rafflesiaceae, in the Himalayan region (*Sapria*), Siam (*Richthofenia*) and the Malayan Archipelago (*Rafflesia*); the Apodantheae with *Apodanthes* in South America and *Pilostyles* mainly S. American but with species in S. California, Angola and W. Asia; the Cytimeae with *Cytinus* which has one species at Cape of Good Hope while another *Cytinus hypocistis*, parasitic on the roots of *Cistus* accompanies its host throughout the Mediterranean region extending northwards along the Atlantic coast of France and *Baldophyton* with 2 species in Mexico.

The genus *Rafflesia* has got 7 species, distributed as follows: 1. *Rafflesia Arnoldii* R. Br. (Sumatra), 2. *Rafflesia Patma* Bl. (= *R. Horsfieldii*) (Central Java), 3. *Rafflesia Tuan Mudae* Becc. (Borneo, Sarawak), 4. *Rafflesia Hasseltii* Sur. (Central Sumatra), 5. *Rafflesia Schadenbergiana* Goeppert. (Mindanao), 6. *Rafflesia Manillana* Tesch. (= *R. Cumingii* R. Br. = *R. Philippensis* Blanco = *R. Lagascae* Blanco) (Philippines), 7. *Rafflesia rochussenii* Teijs and Binn. (West Java).



1. Male flower bud x 5: A—enveloping scale leaves; B—root of the host. 2. Three anthers from a male flower. 3. Section of one another. 4. Longitudinal section through a female flower after removal of the perianth; C—ovary-cavity, roofed by the flat stigma-bearing disc; B—indicates position of stigmas; A—style-like processes from the surface of disc. 5. Seed from which the testa has been removed showing the one-layered endosperm in surrounding the embryo. A—Embryo, B—Endosperm.—(After Rendle)

In the well-known gigantic *Rafflesia Arnoldii* perianth 5, regular, one-fourth to three-fourth inches thick. A round corona is present. Its weight is 15 lbs. or a little more. Its breadth according to the latest records is from 18 inches to 5 feet. Its colour is yellow and red mottled. Its distribution is tropical and temperate.

Dr. Kerner and Dr. Oliver state that the *Rafflesia* plants are usually found in these and adjacent places where the wild elephants roam about. It is certain that the small minute *Rafflesia* seeds get stuck on the feet of the roaming elephants when these animals pass through the jungles and forests, trample the flowers and the fruits of *Rafflesia* and move about. In the forest paths frequented by these wild beasts, those roots of *Vitis* species and *Cissus* species, which come about over the earth, get in contact with the feet of the elephants and the seeds are distributed thereby from one place to another. As soon as the seeds fall on a suitable substratum, i.e., on the roots of *Cissus* and *Vitis* species, its filiform embryo germinates, merges out and grows. Later on, it pierces through the outer tissues of the host, develops there and gradually surrounds the host wood. The parasitic tissues at that time consist of some rows of cells, thread-like in structure. When they get thoroughly established in the host tissues, the host cannot get rid of the parasite, which grows within, thrives there and at maturity gives out flowers, fruits and seeds for dissemination.

The flowers of *Rafflesia Arnoldii* can be said to be the most gigantic, the most enormous and the biggest in the world, though its vegetative body is insignificant. Dr. Hutchinson calls it "the largest in the vegetable kingdom." When fully open, its diameter is more than one meter (=3 feet). At first when it comes out breaking open the bark of the root, it is just like a walnut fruit. Gradually it grows and becomes swollen up and bigger and just before opening it looks like a cabbage. Bracts completely surround the lower-bud and cover it up. It rapidly develops and blooms, showing its expanding perianth segments and up-shaped central bowl. Every part of it is fleshy and

emits a bad putrid smell. This has been recorded by a number of prominent botanists, such as: Dr. Willis, Dr. Brimble, Dr. MacMillan, etc.

Dr. Willis also holds the opinion that flies are necessary for pollination of these flowers and the particular fishy smell attracts the flies for this performance.

Dr. A. F. W. Schimper, the world-renowned Plant Geographer, writes about this plant thus:

"The most wonderful of all parasites are, as is well-known, the Malayan species of *Rafflesia*, foremost amongst which is *Rafflesia Arnoldii* in Sumatra, with solitary flowers measuring one meter in diameter. Personally I have seen in its native home only the somewhat smaller *Rafflesia Patma*, and that on Noesa Kampangan, a small island of South Java, where it grows socially, if not in an actual virgin forest, at any rate in one that has been abandoned to itself for many years. I wrote the following note on the spot regarding its habitat and occurrence: 'After traversing the narrow belt of littoral forest, one reaches a thin forest of medium height, which uninterruptedly clothes the stony southern slopes. The soil is almost entirely covered by a herbaceous aroid about a meter high. On the trees are hanging the very long cords of a *Cissus*, the bases of which, as with most lianes, creep along the ground over very long stretches. These prostrate parts of the lianes, often several meters long, are, as Junghuhn has already correctly stated, the parts that bear the parasite. They bear the buds in rows, and in stages of development up to the size of one's head, alternating with rotten black remains of flowers now vanished. The sole perfect flower, that apparently has only just opened, possesses a bright tobacco-brown colour and emits a foetid odour. Insects, however, are not visible either within or on the flower' (February, 1890)."

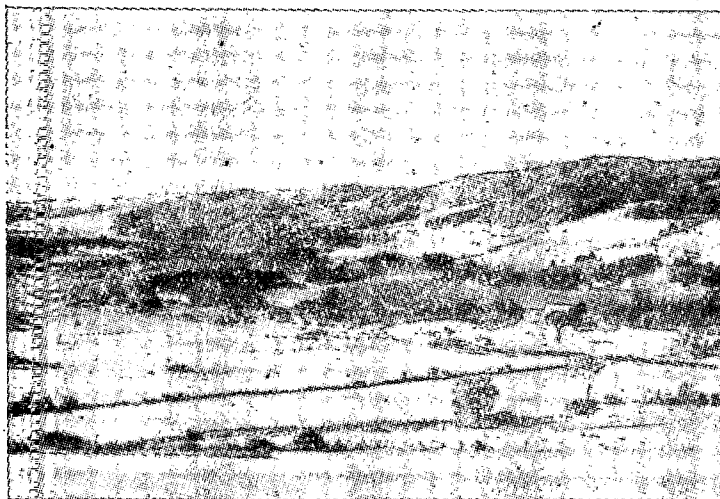
The flower of *R. Catma* is a little smaller in size; its diameter is $\frac{1}{2}$ meter and they are sessile. Other characteristics are almost the same as mentioned above.

Sapria Himalayana Griff., a species of this family has been recorded to occur and grow in the jungles of Assam, e.g., the Khasia Hills, Balipara, etc., according to Sir J. D. Hooker and Dr. Kanjilal.

Such is the short account of the wonderful family Rafflesiaceae.

FARM FAMILIES WORK TOGETHER IN THE U. S. STATE OF MAINE

THE extreme Northeastern U. S. state of Maine is the only American state adjoined by only one other—the state of New Hampshire. The southern boundary of Maine is the Atlantic Ocean. Canada lies to the north and west. Over 2,200 lakes lie within this hilly state.



The rolling green hill-country of the North-Eastern U. S. State of Maine

More than 5,100 rivers and streams, marked by narrow and rapid currents, are fed by springs and the melting snows of the forest regions. The deep and vibrant green of the valleys, the broad meadows and the pine trees, and the blueberry-covered hills of Maine are natural scenes of attraction to many Americans.

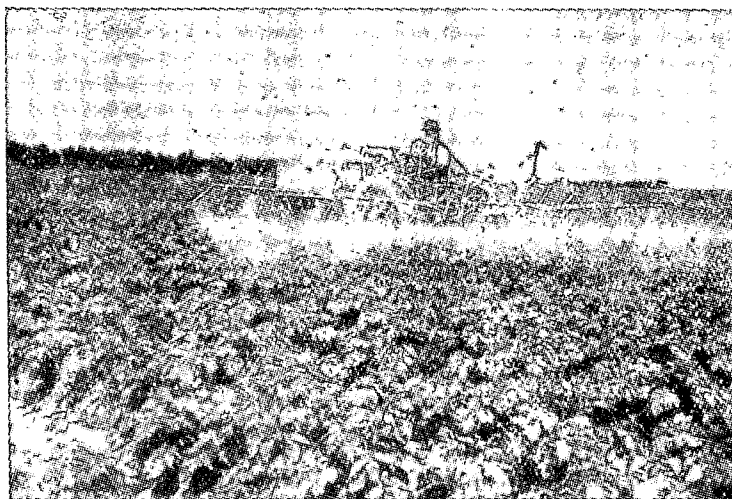
The first settlers of Maine were those who came to fish on the rocky shores and make their homes out of a wilderness. They did not expect to wrest a livelihood from the soil. The rich resources of lumber seemed to them inexhaustible. Gradually, the forests thinned, the population increased and the farmer replaced the woodsman.

Aroostook County, a flat, fertile plain covering 165,000 acres in the northern section of the state, rapidly drew farmers from southern Maine. Because of the special fitness of soil and climate potatoes early became a crop of great importance. Maine today raises twelve per cent of the entire U. S. potato crop. It ranks first among the states in number of bushels produced and is sixth in the number of acres under cultivation. One of the most important developments in Aroostook County is the raising of seed potatoes on a co-operative basis among the smaller farmers. They apply mecha-

nised methods to improve cultivation. To offset the dangers of one crop planting, beef cattle have also been introduced in Maine as a supplementary source of income.

Winters are long and summers short on these farms in northern Maine. There is no spring or fall. Farmers are comparatively isolated and they possess an independent manner which is peculiar to nearly all "down easters," as Maine folk are known in the United States.

Taciturn, hard-working, with their own brand of humor, Maine people have ancestors who came from many lands, England, France, Scotland, Wales, the Netherlands and Germany. The French-Canadians, who constitute about one-eighth of the state's population, have lived in Maine since earliest times, yet they maintain their own individuality, attending French churches and French schools. The U. S. census of 1930 gave the number of French-Canadians and Canadians living in Maine as more than 73,000. They speak a provincial French as well as they speak English,

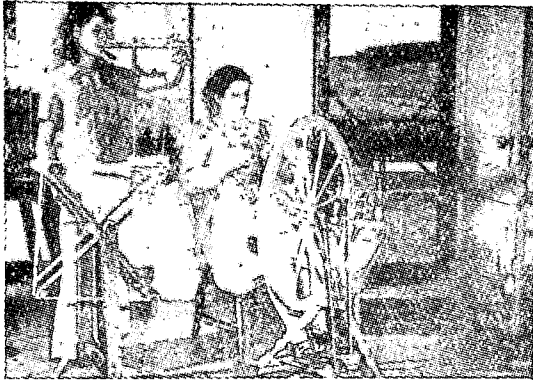


A mechanized sprayer destroys virus-carrying insects on a big potato-farm in Aroostook County

and follow many of the customs brought by their ancestors from the coast of Brittany, France. Women spin wool and weave them into cloth for use during winter.

Farmers and fishermen, these inhabitants of Maine who live close to the soil, know the seasons' change of wind, the salt tang of the sea air, and the deep snows of long winters. All of them are Americans who take active part in town meetings, local government,

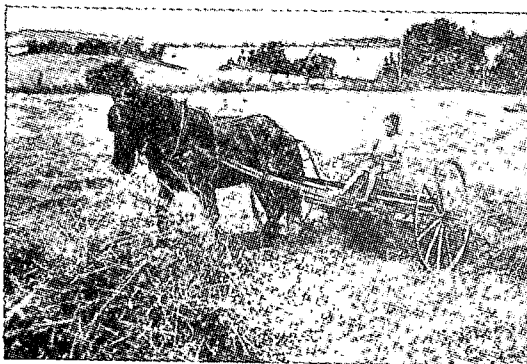
and work co-operatively with one another to protect and improve their crops. They are willing to accept and



An American farmer's wife and daughter spin the wool to be woven into cloth for the family's use during winter



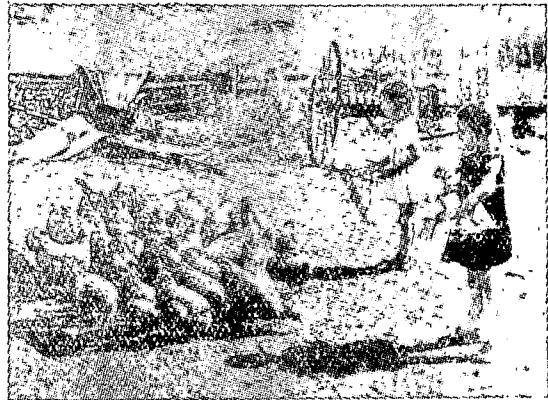
On clear dry days in summer American women in the State of Maine air the family's wool before spinning it



A young American girl drives the horse across the fields on a farm in the State of Maine

contribute new ideas on farming for increasing production.

The port of entry from Canada to Maine is the town of Fort Kent. Farmers who live near this town grow potatoes on their land and their shopping center is Fort Kent.



Farmers' children in the State of Maine feed the chickens

The children of Maine are taught from their earliest childhood to know the seasons and the soil, the time for planting, the time for harvesting, and to help in the fields and in the home. They feed chickens at home and drive horses in the fields, and are typical of American children. They attend free American public schools when they are young and take active part in the town meetings and local government when they are older.



The main street of Fort Kent, a port of entry from Canada to the U.S. State of Maine, is the shopping centre for potato-growing farmers from the surrounding countryside

During wartime, the farmers of Maine like all American agricultural men, doubled their efforts to help release food for shipment to the United Nations' battlefronts all over the world and thus made their share of contribution to victory.—USIS.

THE WOUNDED TIGER THAT SURVIVED TO TELL A TALE

By D. P. ROY CHOWDHURY

I was seated on my perch, hardly eight feet above the ground. Certainly it did not provide much security against the attack of a tiger. It was a full-fledged man-eater I was expected to meet. The tree which provided my shelter was a solitary one that stood near the kill. No better place being available I decided to try my luck discounting the risk involved in the adventure.



The wounded tiger

The kill was a full-grown bull of no small size. The hind parts had been completely eaten away. This was the first chance of meal the tiger had after a lapse of one month. I had all along been closely following his track trying all kinds of baits, available at hand but without any results. He was intelligent enough to evade persons interested in him; besides, he seemed to have developed a special fancy for human victims which, however, he left untouched on the slightest suspicion. His activities in this direction were not confined to a particular locality. This added to his cunning, gave him the exaltation of a terror. The villages round about appeared to be deserted on account of his presence. I was sure I did not make any mistake as to who the killer of the bull was. I was quite familiar with his pug mark by that time.

The weapon I had was a Westly Richard High Velocity 425, quite a dependable thing for the reception of my friend. Everything was ready, and I examined the magazine boat, the trigger, the sights, safety catches, etc. To be frank, this pre-occupation was intended for a diversion which I needed badly to calm the excitement that was creeping over my nerves. Too much of it is no good for a clean shot.

My followers had left me alone now. The time was

proceeding towards dusk. The focus of the electric torch attached to the rifle needed an adjustment. I should have seen to it when the men were here. However, rather late than never. This is the principle I have followed all my life and I have always been late. Nevertheless, I stuck to my good intention. Several flashes were reflected on the carcass. Yes, everything was all right. Now was the turn of expectancy. Would he come? The question haunted me ever since I took to shadowing this unpredictable creature. The fool that abandoned delicacies of his own choice might not turn up for a bovine species. It was not much of an attraction, rather too common a meal for him.

Silence prevailed in the jungle; indeed a queer silence which cannot be described. The environment, if it were not uncanny, seemed to be charged with mystery. Darkness around me slowly, steadily, was adding to it a physical load that was difficult to bear. Everything seemed to have gone to sleep, excepting I.

I heard a familiar sound behind me, those cautious steps of the mighty roamer of the night. My attention was rivetted in that direction.

Soon I discovered that it was not what I thought it to be. The sound was created by the falling of dry leaves. A few minutes passed by; another disappointment followed. It was a mongoose. These deceptive agents practically dragged my patience to exhaustion. Everything around me was most annoying. A prospect once hopeful now became dull. To get over this mood I lit a cigarette. It was accomplished by repeated strokes. The match-box was damp. Immediately after I had managed to light my cigarette, the unmistakable indication of a running beast was heard from beneath my *machan*. So he was here!

He must have been watching the movements of the *machan* while I was busy lighting the cigarette. The movement scared him away. All my labour was lost; I knew he was not coming back. The incident left me in the grip of depression. Since all was over the only occupation I had was to brood over my ill-luck and curse the beast to my heart's content.

Time by now must have rolled towards mid-night. I felt inclined to snooze in a sitting posture as no better position was possible within the limited space. While I was preparing for a nap I heard a rustling sound to the left of the *machan*. The creepers were moving. Might be a lizard. I took no notice of it, but a dreadful sensation crept over my body, and in no time I realized that I had contacted the messenger of Death. It was a snake of immense size creeping over my knee. The touch had a paralysing effect. I cannot recollect how I managed to make myself stiff and still like a rock. My presence of mind was providential. The venomous creature continued its journey towards the opposite side of the *machan*. Slowly it passed by. I was left alone.

It took some time to recover from the shock. My forehead was still wet with cold perspiration. Night was fast slipping into dawn. It was heralded by a cuckoo. The sooner it came the better. I felt almost restless to get down from my perch. I resolved not to go for this disgusting *shikar* business any more. I am not quite sure whether this was my fifteenth or sixteenth resolution.

I was waiting for the light of day, when all of a sudden I heard the carcass being dragged with a terrific force. This was no job of a leopard. He had come back! I repeated within myself, "You are not going to escape." The butt-end of the rifle was well-fixed on my shoulder, the barrel was directed towards the spot, the light was switched on and I was face to face with the terror of the jungle. It was a huge beast. The moment the light was flashed, he turned round towards me. The kill was dropped from his mouth which exposed dreadful fangs. The stand revealed a hesitant mood, not quite sure of an attack or retreat. The reflection of the light caught his eyes which seemed to be in flames. There was no time to lose. Quick decision, of do or die, resulted in a heart-shot. I could not have missed him from such close quarters, but it was obvious that I did. The beast received a solid bullet from a high velocity rifle and dashed straight for me, almost simultaneously with the report of the rifle. In another moment his right front leg was on the rest bars of the *machan*. I was not prepared for this sort of unbecoming behaviour.

I could see he was advancing. The paw was just a few inches below my knee. With desperate struggle he continued to climb up. I can tell you, it was not a very pleasant feeling, a man-eater trying to tickle your knees. There was no space to move backward to adjust the rifle to an advantageous position. The barrel was too long to be taken out quickly from the sight-hole wherein it was lodged. The only course left was to pull back the rear-side of the rifle and use it as a club. It was not an easy performance either, but I was desperate and I did not stop until I succeeded. The rifle used as a club served me very well. Several violent blows on the paw released the hold. A mass of solid bones and muscles dropped on the ground with a great thud. Now was the chance to empty another bullet from the magazine. The beast fell perpendicularly under the *machan* and the angle prevented his reaching me in a bounce. He had to go farther away from the tree for a favourable position. The movement revealed that the left fore-leg had been damaged beyond use. It was practically detached from the body. He tried another jump which did not work well. The next move was rolling and he managed to get away from my sight before I could register a second shot. He was now behind me giving vent to his fury by dragging hoarse coughs. The effect of the suppressed growl has to be heard and felt rather than told. It did not resemble the roar of the king of the jungle but the sound was powerful enough to stop

the beating of a strong man's heart. My nerves were giving way, perhaps I would have fainted had he not retreated from the scene. The growl gradually faded away as the animal receded at a distance. He could not have gone far as I heard distinctly the sound of another fall. Occasional coughing continued, the sound emanating continuously from the same place. The damage done gave me hope of a prospectful morning.

The light of the day came at last. I was waiting for my men. I needed their presence for the obvious reason that I had not the guts of the author of *The Man-eaters of Kumaon*. I dared not offer a grand chance of vengeance to the wounded tiger lying in ambush somewhere nearby.

The open space all around the tree was covered with tall dry grass, so thick that vision could not penetrate even from above.

While seated on the *machan*, I tried to locate the spot where the great cat fell and could not get up. There was no trace of him, but I discovered with the help of a binocular heavy clots of a bucketful of blood. Jungle ants had gathered in millions for a voracious meal. The spot around the place of feast had been violently disturbed. Not a single blade of grass stood erect within a radius of three or four feet. They were sufficient indications that vitality was not extinct yet. Not a good sign to one who knows what a wounded tiger means.

The sun was up already. The time was perhaps somewhere between eight and eight-thirty. I heard my men shouting at the top of their voice, obviously an exclamation of joy. My peon was unusually attached to me. He made it a habit of telling everyone confidently that I was a crack shot, which of course meant that his master never shoots twice. This was probably the cause of the excitement. They were under the impression that the trophy had been kept ready. Conscience was pricking me. I did not want false honours and it was my duty to warn them about the danger that was lurking near the tree. I released my rifle from its entanglement and stood up on the *machan* to say everything was not as bright as it seemed to be. Jungle manners are different, often stripped of polish, and I had no difficulty in announcing my mission in my own way. The announcement had its effect. Half of the *baksheesh*-hunters lost no time in turning their backs and taking to their heels as fast as they could. Those who decided to march forward were the forest guard, the ranger and my faithful peon. I knew the guns carried by the guard and the ranger were loaded with palletes. I was relieved.

I climbed down from the tree in great haste and exchanged my weapon with that of the ranger before he had any time to enquire what the matter was. The double barrel had the desirable elements within. There was no need to be doubtful as nobody in these parts use uncertain ammunition. L. Gs. and 3. Gs. are freely used on tigers as well, though forest rules do

not allow the benefit of such easy marksmanship. The palletes were essential now in case of sudden attack from close quarters. The manipulation does not require a decisive aim; it is something like snipe shooting.

I explained to the relief party what had happened. My narration gave them a shock such as they never had in their life. They scratched their heads and said, "That is what you should not have done; you could as well have shot to kill." In answer I had to say that that was my honest intention but the brute refused to die. I was sure he was lying near-about. I was prepared to prove that I meant to kill the beast if the ranger could get some men or buffaloes to beat the jungle. The ranger looked round. Grass, seven feet tall, covering an area of five or six football grounds, did not seem to offer a bright prospect for a beat. I could see he was not in favour of the undertaking. The best course in the circumstances was to provoke his sense of honour. I need not go into details as to how I managed my business. My endeavour had a psychological effect on him. But the reaction on me was of a doubtful character. I courted trouble unwittingly; on one side was the forced honour of a leader, and on the other the cowardice that took shelter behind me. I had no other alternative but to behave like a brave sportsman. It was an awful job under the existing conditions.

Men or buffaloes were not available at that hour. We had decided to see through our perilous task. The ranger and the peon collected a number of small pebbles which they were required to throw around as we pressed forward. The track was marked by distinct stains of blood on the grass and all along the path the animal had passed through. He walked on three feet; the other foot was hanging and he dragged it. We covered a distance of more than a furlong in this manner. While advancing we noticed that the animal had not enough vitality left in him. He was unsteady and was obliged to take rest here and there. We had by then come near the end of the field. In front of us stood a bamboo clump, a thick lonely bush, presenting a suspicious look. I had bitter experiences of those bushes. Naturally I thought it would be wiser to chalk out a plan before we went nearer. The ranger was asked to stop. Obedience was quicker than expected. He had seen something moving underneath the bush and this was confirmed by my peon. He saw the tail of the tiger. I warned the ranger to be ready. Any moment the tiger might be on us. We stood still watching the top of the grass, expecting something to happen soon. A minute or two passed by; nothing happened. The peon suggested that we should surround the bush and he had no objection to throwing pebbles in the right direction. Should that be effective, there would be no difficulty in settling the business once and for all. But I could not conscientiously approve of that operation because I had learnt by experience what the charge of a wounded tiger was like especially on ground. I was considering

of a chance shot from a safer distance. The disturbance of the bush was likely to drive the animal out. The conclusion seemed to be fairly reasonable. The ranger and the peon were called back to stand behind me. The first shot from the rifle of the ranger went off but there was no movement from the other side. My peon had reserved a fool's department in his head which occupied a larger space than mine. The pressure of the department made him rush towards the clump to see whether the chance shot worked or not. I had not anticipated the possibility of such a mad act and before I could warn him the devil was out. The tiger bounced with a terrific growl just in front of the peon; a few steps more and the peon would have been just another victim. Luckily the animal stumbled down. The peon was as if petrified and stood still. A man's life was in danger. The immediate thing to do was to stop the animal where he was. I could not use the double barrel from a distance. The palletes would spread and hit the peon as well. The weapon of the time was the rifle. I stretched my hand behind asking for it. My voice was audible enough but the weapon was not forthcoming. I turned back quickly and discovered the ranger was missing. There was no time to investigate as to what happened to him. I cannot account for how I gathered myself up and came as fast as I could behind the peon. Then a strange thing happened. The tiger must have been demoralised or the damaged leg did not allow a bounce; whatever it was, there was a lull. The tiger was no more visible under the tall grass. He must have been crawling, I could see from the movements on the top of the grass that he was retreating. Firing on guess work might make the situation worse. I preferred to wait and watch.

The movement of the grass passed by the bamboo clump. Now a pandemonium followed. A hue and cry was heard from the opposite side of the clump—"puli, puli" (tiger, tiger) 'there he goes' and many other exclamations of fear that usually follow under such confusion. The cry for help came from the cooly women who were going that way towards a coupe. I rushed towards the spot but could see nothing. I was bewildered. Ghosts do not play in day time! Nor was there anything ghostly about it. All the women had got up on trees in all directions. They clapped their hands to draw my attention. They pointed to a spot where the tiger lay. At last I understood so by the signs. It was a thorny bush preceded by a high boulder. Going near it, I began to walk on all fours keeping the gun ready. Inch by inch I went near the top and with the utmost caution I raised my head very slowly. Ah, there he was. The hind part up to the chest was visible. The head was within cover of the bush. He was lying down, apparently unable to take cover on account of exhaustion. I felt he was aware of my presence. His tail was moving up and down. I took a good aim at his heart. The trigger was pulled and the report of the gun concluded a good business; the terror of the forest was dead.

A HOMAGE TO BAPU FROM FAR-OFF BRAZIL

By KRISHNA KRIPALANI

WHEN I came to this far-away land on the other side of the globe, where there is summer now when there is winter in India, I was curious to know what the people, the common intelligentsia, knew and felt about us, Indian people. I knew that there was a uniform pattern of knowledge about India which, thanks to our long subjection to alien rule, was common in almost all foreign countries, namely, that we were an ignorant, stupid people, poverty- and disease-ridden, steeped in superstition and religious intolerance, keeping company with tigers, snakes and naked fakirs. I was therefore surprised to find that the people, wherever we went, not only received us with warm affection but even looked up at us with admiration. It was not difficult to discover the reason. We came from the land of Tagore and Gandhi, not legendary heroes of antiquity but flesh-and-blood creatures of the 20th century, who, in this age of moral frustration and violence, showed the way of harmony and peace.

It is remarkable to what height these two men have raised the stature of India in foreign eyes—Gandhi more than Tagore, for life is bigger than literature and art. I am told that on the evening of January 30th when the news reached here of Bapu's assassination, common people on the gay boulevards of this city were seen to wipe tears from their eyes. It was the death not only of a famous Indian but of a great friend of humanity, whom every one could claim as his own.

The common people sighed, wiped their eyes and went their way and soon forgot the tragedy. But the stir in the soul of Brazil found more than transient expression in some very moving and beautiful poems written on Gandhiji. The best of them, composed on the very evening of the tragedy, was by Cecilia Meireles, one of Brazil's greatest poets. Her elegy has been translated into English and already published in India in the inaugural number of the newly started magazine *United Asia*. Fourteen thousand miles away from the scene of tragedy, the spirit of a poet, who had never seen the victim, whispered in anguish: *Saints die noiselessly, blessing their murderers.*

*The last voice of concord returns to the silence of
the sky.
The flowers of my tree are falling. I see a loneliness
come to embrace me.*

Here is another poem, not so magnificent as the one by Cecilia Meireles from which the above lines are quoted, but sincere and moving none the less and expressing the reaction of a younger generation. The author, Pereira Lima, is a young man, only 23 years

old. Shy, sensitive and gentle-mannered, I found it a pleasure to converse with him. He wrote the poem soon after Gandhiji's death and included it in his book of verse, *Mundo Futuro* (Future World). The English translation is by a Brazilian friend, Professor Armando Soares. I have retained in the translation the spelling of Gandhi's name as used in the original poem.

—Embassy of India, Rio de Janeiro.

GANDI

January the thirtieth, 1948.

Christ's month and Mahomet's flight . . .

*You died, Gandi,
Forgiving your own slayer,
Praying for us and for him too . . .
Longing for a world without violence,
So that the Creator
—Who made us in His image—
Might recognize us.*

*You wanted a world without arms,
Believing like Bertrand Russell—
"Only Kindness can save the world!"
You knew that that at least was possible,
Even if freedom were not . . .
Perhaps you never believed
In freedom . . .
Everything holds us in thrall,
All is inexorable fate.
Life is doomed to die
And even our baptismal name . . .
You prayed for the unfaithful, the pessimists,
For the hope of the world.
For a better world, oh brethren!
For we live only by hope
And hope,
Like the heavens above
Encircles us everywhere.*

*So that we may never kill again
In that era of our dreams!
And if man should kill again
He would do so
As a writer kills his characters . . .*

*So that the man who killed his own sister
Because she was a prostitute
May recall that the prostitute he abused
Had sisters too, my brethren!*

*So that we may bare our heads
Before a prison
Rather than before a church !
So that we may never judge !
To judge
Brings blood, hate and war . . .*

*You died . . .
In the lowly shade of the outcast
Through which men felt ashamed to pass.
But now the shade is become a light
By which man will for e'er see a vision.*

*You died . . .
The tunic you wore
Was white and immaculate,
Immaculate and white,
A dove of peace,
A symbol of the last good-bye.*

*You died . . .
Magician, seer, guide, mahatma, prophet
Like saint,
To tell Christ in the beyond:*

*"I also died for men . . .
To face God in Your glorious way."*

*You died . . .
But you will always be a live example
For us and the generations to come.
You were reduced to ashes !
Cast into the Ganges
Like the spirit of Christ over the waters . . .
Had you been buried
Your flesh would have remained intact,
Mummified, as it were ;
Even worms seeing your body
Would have fasted, Gandhi,
In holy reverence to him
Who longed so intensely
As spirit ne'er did before,
For peace on earth
And goodwill towards all . . .*

—PEREIRA LIMA

Rio de Janeiro, 1948

—:O:—

THE AFRICAN EMPIRE OF THE NEW WORLD

By G. L. SCHANZLIN

ONE of the by-products of the French Revolution of 1789 was the freeing of the Africans in the French portion of Haiti, the second largest of the Antillean islands. This liberation did not take place automatically, however ; it was effected after long and bloody struggles of the native-born Haitians against their colonial white masters as well as against the ensuing imperial system of Napoleon.

France finally lost the best part of her West Indian empire by sheer inability to protect it sufficiently, both by land and sea, due to her other commitments to her opponents in Europe. If Napoleon sold Louisiana, Haiti he lost in an unequal struggle with adverse political and economic conditions too powerful even for his genius and mental energy. Later on, in President Boyer's time, Haiti paid France for the confiscated plantations.

What we know about this terrific struggle waged by Haiti for her independence seems to be largely based on hearsay. From all accounts, the former slaves displayed reckless, fierce heroism under their leaders Toussaint l'Ouverture, Dessalines the "Tiger," King Henry Christopher, all former slaves, all full-blooded negroes.

The United States was too young a country to interfere. England was sympathetic, and so there

evolved finally the negro commonwealth of Haiti, a republic to begin with under l'Ouverture, a fantastic sort of empire under Jean Jacques Dessalines, anon a kingdom under Christopher. It was not a very stable sort of political fabric and perhaps is not today, except for the fact that it is the only nation of any size or importance founded by Africans which has to this day, at least in a measure, retained its independence from the political overlordship of the white man.

Legend has been busy, for a long time now, to heroize the elderly former colonial groom of horses of a French planter, Toussaint l'Ouverture, into what he in the very nature of things, and stripped from the incidents of involuntary servitude, really was : a master of men, a born leader, a cautious statesman. It shows us also gigantic Jean Jacques Dessalines, a typical black, yet a sort of Black Knight, or at least a Percy Hotspur, a fighter if there ever was any.

And King Christopher, or Christophe, another giant of Dahomoy or Fan stock, wearing himself out to bring his race on the island up to a point where they would no longer excite the contempt of the white races of the earth ; being legislator, secretary of commerce, warrior, general, judge and ruler, priest and prophet for his race, building for his monument his chief fortress on a mountain top, 3,000 feet high, still

as amazing a piece of architecture as Québec or Louisburg. And then, having gone to the limit of human endurance, being vanquished after all by the stupidity and laziness of ex-slaves, dying by his own hand, through a golden bullet, as tradition has it. A titan, dying more gloriously than Napoleon, his great enemy; falling like a great oak, or like a giant silk cotton tree in a tropical hurricane.

What a man!

Economically and commercially considered, Haiti is one of the most favoured countries of the globe, a tropical island of great fertility. The republic of Haiti, sharing the island of that name with another republic of similar origin and race, the Dominion Republic, has played no unimportant part in the history of world commerce.

It furnished the United States with coffee long before the time of Brazilian coffee-growing; it was famous for its sugar plantations long before the sugar industry of the neighbouring Cuba became important. With its 10,000 square miles it has a population of two and a half millions, while the Dominion Republic has a million and a quarter on about twice the same area. It has been made what it is by the labor of a population which is probably more homogeneous by this time than are great portions of the United States, with a common tradition, history, institutions and social customs considerably older than that of any American commonwealth west of the Alleghanies.

From the view-point of human biography, the earlier Haitians stand out in that dim twilight of the stormy birth period of the nation in fantastic grandeur. Like their own voodoo, an African religion pure and simple, those revolutionaries could have been no commonplace stock figures challenging the humorous contempt of the whites. It would seem that they were negroes from Upper Guinea, rather than Bantus from Lower Guinea. They somehow, by the lucky accident of the French Revolution, and their own bravery, avoided the Suwanee River imbecilities of the United States negroes, with all the melodramatic plantation tomfoolery which down to very recent years has prevented the negroes in this country from finding themselves racially and politically, because it prevented their seeing themselves in a different light from that in which their former masters had been willing to see them.

There are three continents which have sent streams of population to the Americas. In pre-historic times (pre-historic in the sense at least of pre-Columbian) Asia must have sent some of his races across the Pacific, perhaps the ancestors of both the older and later Peruvians, as also all the Nahuatl races of Mexico and the south-west with the bulk of the forebears of the Red Indians. Europe was the second large contributor in later modern times, contributing all the present leading races in North, Central and South America. The third continent, Africa, has had a much smaller share in peopling the New World

during the last four centuries, but its contribution was not without its significance.

While it is true that in North America English and other European settlers almost succeeded in making all the regions between the Rio Grande and the Arctic a white man's country, the one disturbing element which finally and signally prevented such an outcome was not the indigenous American tribes, but negroes brought as slaves from Africa. From the outset, it will be well to take a somewhat different view of slavery than what has become, especially since the Civil War, the common view of that institution.

We have overlooked the fact that not only the Africans in this country, with their descendants, but also a large portion of the white population of North America, are descended from bond servants brought to this country under various types and degrees of social and economic servitude. Nor will it do to consider the position of the present negro population in any part of the two American continents merely on its racial side. The Africans transplanted to the western hemisphere, barring their temporary social servitude, should be considered in all their bearings upon the political, social and economic conditions of any portion of American soil where their ancestors were brought, or where they may be living at present.

No history of the United States that is worthy of the name of history will ever be written that does not take into full account the share which the Africans and their descendants have had in the building up of this republic. What is true of the United States is, of course, still more true of Mexico, of the West Indies, and also of large sections of the South American continent.

Here again it should be said that the share which Africans with their descendants have had in the political and social development of these regions is out of all proportion with the amount of attention historians and politicians alike have given or are giving to this very important factor which negroes have been in the building up of commonwealths, civilisations and social systems of all the countries involved.

To think of the black republic Haiti, for instance, as if its very history were tainted by the fact of the ancestors of this nation having been in servitude, and that nearly 150 years ago, is absurd. No stigmas, either racial or social, have tangible value to an impartial observer of the history of men and of races, no matter where nor what they have been in the distant past. Such an impartial attitude will at least safeguard the investigator from possible embarrassment if those inquired should turn inquisitors into our own genealogies.

During the century and a half after the time of Columbus, the New World was peopled from Latin Europe. The West Indies were largely stripped of their native population, while Central and South America were subdued and nominally, at least,

became New Spain. During the period of the Anglo-Saxon expansion, from the taking of Jamaica by Cromwell down to the Americ-Spanish War in 1893, the same thing was done on the North American continent: it was almost completely stripped of its native inhabitants. As far as they survived, they were herded into the most inaccessible regions, minus legal rights, minus all the conditions under which they might have continued their separate tribal existence as minority groups.

Whereas the whites succeeded in most regions of the North American continent south of the Rio Grande, they did not succeed in all of that region to make it a purely white man's country. Nature hates a vacuum; since the whites could not make a living in the sub-tropical regions in the West Indies, due to climatic conditions, they were compelled to bring in people who were inured to the hardships of tropical conditions and able to perform the hard physical work that was necessary to build up a new civilization.

What the West Indies would have become if negro slaves had not been brought in, is hard to say. On the continent, in the strip of the present Gulf States of the Union it is at least an open question whether white people would have been able to produce the necessary means of life by agriculture. Real plantations producing the staples of trade—sugar, tobacco and cotton—would probably have been out of the question.

In both cases, on the continent and in the islands of the American archipelago, essentially the same thing happened: races of African origin became the real children of the soil. By this time, some centuries after their involuntary arrival, these Africans have become, perhaps in a larger sense than have the whites, Americans.

When attempts were made to solve the American negro question by the creation of the republic of Liberia in West Africa, it came to light that American negroes, slaves though they had been, had become immeasurably differentiated from the African negroes, and the colony of Liberia has not been a great success, either from the view-point of the re-imported Africans or from the view-point of the indigenous African tribes of the interior. The two groups are probably as separate today, nearly a century after the founding of Liberia, as they ever have been. The negro problem in America, on the other hand, also remains as unsolved today as it ever has been.

In the West Indies the case is different. Havana in Cuba has become a large city, a cosmopolitan city with over half a million inhabitants. But neither Cuba, nor any other portion of the West Indies, will ever be a white man's country, not any more than Mississippi is a white man's country. Politically speaking, yes, both Cuba and Mississippi are white

man's countries. Racially speaking, and in the long run, the countries and islands of the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean, by sheer force of numbers, will never be the exclusive property of members of the Caucasian race. Nature is against it.

On the continent the process has been, and is, slower. What the negroes in Haiti, the mulattoes with negroes in Cuba and the Dominican Republic, achieved in political independence, will be achieved in some nearer or farther future by the American negroes and mulattoes wherever and whenever political conditions will make that achievement possible.

He would be a bold man who would venture to prophesy the existence of a chain of colored republics both north and south of the Gulf, that is to say republics where the prevailing color of the inhabitants would not be pure white, if white at all. Nevertheless the whole region—all of present Mexico, the American Gulf States, and all the West Indies—is today not any whiter than it was a hundred years ago, perhaps far less so.

The artificial separation between whites and blacks, in our Southern States, has in no wise even begun to solve the negro problem; it is merely postponing the solution. South of the Rio Grande, across the West Indies and the Caribbean, the color problem has never reached the acute state in which this problem remains to this moment in the United States. Seeing that the negroes cannot be assimilated by the whites in this country, there remains only the other way out of the difficulty, separate political life for the two races with minority groups for whoever happens to be in the minority in any given part of the country.

The conditions under which the negroes of Haiti achieved their independence from their white masters may not again arise in any American region where negroes form a large majority of the population, but some other conditions may. How infinitely superior American negroes have become to African negroes came to light startlingly in the case of Liberia, referred to above.

The rising tide of color may not be, and is not necessarily, a spectacular thing that lends itself easily to news-reels. But it probably is a tide, a silently forceful phenomenon, as silent and forceful as nature itself. Whatever is man-made, be it breakwaters or laws, will resist and does control the tides locally. They are mere palliatives, however, and in no wise do they actually regulate that tremendous array of forces in the physical universe on the one hand and in the development of the human race on the other. It has taken four centuries to repeople the Americas, repeopleing them with a great variety of races: the readjustment of the aspirations of these races, as to the bounds of their habitation—this with many other related problems must find its solution in the future.

THE INTERNATIONAL BANK AND ITS FUTURE

By MANKUMAR SEN

At the moment, a Mission on behalf of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development is on a visit to India. In view of India's approach to the Bank for a loan to finance her urgent productive plans considerable interest has been evoked in the circle of economics and industry as regards the scope and functions of this international institution. The fact that the question of International Bank Mission marked the beginning of budget session of the Indian Parliament a few days back is a further proof and indication of the keen interest our legislators are taking in this matter. Since India became self-governing this is the first attempt to raise foreign capital on a long-term basis for financing her immediate reconstruction and development requirement. It is a pleasure to us to notice that the peoples' representatives in the Parliament were awakened to this vital question of rehabilitation of war-disrupted Indian economy.

After the termination of the second World War India has achieved her much-struggled-for independence. Along with Independence the country has been partitioned and the sources and available finances of the country have been divided between two opposite camps. At an interim budget placed before the Central Legislature eight months after the attainment of freedom the financial position was reviewed and despite all efforts at austere spending and tightening of the belt the budget disclosed a huge deficit. The then Finance Minister did not try to bridge the gap and instead left it conveniently to be carried forward. Meanwhile the problem of refugees' resettlement was assuming alarming proportions and a huge expenditure on that account was urgently called for. Added to it was the costly programme of 'prohibition' and abolition of zemindaries initiated by the provinces in accordance with the policy of the Congress. Railways, Port Trusts and Public Works equipments not being repaired or renewed during the war years, the demand on this account too became increasingly pressing and high. At the outset of the current financial year and soon after the last budget, the price-level of commodities started rising further. The over-all picture was extremely disappointing. Series of conferences, both governmental and non-governmental, were held to devise ways and means to counteract the evil forces of 'inflation.' The provinces were called upon not to count upon any Central grant for their programmes of 'prohibition' and abolition of zemindaries. Development projects not likely to yield immediate results were abandoned. The rate of interest having been reduced to 2½ per cent the Government Loans received a cold response. In the field of exchange an unprecedented crisis raised its head and due to shortage of dollar India was seriously handicapped along with some other nations. The International Monetary Fund was approached for

exchange facilities in respect of hard currencies, and from disclosures made in the Parliament by Hon'ble Dr. John Matthai in course of his reply to the question of India's proposal to borrow from the International Bank we find that a loan of 80 million dollars was accommodated to India by the International Monetary Fund.

But this was only a short-term finance obviously for meeting current expenditure on food and other requirements. India's present proposal, we have already pointed out, is for long-term finance. Although Dr. Matthai was not in a position to say exactly for which of the development projects India solicited the Bank's aid, his statement revealed that prominent among those were projects for reclamation of 10 million acres of waste but cultivable land, for the sinking of tubewells, development of fisheries, purchasing of locomotives, ships and hydro-electric equipments. These fields of investment, we must remember, are less attractive to private capital in view of the fact that investment required in them is large, return on capital invested is small and uncertain and thirdly, there is every prospect of Government's intervention or control. As such, these are the most appropriate fields for the proposed Bank's aid being employed usefully. An influential weekly of Bombay has referred to another advantage that

"The fact that the Bank has lent minds to a member country may help infuse a certain amount of confidence in private capital in foreign countries to invest in the borrowing country. For it knows that the Bank will lend to a member country only after fully satisfying itself about the readiness of the latter to take effective measures to promote economic and financial stability, to eliminate discriminating restrictions which impede the flow of private capital and otherwise to create conditions which will attract private investment."*

The visit of the I. B. Mission is particularly opportune in so far as it coincides with the enunciation of much-speculated Truman Doctrine. This Four-point Truman Plan envisages a new rôle for international capital in its now-famed Point Four and purports to solve the dilemma of democratic capitalist enterprise. Mr. Truman has discarded the idea of economic imperialism and has pronounced that the present doctrine is 'a co-operative enterprise in which all nations work together through the United Nations and its specialised agencies.' Dean Acheson, the newly-appointed Secretary of State, said in his first Press Conference that India is an obvious country for help of the sort envisaged in President Truman's Point Four. Later Mr. John J. McCloy, President of the International Bank, commenting on this famous Point Four said in a Press Conference that "India looks good."

Mr. McCloy further pointed out that the Bank has a 'substantial mission' in India. Actually the Bank's India Mission is the largest ever sent into the field of the Bank. The U. S. has major contributions to the Bank and the Bank's Chief Engineering Advisor and some other high-ranking officials are also American. Naturally, without prejudicing the sovereign status of the Bank, the Bank's India Mission cannot afford to ignore Truman's Point Four that advocates assistance for reconstruction and development of undeveloped or under-developed countries of the world. In his famous article published in the *Engineering News Record*, Mr. McCloy also has said:

"The World Bank is not unlike the normal lending agency which aims to make loans that will be repaid. The loans in this case have the purpose of reviving and promoting the economies of the member countries."*

In its Charter one of the main objectives of the Bank has been defined as follows:

"To assist in the reconstruction and development of territories of members by facilitating the investment of capital for productive purposes including the restoration of economies destroyed or disrupted by war, the reconversion of productive facilities to peace-time needs, and the encouragement of the development of productive facilities and resources in less developed countries."

The threefold functions of the Bank are stated to be: (a) Rehabilitation of war-devastated areas; (b) facilitating the transition of war-economy of a country to peace-economy, and (c) advancement of the under-developed countries of the world. For the achievement of these objects the Bank is equipped with considerable financial resources. The authorised capital stock of the Bank is 10 billion dollars divided into 100,000 shares of 100,000 dollars each subscribed by the Bank's members. The Bank, it may be noted, may make or facilitate loans to its member countries under three different methods. Firstly, the Bank may make loans out of its own paid-up capital, reserve fund, etc. Secondly, the Bank may guarantee in whole or in part loans made by private investors through usual investment channels. In the third place, the Bank may make or participate in direct loans out of funds raised in the market of a member or otherwise borrowed by the Bank.

During these three years of its existence, the Bank has operated within the walls of Europe only. In the second year the loans made by the Bank were 250 million dollars to France and 195 million dollars to the Netherlands—in all 445 million dollars. The Third Annual Report, just published, shows that during the period covered by this Report, loans advanced by the Bank were as follows: Denmark 40 million dollars, Luxembourg 12 million dollars, Chilean Government 16 million dollars, Four Dutch Shipping Companies 12 million dollars.

Stressing the need for proper utilization of the Bank's loans, Mr. McCloy in his article, earlier mentioned, says:

"The loans must stimulate production in order to promote broad economic recovery. Production in each country has two objectives: First, to fulfil domestic requirements, and second, to build up surpluses for shipment abroad in exchange for essential imports. The Bank aims to assist its member countries by financing their purchases of needed outside goods, with the stipulation that purchases must be for items that will increase the member's own productive power. The resulting increased production will enable the member either to satisfy a greater part of its domestic demands, thereby reducing the need for imports; or it will make available additional goods for export, increasing the country's ability to pay for purchases made outside its borders. In either case adequate production is the key to bringing the country's economy into better balance and to promoting an increased standard of living."†

The international demand for new capital from the Bank has been almost exclusively for dollars. Referring to this the *Economist* pointed out recently that

"The Bank's dollar resources are severely limited. It collected about 750 million in dollar subscriptions from the United States and other member countries. In addition it mobilised another \$250 million by last year's issue of bonds in the American capital market. It has to date made loans of slightly over \$500 million. Since its dollar resources cannot be allowed to run down completely, the remaining scope for dollar loans is modest."

We understand *Economist's* tributes to the Bank's activities and sympathy and alertness for its encumbered dollar position. But what we do not understand is that why the Bank did not so far think it wise to extend its interests beyond the shores of Europe.

We, however, will continue to hope that the Bank to justify its existence and international status, must henceforth take active interest in Asian countries. In the third Annual Report such noble sentiments are traceable. The Bank from now on must act up to those ideals and objectives. An unduly cautious, conservative and partisan outlook has marked the United Nations and its satellites, of which the International Bank may be recognised as one. And it was this disastrous policy that Pandit Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, condemned time and again in the special session of the Security Council addressed by him. An unusually heavy responsibility has devolved upon the India Mission of the Bank. India's, by the way, is the first application for the Bank's loan from the Eastern Hemisphere. India has suffered no less than Europe in the devastating second World War and its aftermath. War-torn India deserves no less care and attention. India's case is the acid-test for the Bank's honesty of purpose.

Springfield, Ohio

* *Eastern Economist*, February 4, 1949.

† *Eastern Economist*, February 4, 1949.

THE PRESENT SITUATION AND BUDDHISM*

BY MAHAMAHOPADHYAYA VIDHUSHEKHARA BHATTACHARYA

Let us ponder a little about the present situation of the world. Is it commendable? We are here on the occasion of a jubilee festival. Indeed we all desire jubilation. But:

"Ko nu haso kim anando
niccam pajjalite sati"

"When all is ever ablaze what is there to laugh or to be joyous about?"

What a deplorable state! Who could ever imagine it even in one's dream? And is it not that every one of us feels it very strongly. Indeed "*pitvā mohamāyīm pramada-madīram unmattabhutam jagat*" having drunk the dangerous wine of ignorance the world has now gone mad."

But how has it happened? Certainly not owing to the action of the uneducated for they are quite ignorant. And I can tell you that even if you succeed by any means in convening an assembly of all the uneducated, past, present and future, and they put their heads together for hundreds of years, it will be impossible for them even to imagine—far less to do—the evils done to the world by the modern educated people. Some blame here Science. But certainly Science can in no way be blamed. By fire you can do both, cook your food and burn down one's house. Here the fire does not call out to the man thus, 'Come O man, do not cook the food with me, but set me to that house.' Similarly it is certainly not Science that is to be blamed but the scientists who direct its wrong application. Is it not true that the proper application of Science has been of immense good for all kinds of beings, and not for human beings merely? Everyone should, therefore, remain ever thankful to the trend of modern education, that leads to the ever-growing researches and discoveries in the domain of science.

But how is it that the modern education is now being used for the utter destruction of the world, there being nowhere any shadow of *svasti* and *santi*. Considering this I was often thinking that had I been in power I would have at once stopped the education that has brought about the extinction of humanity.

But where is the disease? Let me tell you frankly that the malady from which the entire world is suffering terribly has obviously entered into the marrow, but in order to cure it you are simply applying ointment on the outward skin only. But before starting treatment one must know what the real disease is, there must be diagnosis by a really experienced medical man. There are two classes of physicians, new and old. And there are also two kinds of drugs, prepared in modern and old systems. That you have special attachment to the former is quite evident. So long you have been trying only the first type of physicians as well as medicines to the utter negligence of the

latter. But what has been the effect? Does the disease increase or decrease day by day? No reply is necessary, as we all see it with our own eyes. Yet, never do we hear from you anything about the old school of physicians or their medicines. But is it true that all things that are old or ancient lose their value or merit? Nobody knows how old the sun is, yet, who will say that the sun is ever deprived of its heat and light?

I am fully alive to my deficiency and shortcomings and to the gravity and perplexity of the problems with which we are everywhere faced, and, in fact, I consider myself nothing but a pigmy, and as such too good to do any good or suggest a marvellous cure. Yet following the footsteps of ancient sages, I am emboldened to point out unmistakably the disease and the medicine thereof. It is, however, never suggested that you are here advised simply to follow the sages blindly. Far from it. Apply your reasons as far as you can, and if and when you are satisfied, and I believe, as men of reason you will be satisfied, you are to act upon it. Let a man think whatever he likes, I shall speak out aloud that the disease we are talking about and the world is suffering from is nothing but the *inordinate desire for worldly enjoyments*, known in a nutshell in our country as *kāma* (desire).

All our religion, literature and philosophy point to it in one voice, just as all waters flow towards the sea. In this connection, let us first of all take an instance from Buddhism. As you all know, *Mara-vijaya* (the conquest of the tempter) depicted so beautifully in the Buddhist texts, *Lalitavistara* and *Buddhacharita*, is a most significant incident in the life of the Buddha. Indeed as the means of *nirvana* or of all sorts of well-being it is to be regarded as the central point not only of Buddhism, but also of all the principal religions and philosophical systems of India. We should remember that it is only after his triumph over *Mara* and never before it, that Gautama Buddha became the Buddha. Obviously the conquest of *Mara* is here symbolical. What is then here the symbolized sense? What is it that stood in the way of the Buddha's final realization? What was in fact that he conquered and thus became free? It is nothing but *kāra* or *trishna* (desire) referred to above. Considering its terrible consequences, no name better than *Mara*, literally meaning 'death', can be applied to it. It is therefore very significant and most appropriate. Thanks to the writers of the Buddhist literature who first used the word therein. If religion is that from which there is the accomplishment of exaltation and supreme good* and undoubtedly it is so, it holds good not only in regard to all the true religions of India but also of the world at large. No religion or good action is possible without the control of *kāma*, and no better instance

* Address delivered on the occasion of the Silver Jubilee Celebration of the University of Lucknow.

* "Yato'bhyudayanibhayaśānaddhih sa dharmah"—*Valśesikaśāstre*, 1. 1. 1.

can be cited than the last two World Wars which have turned men into beasts as we see with our own eyes. Familiarity often breeds contempt, and I am afraid, the case will not be different, if one is here reminded of a few lines of the *Bhagavad-Gita* (II 36-37, 43) :

"*Kama* is the root cause of all sorts of evil and as such it is the formidable enemy. It drives one as if by force to commit sin even involuntarily. This enemy is therefore to be killed, though it is very difficult to do so."

How even the secular literature of our country is saturated with this idea may briefly be illustrated from two of the dramas of Kalidasa. In the *Abhijnana-Sakuntala* the first union of the king with Sakuntala was effected simply by the impulse of *kama* and consequently it was cursed bringing about their separation. Then in the hermitage of the sage Maricha which was a *tapasiddhi-kshetra* (field of success in austerity), the minds of both of them were purged of all impurities of *kama* and their second union was a real one and as such full of bliss. Similarly in the *Kumara-sambhava*, another work of Kalidasa, Pravati's attempt to win Siva (the Auspicious One) with the help of Madana (Cupid) or *Kama*, failed utterly and it is only when Madana was burnt to ashes that she succeeded in realizing Him. From the very beginning Indians were so deeply convinced of the ruinous consequence of *kama* that they tried their best to keep their minds detached from worldly enjoyments as far as they could, giving rightly the higher place to spiritual advancement.

Having rightly given the higher place to spiritual advancement the Indian teachers tried every means they could find out for keeping their minds detached from worldly enjoyments that bring about evil consequences. To give only a few examples from the philosophical or religious speculations of our teachers the following few words may be said. In Buddhist philosophy such terms as *Vijnanavada* and *Sunyavada*, or *prajalanairatmya* (non-substantiality) and *dharma-nairatmya* (non-substantiality of things) are well-known. What is the purpose of propounding these theories? Nothing but the complete eradication of *kama*. As regards *kama* there must be two things, its subject and object. But in fact, the existence of none of them can be shown, as they declare with their strong grounds that anything, external or internal, that appears to us as existing, is, in reality, unreal, just like the imaginary town in the sky (*gandharvanagara*). To be very brief, the following words may be quoted here with special reference to *sunyata* :—

"One who believes in the void is not attracted by worldly things, because they are unsupported. He is not delighted by gain, nor is he cast down by not gaining. He does not feel proud of his glory, nor does he shrink from lack of glory. Scorn does not make him hide, nor does praise win him over ; he feels attached neither to pleasure, nor does he feel aversion to pain . . ."

The whole religious literature of India, supported variously by its different systems of philosophy is full of this idea of abandonment of *kama* which is for the

immense good for not only of this country but for the world at large. It will be suicidal if we neglect and forget it, specially when we are born in this land.

None should think that this is meant for the renunciation of the world and retirement in a forest. None should think it even in one's dream. Remember, it was Arjuna who wanted to give up his kingdom and live the life of a beggar. But what was the advice of Shri Krishna to him? It is this :

Tasmāt tvam uttistha yaso labhasva

jītvā satrūn bhūṅkṣva rājyaṁ samriddham.

"Therefore, do you arise and win glory ; having conquered the enemies enjoy your affluent kingdom."

Let me strike a note of warning. If the dangerous tide of inordinate desire is not checked somehow, and it is not that it is not possible, our ruin is inevitable.

Let me now speak a few words as proposed before with regard to the *Sautrantikas*. Why are they so called? Yasomitra says in his *Abhidharmakosavyakhyā* (B. B., p. 12) :

"*Ye sutrapramāṇika na tu*

śāstrapramāṇika te sautrantikāḥ."

"Those who hold the *sūtras* as their authority and not the *śāstras** are Sautrantikas."

It is owing to this fact that the Sautrantikas hold the name as they reject the authority of the *Abhidharmas* of the *Sarvastivādins*, for according to them, those *Abhidharmas* are far from the sayings of the Buddha.

As quite clear, the word Sautrantika is originally from *sūtra* and *anta*, the former meaning a particular portion of the Buddhist scripture. But what does the word *anta* mean here? Some say in such cases it does not convey any special sense, as it is said in Pali *suttam eva suttanto*. (See Childer's *Pali-English Dictionary*). The explanation is not quite satisfactory. In such cases the word *anta* in Sanskrit lexicons means 'ascertainment' or definite settlement. Cf. *Vedānta*, *Raddhānta* and *Siddhānta* (established conclusion). *Sutrantā* therefore actually means that which is definitely ascertained of the *sūtras*.

That later on, in fact, no distinction was made between a *sūtra* and a *sutrantā* is quite clear from the following line of the *Sikshasamuchchaya* (p. 59). Here the author himself intending to quote a *sutrantā* actually quotes a *sūtra* (*Akshaya-garbhasūtra*)† and not any *sutrantā*, as he should have done.

The Sautrantika School is said to have been founded by Kumāralata of Taxila. The original works of this school are hardly accessible, but no doubt once it contained a great variety of philosophical construc-

* As regards the *Sastra* one may be referred to the *Madhyanta-vibhagāsūtrabhāṣyātika*, Calcutta Oriental Series, p. 11. Generally in such cases the speeches of the Buddha are *sūtras* and the writings on them by prominent teachers are *śāstras*.

† *Āpāre' pi mahānto 'nāṭhah*
sutrantasuktah yathā tavad
akāśagarbhasūtre.

But this work is actually quoted here as *sūtra* and not as *sutrantā*.

tions. Much of the Sautrantika views may be known from the *Abhidharmakosa* of Vasubandhu and its *vyākhyā*, for though he was a Vaibhashika and mostly (*prāyena*) followed that school in the book he had much sympathy with the Sautrantikas and later on he himself adopted the *yogachara* attitude himself being the author of some important books of this school.

Like the Vaibhashikas the Sautrantikas are also realists, the main difference between them being that according to the latter the external world is not perceived, as hold the Vaibhashikas, but is to be known by inference. It is not that they do not accept its existence at all, on the contrary they do so, though not in the same way. For, they say, it cannot be maintained, as done by the Vijñānavādins holding that there is only consciousness (*viññāna*), for without the object of it there is no possibility of it itself. Therefore it must be accepted that there is the existence of the external world. As shown by the *Vijñānavādins* (see *Vimsika*) atoms cannot be supported, and in that case owing to their absence and consequently to that of an object made of them anyhow one will have to admit by inference the existence of the external things, otherwise there can in no way be consciousness of the things around us, which we cannot deny.

One of the most important and remarkable thoughts of the Sautrantikas is their theory of continuum (*santati*) of a person or a thing. What it is and how it is, nowhere is described better than in the *Milindapanha* (p. 40)* from which we take the following :

The king said, 'He who is born, Nagasena, does he remain the same or becomes another?'

'Neither the same nor another.'

'Give me an illustration.'

'Now what do you think, O king? You were once a baby, a tender thing and small in size, lying flat on your back. Was that the same as you who are now grown up?'

'No. That child was one, I am another.'

'If you are not that child, it will follow that you had neither mother nor father, no ! nor teacher. You cannot be taught either learning or behaviour, or wisdom. What, great king ! Is the mother of the embryo in the first stage different from the mother of the embryo in the second stage, or the third or the fourth? Is the mother of the baby a different person from the mother of the grown-up man? Is the person who goes to school one, and the same when he has finished his schooling another? Is it one who commits a crime, another who is punished by having his hands and feet cut off?'

'Certainly not. But what would you, Sir, say to that?'

The elder replied : 'I should say that I am the same person, now I am grown up, as I was when I was a tender tiny baby flat on my back. For all these states are included in one by means of this body. (*Imam eva kayam nissaya sabbe te eka-samgahitā*).

He gives another illustration :

'Suppose a man, O king, were to light a lamp, would it burn the night through?'

'Yes, it might do so.'

'Now, is it the same flame that burns in the first watch of the night, Sir, and in the second?'

'No.'

'Or the same that burns in the second watch and in the third?'

'No.'

'Then is there one lamp in the first watch, and another in the second and another in the third?'

'No. The light comes from the same lamp all the night through.'

'Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or thing (*dhammasantati*) maintained. One comes into being, another passes away ; and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous (*apubbam accariman viya sandahati*). Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go to the last phase of his self-consciousness.'

Still another illustration :

'It is like milk which when once taken from the cow, turns, after a lapse of time first to curds, and then from curds to butter, and then from butter to ghee. Now would be right to say that the milk was the same thing as the curds, or the butter, or the ghee?'

'Certainly not ; but they are produced out of it.'

'Just so, O king, is the continuity of a person or a thing maintained. One comes into being, another passes away, and the rebirth is, as it were, simultaneous. Thus neither as the same nor as another does a man go on to the last phase of his self-consciousness.'

In passing, one thing may be observed here. The Sautrantikas are said to have two schools (*Abhidharmakosavyākhyā* ; IV. 136), one known by the same name, Sautrantikas, and the other was called as Darstantikas in the *Vibhāsa*. The reference to the Sautrantikas as such in the *Vibhāsa* is extremely rare. One may therefore think that only the Darstantikas were known to the Commentary. The history of this school is, however, not yet quite clear. It is therefore natural to establish some relation between the name and the work of Kumārāśīla, *Dristanta-pankti* (Levi, *JA*, July-September, 1927, pp. 95-127). One may demand if the Darstantikas characterise them by the employment of similes, as said in Tibetan, according to which there is no difference between the Sautrantikas and Darstantikas. However, the sense of the word *dristanta* is not yet established with certainty. One may think that the word *dristanta* may imply here some opposition to the scripture. But what *dristantas* are meant here? Certainly they are not other than the traditional ones. And one may think them to be such as we have before us in the *Milindapanha* referred to above.

This continuum of persons and things is not quite new to Buddhism, but is already well-known in the Sankhya system as the Theory of Transformation (*parinamavada*), only with this difference that while in Buddhism the continuum is universal, it is all in the Sankhya excepting only the spirit, their maxim being

"Kshanaparivartino hi bhava rite chitsaṭṭeh."

"Things with the exception of the spirit change every moment."

* Eng. tr. *Sacred Books of the East*, Vol. XXXV, pp. 63 ff.

We may also remember here in this connection the system of the Jain philosophy which, too, supports the theory of transformation just like the Sankhya.

Now this question of continuum is involved with that of the universal flux or momentariness (*kṣaṇa-bhaṅga*), for if you admit a thing to be in a fixed form, it can in no way be continuous. Either it must be fixed or continuous, never both fixed and continuous. On the following grounds one must admit that whatever is existent is momentary. Says the author of the *Mahāyānasūtrālaṅkāra* (XVIII. 82-83) :

We hold that all that is compound (*samskrita*) is instantaneous. But how is it so? Because otherwise nothing can function. For function is that which is in an uninterrupted continuity (*prabandhena vṛttih pravṛttih*). And it cannot be justified if there are not every moment, origination and suppression (*utpada* and *nirodha*) alternately. If, however, one says that having remained for a time a thing by the suppression of the preceding moment and the origination of the succeeding moment the function goes on in an uninterrupted continuity, this cannot be accepted. For after that there will be no function as there is no continuity. Nor is it possible that it itself will be its cause. Nor is to be found there any other cause. It must therefore be admitted that in every moment something comes into being on account of its own cause that precedes it. In this way a thing that is produced but does not continue to be cannot remain in a different time.

Again, if it is said that we do not say that a thing which is already produced is going to be produced again, in that case a cause would indubitably be required. But what we say is this: that which is produced will after some time be suppressed and not just as it is produced. But what is it on account of which will it be suppressed? It cannot be maintained that it is the same cause as of the origination. For origination and suppression are mutually contradictory and nowhere it is found that the causes of contradictory things are the same, as of heat and cold, or the sun and shade.

Moreover, if the instantaneousness of a thing is not accepted there will be contradiction with the scripture (*āgama*), as well as with the mental perception of the yogins. For things are said by the Bhagavat and so if they are not instantaneous his statements turn to be false. The yogins also in their meditation of the appearance and disappearance of things realize the suppression of things every moment. How can it be reconciled if instantaneousness of things be not accepted?

One may suppose that a thing after its production remains for some time. But how does it remain so? Does it remain itself, quite independent of anything else, or with the help from some other thing? The first cannot be justified. Why? Because afterwards it does not remain by itself. And why is it not able to remain at the end by itself? Because there must be

some cause for remaining so. But it is not to be found there. It may, however, be argued that owing to the absence of the cause of destruction it remains and when the cause of destruction arises it is destroyed as the blackness of an unburnt jar disappears by the fire as it is well-known. But it is not right, because it is not to be found there. For there is no cause even afterwards. But is it not said that the blackness of an earthen pot is destroyed by the contact of fire—a fact which is well-known to all? But it can differently be explained. Here the fire simply produces a dissimilar continuum of blackness, and we see that by the contact of fire a dissimilar continuum of the blackness is produced, not the total discontinuum of any function. Similarly when one boils water by the contact of fire, that water becomes gradually less and less till finally it is so small that at the end it disappears altogether. Here the disappearance of the water is not on account of the contact with the fire once for all. Nor is it reasonable that a thing that has come into being should continue to remain,* owing to the absoluteness of its characteristics (*lakṣaṇaikaṅtīyat*). The characteristic of a compound thing is its transiency, as said by the Bhagavat. So if a thing does not pass away as soon as it is produced, there will not be its transiency for some time however small it may be. Therefore the characteristic of the transiency referred to above must be taken as opposed.

One may argue saying that if every moment, a new thing is produced there will be no recognition (*pratyabhijñāna*) pointing out "it is that." But it is not so. For quite possible is there the recognition on account of the similarity of the preceding and succeeding moments just like the flames of a lamp.† Thus the recognition is owing to the similarity and not to the actual presence of the thing. But how can it be known? By suppression (*nirodhatah*). If a thing remains in the same state no suppression is possible, because it is that very thing.

Besides, some transformation (*parinama*) of a thing is also noticed at the end. Transformation is alteration, and if that transformation of things, either internal or external, does not begin at first it cannot be known at the end. Therefore the transformation starts at the very beginning, it spreads gradually and becomes manifest at the end just like the milk in the state of curd. As long as the transformation is very subtle it is not ascertained.

Yet, every moment there is a change, and one must accept the instantaneousness of things.

Again, if a thing does not change every moment it cannot have its particular weight or measure, a small boy cannot grow a young man. And if you admit one's growth, it will be useless, for without that change it

* In the text I read *kasyachid avasthanam* for *kasyachid asthanam*, p. 150, l. 17.

† According to Chinese, Skt. *Mayakṛapalakavast*. But what does *palaka* mean here?

will remain in the same state, and without further growth no increment is possible.

Take again, for instance, some other thing such as a river or a tank, or a pool. Water is seen there sometimes dried or increased to some extent. It would be impossible if every moment there is no change, as nothing is found afterwards to account for it. The wind naturally moves, it becomes violent or is extremely slow. This cannot be justified if it remains always in the same state without a constant change.

Here a question may be put to the opponent to the theory: 'You admit the impermanency of things, but why do you not also admit their instantaneousness?'

'Because no difference whatsoever is ever noticed of them every moment.'

'But why in those cases in which instantaneousness is well-known, as for instance, the flames of a lamp in their unwavering state, do you not accept their non-instantaneousness, as the difference of the flames is not noticed?'

'Because it is not noticed there afterwards as before.'

Furthermore, the Buddhists declare very boldly that whatever is existent is momentary (*yat sat tat kshamikam*) for it is shown that existence consists in casual efficiency (*arthakriyakarita*). And this casual efficiency is possible only in two ways either in succession or in simultaneity. Nor is it possible of a permanent or a non-fluxional thing, all existents are therefore to be admitted as momentary. Here they argue: Why is it that a thing which is not momentary has no efficiency?

Because it does not stand the following examination: when according to you, a non-fluxional thing produces its present efficiency has it then also the capacity of producing the past as well as the future efficiency or not? If the former, it is not reasonable. For if it has that capacity it must produce also the past as well as the future efficiency at the same time. Because a thing that is capable of doing something must do it at the very time, as the totality of causes produces its effect. But it is impossible. If the latter, it will never produce it at all. Because the efficiency has in its train only the capacity, and that which does not effect anything in anytime it must be taken as incapable of producing it, as a piece of stone for the production of a sprout. Nor does it, in producing the present efficiency, produce also the past and future efficiency. If it is however said that with the help of a co-operant (*sahakarini*) in a definite succession a non-unfluxional thing will also produce the past as well as the future efficiency, it cannot be maintained.

In this way and on a great number of similar grounds these Buddhist teachers establish their theory of instantaneousness, which, as said above, is finally meant to help one in removing the inordinate desire for worldly enjoyment or *kama*.

On these as well as some other similar grounds the Sautrantikas as in the course of *Mahaya-asutralankara* (XVIII) establish the instantaneousness of things. This is found also in other works, specially of later origin, there being a great controversy between the two opposite parties, represented particularly by the Buddhists and Naiyayikas discussing the whole theory of flux.

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HOTEL TRADE AND TOURIST INDUSTRY IN INDIA

By S. C. SEN GUPTA

At the time the first ships began to traverse the sea pulling out from Egypt and from the shores of the Persian Gulf, from Southern Arabia, and from the seacoast of India, and caravans along the land routes, it was evident that provision had to be made for the accommodation and protection of armies of merchants, Indians, Babylonians, Egyptians and others. So we find along these ancient trade routes caravanserais sprung up. These merchants had, during their temporary sojourn, food and shelter in these caravanserais—the hotels of these early days. With the general improvement in economic conditions and the expansion of trade, the public inns began to make their appearance, and by the fifteenth century the inn was a distinct branch of business enterprise. During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries inns sprang up everywhere as a result of the increased activity in commerce and industry. By the end of the eighteenth century they were to be found in all towns and villages.

With improvement in the means of transportation and communication and with the increase in travel the old inns had to make way for a new type of establishment, namely, the hotel of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The term 'Hotel' began to be used about 100 years ago when travellers by railway required board and accommodation. Round about the fifties of the last century France exerted a distinct influence on hotel enterprise generally, and since the eighties the United States of America with her grand hotels of five hundred rooms and more has also come in as an influencing factor. The growth of the hotel movement was gradual during the 19th century, but rapid after 1900. While at present a European hotel with five hundred rooms is considered large, the average size of hotels has been on the increase in the United States until at present an hotel with one thousand rooms or more is not at all unusual.

In North America, there are 39 hotels with rooms with over 1,000 each and 8 over 2,000 each. Waldorf

Astoria, the largest and most luxurious hotel in the world, it is said, made an income of £4,125,000 during the last war.

The people of India are not hotel-minded yet. The industry had not been recognised by the authorities or the people, with the result that we lagged behind many countries. Whereas in the past our hotel clientele could be numbered in hundreds today it is counted in thousands. Taking the term "catering" to refer to the provision of food, lodging and similar services outside the domestic hearth, it can be said to have grown steadily in importance during the last 20 years; the number in the trade have increased by 25 per cent. Although it is difficult to foretell national habits in days to come, it would seem very probable that there will be a further extension. Industrial canteens shall have to be installed, either voluntarily by the managements or under various Government orders in order that the efficiency of the worker shall not be impaired by poor feeding. As in England, and other countries of the West, millions of workers will become legally entitled to holidays with pay. They will spend much money (with their families) in seaside towns and inland resorts, and they will stay in hotels as well as boarding houses, etc. The car, the radio and the airships have fostered the desire to travel and people only need the assurance of suitable hospitality whenever and wherever they wander to cause widespread increased demand. Since these potentialities exist, there is every reason to believe that caterers with trained staff will be able to develop the trade accordingly.

Food, drink and shelter, the basic necessities of life are available in our homes, but they are provided to a traveller in the country of his visits by its hotel industry. Clearly then hotels are vital to international travel. It has been said that most of the important business of a country is done in its hotels. The business community, in fact, could not function properly without hotels.

An international conference is held in an hotel, in some capital city. The delegates must be afforded the best hospitality so that they may take away a good impression. The services of the hotel are all important in this respect. Hotel proprietors have been called "The Nation's Hosts." They might with equal truth be called a country's "unofficial ambassadors."

The hotel business is not the particular industry of one country. It is a universal industry, capable of being developed in any country according to the needs of its people and the tourists visiting that particular country. The position of hotel industry in India differs from that in most other countries and in particular from that in Western Europe, the United States of America and Canada in that the travelling public demanding high grade hotel accommodation is so extremely small in India as compared with the traveling public of other countries mentioned. The limited demand for high grade hotel accommodation

in India as compared with other countries is due mainly to the fact that India lacks that internal mobility of population. It will not be out of place to give here a short history of some of the leading hotels in the country. In Calcutta, the Auckland Hotel was opened in 1841 and today as the Great Eastern Hotel it is the second oldest hotel in the British Empire. To modernise the old building and to make the hotel the best in India, the capital of the company has recently been increased from Rs. 30 lakhs to a crore of rupees.

In 1894, the Royal Hotel at Chowringhee and subsequently the two premises adjacent to it came into the hand of that renowned Calcutta hotelier who enlarged the business in 1906, being since then known as Grand Hotel. Present authorities of the 'Grand,' it is said, contemplate pulling down the old structure to construct a modern building on the lines of the Giant American Hotels at a capital cost of Rs. 5 crores.

Bombay—Taj Mahal Hotel: "The idea of inaugurating this big concern was originally conceived by the late Jamsedji Tata" who constructed it for the glory of Bombay and "not for financial gain." In 1898, as a limited liability company it was capitalised at half a crore of rupees. It is reported that the Tata-managed India Hotels Company, which owns the world-famous "Taj", plans to build the "largest and most magnificent hotel in the East" on the site near the Gateway of India.

"The Hotel industry is today one of the billion dollar industries in the United States (being the country's seventh largest, during 1948-49 with an investment of \$5,000,000,000) whilst in several of the European countries the hotel industry ranks amongst the first of the national industries, as for example, in Austria, France, Italy and Switzerland. Sometimes its growth was directly assisted by Government as in the ancient Roman empire or in modern Austria, more often it grew up spontaneously in response to economic demand; but whether assisted or regulated or left entirely free it has a place among the largest of modern industries. In Australia, the capital invested in hotels in 1913 was estimated at some £60-£85 millions and in Germany at least £250 millions. In Switzerland, the capital invested in hotels in 1926-28 was estimated at £50 millions or one-thirty-sixth of the country's total capital. The total capital Great Britain invested in this industry in 1939 is some £400 millions. The British Railway Companies' investment alone in their 80 hotels amounted in 1930 to £9,644,280." The English axiom "where a beauty spot there a hotel" is borne out by the fact that there are in Great Britain some 800 well-known licensed hotels, 40,000 restaurants, 16,000 registered clubs, 18,000 industrial canteens and 90,000 small private hotels and boarding houses, etc.

Now that India has to earn foreign currency it has to develop its tourist industry that is the hotel industry which, neglected so far, should soon receive

from the Government the recognition it so richly deserves. The Government has officially declared its intention of fostering the tourist traffic which brings wealth into the country. It will therefore be imperative for the Government to consider the hotel industry from a different angle. Observes Lord Hacking, the Chairman of the British Travel Association: "The

Mainstay of Tourism is the Hotel." It is beyond question that hotels constitute one of the most important factors in the tourist industry of any country. A country may possess within its national confines the maximum number of tourist attractions of the most diverse kinds, but without good and satisfactory hotels it is not possible to develop its tourist traffic.

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ECONOMIC CRISIS

By SIDDHESWAR CHATTOPADHYAYA

A study of the figures of the total note issue over a few weeks as embodied in the returns of the Reserve Bank of India will be interesting.

Week ended March 11, 1949	Rs. 1190 crores
" " March 4, 1949	Rs. 1185 "
" " February 25, 1949	Rs. 1186 "
" " February 18, 1949	Rs. 1195 "
" " February 11, 1949	Rs. 1202 "
" " February 4, 1949	Rs. 1193 "
" " January 28, 1949	Rs. 1193 "
" " January 21, 1949	Rs. 1218 "
" " January 14, 1949	Rs. 1218 "

Thus hopes generated by the return for week ended January 28 have not been fulfilled. Far from launching a vigorous drive for deflation in the interests of India's poor millions the Government is playing to the tune of capitalists, whose Bombay Plan prescribed a course of 'created money' which we had occasion to criticise in these columns at the time. Since the entry of the Congress leaders into the Interim Government the game of currency expansion originally set on foot by the Britishers has gone on merrily. The total note issue stood at Rs. 205 crores in August, 1939. The total money supply now is about five times what it was before the war. In 1948, India's production was 15 per cent above the pre-war level. Unless the gap between production and money supply is filled or sufficiently narrowed, there will be no peace in the country and India will be a second China much sooner than our voluble Ministers at the Centre seem to comprehend. The index number of wholesale prices during the week ended February 26 was 371.9 (Base : Year ended August, 1939—100). Abolition of the Capital Gains Tax, keeping mum over the Death Duty and imposition of a new tax on coarse cloth used by the poor masses, exploited mercilessly by Big Business for the last seven years, leave no doubt about the reactionary character of the Government. It is a pity that attempts are being made to delude the public by such statements as : "Of all the remedies suggested for the economic recovery of India the most practical and effective is her increased industrial and agricultural production. While the desirability of increased pro-

duction is beyond dispute it is clear to the meanest intelligence that in every country there is a limit to such increase which in India can not exceed 20 per cent of the present output. Who will bridge the yawning gulf which will still remain? Only two courses are open to the Government. British assets in the country may be acquired in exchange of our sterling balances which stood at £1138 millions at the end of the war. Unofficial estimate of foreign capital working in this country at present varies between Rs. 300 crores and Rs. 1100 crores. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, while in London, never mentioned this all important subject of our sterling balances being realised quickly through the acquisition of British jute mills, coal mines, tea gardens, etc. As the Prime Minister of the country he ought to realise that freedom with the major portion of the economic resources of the land in the hands of foreigners is a misnomer. If an account were cast of the undue gain made by British Managing Agents in the past and still being made as in a preferential supply of wagons to British-managed collieries (to mention only one item), the British assets could be taken over in all justice without payment of any compensation. To adjust our sterling balances against these properties is a very modest proposal, indeed. Mr. Shanmukham Chetty, admittedly with the approval of the Cabinet, has frittered away a large part of our sterling balances. Any Government which involves the country in such colossal financial loss forfeits its claim to be called national. Whatever sterling balances still remain should forthwith be used as stated above. As many jute mills, coal mines, etc., as can be obtained in this process may later on be sold to Indian businessmen, and the proceeds collected by way of currency notes may be consigned to a bonfire on the spacious lawn of the Government House, Delhi, as a public show. The other way out is to impose a capital levy of 25 per cent on all wealth exceeding Rs. 1 lakh acquired since the beginning of the war. France did so some time ago with immediate easing of the situation. This may be a bitter pill for the capitalists to swallow but is the only way of saving India from becoming Communist from end to end.

PRESENT CONDITION OF COTTON POSSIBILITIES WORK IN BENGAL

By SARADA CHARAN CHAKRABARTY

BOTH the East and West Bengal Governments have not been working on cotton this season 1948-49. The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills started a cotton centre at Fulia Boyra near Santipur (Nadia) this season. A small unit like this of 15 bighas can not be economical for those who have to work with hired labourers. It is convincing enough to prove its economical value as had been done by similar cultivations in different parts of Bengal under cotton scheme of previous years. Combodia and Dacca Egyptian cotton are being grown here as mixed crop with Aus paddy, Radish, Papya, Palval, etc. The yield and quality of cotton are superior when compared with similar cultivations in other Provinces in India, being 2 maunds of lint or 6 maunds of seed-cotton per acre. In support of my statement about the quality of the cotton, report on the same by the Manager, Dhakeswari Cotton Mills is given below :

Sample Test Report of cotton grown at Fulia Boyra (Nada.), West Bengal, this season 1948-49. (Cotton supplied direct from field about 4 oz. in weight).

Particulars of report	Varieties	
	Combodia	Dacca Egyptian
Proportion of seed to cotton fibre	2 to 1	as high as 3 to 1
Average staple length	1 inch	1.5/16 inch
General description	Whitish in colour, Dull creamy, silky softy in touch, re-in feel, irregular, gular, very cleanfull of dead and moderately small fibres, moderately strong.	
	Waste percentage will be heavy.	
Suitable for	30's/40's	60's/70's

S. BISWAS, Asst. Sg. Master, D. C. Mills, No. II. A. GUHA, Manager, D. C. Mills, Ltd.

The Dhakeswari Cotton Mills abandoned the work from October 1948 and I have been maintaining the same with great strain on my purse. This I have undertaken in the hope, that it is only a temporary halt on the part of Government Mill Owners' Association, etc., due to their difficulties for the partition of the Province. In view of the present cotton famine threatening the closing down of Bengal Mills, no Government can afford to sit tight on the subject and it is hoped that they will very soon realize the importance of reviving cotton work in Bengal. Moreover, besides proving the economical value of its cultivation, the working of this centre is indispensable

in connection with the Research work done by the Calcutta University on cotton, to verify results of their findings in field condition. Such research work is being done by the Indian Central Cotton Committee for other Provinces in India. It is unfortunate that though West Bengal pays heavy amount in the form of cotton-cess every year for its maintenance the Committee is indifferent to do anything for the Province. So the Research work, indispensable to establish a new crop in a place, is being done by the Calcutta University. This work is financed by the Mill Owners' Association, Bengal. It is regrettable that this Association also, though 10 years back took initiative in starting cotton works in Bengal with the Government, did very little when compared with what similar organisations in the Punjab, Bombay and Madras did for their own provinces for long years more than 25 years—at great loss and disappointment, before they attained success in introducing a new crop. The University may so arrange as to continue their research work on this important crop for Bengal after the period, for which contribution was contemplated, expires. The Bose Institute though began their work on hybridisation on cotton with the help of Government are now continuing the same with scanty contribution not commensurate with the importance of the work and results so far achieved.

During those days of scarcity of cloth, people though they have realised the necessity of Khadi work can not for various difficulties take to spinning. The cost of cotton is great, i.e., more than Rs. 2 to spin yarns for a cloth and that also is very difficult to procure. Khadi can not stand, if the spinners do not grow their own cotton and get them free easily.

The immense possibilities of this cultivation if not supported by the Government and Mills in Bengal will be of no avail. Once it becomes extinct it will be very difficult to revive. Even seeds acclimatized here, will not be available for the purpose of future multiplication, like cotton for muslin yarns, which has become totally extinct.

This season also (1948-49) as I had stated in my previous article on the subject (*The Modern Review*, March, 1948), the West Bengal Government due to their short-sighted policy, could not supply seeds to many growers. To many such persons, the Dhakeswari Cotton Mills as usual supplied seeds including such organisations as Government Khadi Board, Abhoy Asram, etc. I would earnestly appeal to the public and the Government to give the matter their due consideration and help the work it deserves.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HAIDAR ALI: By Dr. Narendra Krishna Sinha. Second edition, revised and enlarged. A. Mukerjee and Co., Calcutta. Pp. viii+308 and four maps. Price Rs. 10.

The author is to be congratulated on the completion of a first-class research work, which is likely to remain for many years as the standard authority on Haidar Ali and the history of Mysore for thirty years. He has utilised every source of information, including the latest to be discovered,—English records in the India Office (London), the National Archives of India (Delhi), and the rich provincial record offices of Bombay and Madras, the Portuguese sources brought to light by Chevalier Pissurlencar, French memoirs and despatches, besides the extremely valuable Marathi historical letters. Even Dutch, Tamil, Canarese and Persian sources have not been ignored, though these last have been found to yield nothing of value. The paper, printing and general get-up of the volume are attractive.

Haidar Ali was one of the most remarkable men of action who have found in India a stage worthy of their extraordinary gifts. His political sagacity and administrative capacity were no less brilliant than his military genius, and Dr. Sinha rates the former as even higher than the latter, though the popular belief is otherwise. He gives a long and documented account of Haidar Ali's Civil Administration and military system. Haidar wisely retained the old administration of the Mysore Hindu dynasty, and profited by this policy. Dr. Sinha is probably the first to emphasise the point that Haidar was no more an usurper of the Mysore Government than the Peshwa was of the house of Shivaji. This book contains interesting sections on the ruler's religious toleration, the contrast between Haidar and his son Tipu, the real strength of Haidar's army and the causes of its failure against British military science. The broad basis of facts concerning Mysore history, 1754-1782, has been here established probably beyond criticism, and future writers may now quarrel about the interpretation of the character and policy of these two sovereigns and the real effect of their rule on the lives of the people. It is possible to argue that here the biographer is too apologetic to his hero (or heroes) and turns a blind eye to certain defects of their rule, such as religious partiality, callous cruelty to prisoners of war, lack of a genuine desire for raising the people (such as inspired the great Akbar). But we do not see, how, as a correct history of the events of Haidar's rule, this book can be bettered.

The author's attention is drawn to an extremely valuable and scarce source, namely, the letters of Col. T. D. Pearse of the Bengal Artillery, who was the rival and critic of Sir Eyre Coote in the war with

Haidar. These were printed in the *East India Military Repository* (Dum Dum, 1822-24). Wyle's standard *Life of Sir Eyre Coote* and James Munro's *Narrative* (1789) are also absent from Dr. Sinha's bibliography. Evidently our author's aim was a political history, not a military study of Haidar Ali. In the latter respect alone has an opening for further work been left by him.

JADUNATH SARKAR

EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA: By Nagendra Nath Ghosh. Second edition. The Indian Press Ld., Allahabad. 1948. Pp. 429. Price Rs. 12.

In this work the author, who is already known to have made some original contributions to the study of Indology, has attempted "to give in a simple direct narrative an up-to-date, authoritative and comprehensive picture of Ancient Indian History." That this attempt has been successful is proved by the fact that the first edition went out of print some years ago. In the present edition the author traces, with due attention to religious, social and economic developments, the history of our land from prehistoric times down to the 12th and 13th centuries. On some knotty problems of ancient Indian history, such as the date of Chandragupta Maurya's accession (pp. 114-15), the date of Kanishka (pp. 219-20), the reign of Ramagata (pp. 246-48) and the identity of Chandra of the Meherauli Pillar inscription (pp. 262-63) the author's observations are marked by freshness and originality. A number of genealogical tables, a series of five historical maps and a good Index are other welcome features of this useful volume.

In a work of such extensive compass, there is evidently room for differences of opinion. The description of the Lichchhavi assembly as being "elected by the citizens" (p. 72), and that of the Galas in general as "tribal republics" (p. 86) are highly problematical. So also is the interpretation of *Kumara-rahamatras* as viceroys and of other *mahamatras* as ordinary provincial governors of the Maurya Empire (pp. 133-34). Equally debatable is the explanation of the titles of officials called *nayaka*, *paura*, *vyavaharika*, and *dvapala* in Kautilya's *Arthashastra* (p. 146). A few statements made by the author require considerable revision. Speaking of the Maurya administration he says (p. 135): "Slavery was unknown . . . The chief article of food was rice-pottage (sic) . . . The seclusion of the female sex was only introduced in Muhammadan times." Commenting on Fa-hien's reference to the Gupta administration, he observes p. 255) that "the revenue was derived from Crown lands." The best-known work of Nagarjuna is certainly the *Madhyamika-karikas* and not the *Pragna-parameśvara-sutra-sastra* (p. 227). The author's identifications of Padmavati (p. 338), Samatata (p. 241) and Hyphasis

(map facing p. 99) require correction. The list of *errata* should have included a few more names, e.g., Mourikinos (map facing p. 99), Asvayans (p. 114), Tushajpa (p. 139), Yasamatika (p. 211), Keilhorn (p. 280), Todd (p. 339-40), Telugu (p. 361), and Coach (p. 259). In the interest of proportion the first portion of the work extending up to Harsha's reign should have been condensed and the second portion dealing with the post-Harsha period of Northern India and the history of the Deccan and South India should have been treated with greater detail. The addition of a chapter on Greater India would have been very welcome.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE INDIAN LITERATURES OF TODAY : A SYMPOSIUM : Edited by Sri Bharatan Kumarappa for the P.E.N. All-India Centre. The International Book House, Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. 181. Price Rs. 8.

The P.E.N. Centre at Bombay has done a useful thing by organising a symposium on different Indian literatures of modern times, and publishing accounts of them in the volume under notice. It has already published four brochures on Assamese, Bengali, Indo-Anglian and Telugu, and has probably others in view. The medium of English for publicizing these accounts is still useful, but it is time this was done also through the *Asṭrabhasha* or our national language, I mean, Hindi-उ्दुस्थानि.

Of the 16 surveys published in this volume, the reviewer should have little to say and much to learn. A few observations may yet be made. (1) There is hardly any legitimate scope for 'English' in 'The Indian Literatures of Today'; Prof. Siddhanta's paper might have served by way of introduction as well, if not better. (2) On page 41, we have: "There are many readers who even now appreciate *Braja Bhasha* alone and see with wistful eyes the "trailing clouds" of its glory." "Trailing clouds" indeed! This is quoting Wordsworth's Immortality Ode with a vengeance! (3) To read the paper on Maithili contributed by Mahamahopadhyaya Dr. Umesh Mishra, one might believe that only a University was wanting to help Maithili literature to come to its own; but it seems a far-fetched idea in view of the previous attempts to revive the literature having failed. (4) Tamil literature may be very old, but is it tenable to say that it represents "an ancient classic which is as old as Sanskrit?" (p. 153). Re: Oriya, some statements evidently require a little alteration; e.g. (5) Speaking of Rachanath, Sri K. C. Panigrahi writes in his survey: "In his wonderful epic on the Chilka Lake, his worried soul finds solace in the heart of Nature." (p. 116). Does the writer consider Radhanath's poem on Chilka an "epic"? (6) Sanskrit scholars never "shunned Oriya" as a *Paisachik* (sic) *bhasha* (p. 123), *Paishachi* is a group of languages which does not include *Criya* which is *Ardha-Magadhi* in origin. (7) It is not fair to suggest that Madhusudan Rao was "a religious preacher of the Brahmo Samaj," and that "he handled only such themes as were chaste, pure and religious." (p. 116). He was not a "preacher" in the technical sense of the word, and his national songs and poems, full of vigour, were no less characteristic of him than his religious musings.

In spite of such occasional lapses, the volume should be greeted with pleasure by those interested in modern Indian literature on account of the considerable mass of information presented by writers competent to speak on their subjects.

P. R. SEN

ART AND THOUGHT (Issued in honour of Dr. Ananda Coomaraswamy on the occasion of his 70th birthday): Edited by K. Bharatha Iyer. Luzac & Co., London. 1947. Seventy-one halftone illustrations printed on fifty-one plates and twenty-four Line Drawings. Pp. 269. Price £3 10s.

This collection of Essays contributed by European and Indian scholars as a *prasasti* volume, in honour of Dr. Coomaraswamy has a melancholy interest, as the volume could not be published before his death in August 1947. The number of contributions from the pen of European and American scholars demonstrates the high position Dr. Coomaraswamy occupied in international estimate. Out of 40 essays only four are contributions by Indians (Radhakrishnan, Agarwala, Sorabji and Iyer) and the rest are by Europeans and Americans—which include some well-known "stars" in Art-scholarship. The most outstanding contributors are Rene Guenon, Prof. Tucci, Dr. H. Goetz, Miss Alic Getty, Dr. Alfred Salmony, Dr. Jung, Prof. Norman Brown, Benjamin Rowland and Captain Ludovici. By no means, all the essays treat of phases of Indian or Oriental Art. The most interesting studies on Indian Art and Art Motifs are—"Rajput Art: Its Problems" (Goetz), "Tibetan Book Covers" (Tucci), "An Essay Upon Mughal Painting" (Schroeder), "A Painting of a Jain Pilgrimage" (Norman Brown), "Buddhist Art of Bamiyan" (Rowland), and "Banner of Indra" (Stella Kramrisch). A number of essays are of general interest, bearing on philosophical ideas embracing both Eastern and Western Art. From this point of view, the most interesting essays are, "Concerning Forms in Art" (Schoon), "Principles and Methods of Traditional Art" (Burekhardt), "From Art to Spirituality" (Marquette), "A Craft as a Means of Realization" (Messinesi), "The Validity of the Aristocratic Principle" (Sorabji), "The Philosophy of Nakedness" (Plumer), "Active Tradition of the East and West" (Gleizes). We commend to our readers the stimulating essays of Guenon ("The Mysteries of the Letter Nun"), of Dr. Jung ("On the Psychology of Eastern Meditation") and of Richard Ettinghausen ("Al Ghazzali on Beauty"). It is not possible to review or indicate the contents of all the 41 essays, many of them by famous scholars and many more by less known names, which deserve to be better known, but we have given enough indications of the contents to whet the curiosity of scholars interested in the subjects. Considering the difficulties of book-production in England immediately after the war, one is inclined to excuse the standard of production, both in the quality of printing and reproductions of the illustrations in this volume which are not worthy of Dr. Coomaraswamy who gave us sumptuously produced volumes of immaculate taste and flavour, and enriched with illustrations of the highest technical qualities. All the same Mr. Iyer, though not an Oriental scholar, deserves our grateful thanks for arranging this literary tribute which was long overdue. It is hoped that in Free India, Indians will plan and produce a worthier tribute to commemorate her greatest scholar.

KAUNDINYA

POEMS OF LEE HOU-CHU : Rendered into English by Liu Yih-Ling and Shahid Suhrawardy. With Chinese text. Orient Longmans Ltd., 17 Chittaranjan Avenue, Calcutta. 1948. Pp. xvi + 80. Price Rs. 3-8.

Bilingual edition of authors, specially of poets, is a recent adventure in publishing, an adventure full of hope and pleasant surprises. The range of the adventure which had been so far confined to European literature has now been extended to the Far East. "Poems of

Lee Hou-Chu" rendered into English by Liu Yih-Ling and Shahid Suhrawardy is probably the first attempt at translation which gives the Chinese originals. The Foreword gives a background of Lee's life, the picture of an ineffective king whose poetry yet survives. It would have, however, been more to the purpose had the translators written more about his poetry—and also explained the nature of Chinese poetry—than to write, wittily, about the weak and impractical king. Perhaps they have learnt this unbalance from the poet himself! The translation is fairly accurate and conveys the tone and suggestion of the original poems as well as can be expected in the medium of English, though, I feel, the tendency to condemn an unfamiliar art and its conventions may be strong with some. That is why, I repeat, the translators might have taken a little care to explain the world of Chinese poetry and the intention of the artists.

I hope Orient Longmans will continue their experiment of bilingual edition of the classics of many lands, particularly of the Orient, which remain to this day sadly neglected. So long we have suffered from mutual distrust and ignorance. Let the arts and literature, the high dreams of nations clear the air of suspicion and self-limitation. That is both their test and triumph. To change slightly the words of Coomaraswamy about Shakespeare: "In honouring the genius of Lee Hou-Chu, then, we do not merely offer homage to the memory of an individual, but are witnesses to the intellectual fraternity of mankind." Now when "each year the bitterness of sorrow returns" (and how true that is of China herself!) "the lapful of fragrance" which Lee's poetry brings to us is a reminder of the spirit of wonder, beauty and unity which endures though dynasties pass and empires vanish. At its best Lee's poetry is not a dalliance with decadence but a patient enduring which gives it the nobility and impersonality of suffering and solitude. Without being devotional or metaphysical, its narrow measure spans "tears of eternity, not mine but man's."

TAN YUN-SHAN

MEDICAL JURISPRUDENCE: By S. K. Lahiri. Law Book Society, 65/3 Harrison Road, Calcutta. Pp. 201. Price not mentioned.

In his preface the author claims his book to be a mere compilation. That mere compilation can produce such a handy, useful book—useful alike to lawyers, magistrates, medical men and police officers, we had no idea. The value of the book is enhanced by several appendices. The printing is clear.

J. M. DATTA

SATISH MUKHERJEE: A FATHER OF THE BENGALI REVOLUTION (1865-1948): By Haridas Mukherjee. Das Gupta and Co., 54/3 College Street, Calcutta. 1948. Pp. 34. Price twelve annas.

The booklet gives us a brief account of the life and activities of the founder of the Dawn Society and the Dawn Magazine. It reminds us of one of those great contemporaries who laid the foundation of our nation's regeneration, and whom we are likely to forget when we have reached our goal.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

GAEKWAD CENOTAPHS: By Taramati Gupta, B.A., B.T. Published by the Government of Baroda. 1947. Pp. xiii + 47. Price Rs. 12.

This is a nice album containing the Cenotaphs of the Gaekwads of Baroda, from Damajirao II to

Kashirao Dadasaheb, father of Sayajirao III. The plan behind the preparation of this attractive book is praiseworthy. Dr. B. Bhattacharjee, Director of the Institute at Baroda, traces in the Foreword, the antiquity of such memorials to the dead and the editor gives an outline-sketch of the monuments illustrated in 23 plates and of the mural decoration done in the Kirti Mandir by the talented Bengali artist Nandaal Bose.

N. B. ROY

CAREERS FOR HIGH SCHOOL BOYS, and CAREERS FOR GIRLS: Both by an Educationalist. Published by New India Publications, 38 Lansdowne Road, Calcutta. Prices Rs. 2 and Re. 1-4 respectively

These two books give a lot of information about the various careers open to the school leaving boys and the girls in general of Bengal. The guardians will no doubt have still to be anxious about selecting suitable careers for their boys and girls respectively, but in their selection they may, however, find some useful information contained in these books.

SANTOSH CHATTERJEE

SELECTIONS FROM THE WRITINGS AND SPEECHES OF SACHIVOTTAMA SIR C. P. RAMASWAMI IYER (DEWAN OF TRAVANCORE (Vol. I and II): Edited by P. G. Sahashranam Iyer, M.A., Trivandrum. Printed by the Superintendent, Government Press. 1946. Pp. 305 and pp. 381.

PEN-PORTRAITS, ESSAYS & ADDRESSES: By Sir C. P. Ramaswami Iyer. Published by Hind Kitabs, Bombay. (July) 1948. Pp. 247. Price Rs. 6-8.

These two volumes introduce us to a man of affairs who at the same time was a scholar of wide interests and varied learning. The late Dewan of Travancore has for sometime been a *persona non grata* with the Indian public, a man who has lost grace with the politically-awake majority. But for about two years (1915-17) as a lieutenant of Mrs. Annie Besant he came to be regarded as a "rising hope" of Indian Nationalists. And when the Gandhi era dawned over the country, setting a new pattern of patriotic service, "C. P.", as he was popularly known, retired from the politics of agitation and preferred that of administration. A member of the Executive Council in Madras, of the Executive Council at Delhi-Simla, ended as Dewan of the Travancore State.

Some of the writings and speeches in these volumes embody the experiences of this time. "Treaty Rights of Indian States" which C. P. used to uphold with such enthusiasm have lost much of their validity. But there are other subjects of more permanent value—University Ideals, South Indian Music, etc. The second volume published by Hind Kitabs is a reprint from the bigger ones. Its get-up is better than the others.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

SANSKRIT

GAUTAMA-DHARMASUTRA-PARISISTA (2nd Frasca): Edited by A. N. Krishna Aiyangar, M.A., L.T. Adyar Library. Price Rs. 9.

We have here an edition, based on two manuscripts of the Adyar Library, of the second of the two sections of a work called the *Gautama-Dharmasutras-Parisista*. The title of the work seems to have been given by the learned editor, no such title appearing in the manuscripts. The section published here deals with the *prayaschitta* part of the *Gautama-Dharmasutra* in detail. It is divided into twenty chapters and contains 500 sutras in all. In the opinion of the learned

editor, the *Parisista* which has borrowed a great deal from earlier Dharmasastra and Purana works may be assigned to about the 9th century of the Christian era. A portion of the fourth chapter is found to have been cited in a number of later digests and variously attributed to Sankha, Gautama and Vridha Gautama. This can scarcely be supposed to prove the genuineness and importance of the work, as no further citation from any other part is known. The authorship of the portion referred to is not also free from doubt. Whatever be the value of the work, no attempt has been spared to make it useful and attractive. Variants found in the manuscripts have been noted. Parallel passages from standard works on Dharmasastra literature have been cited wherever they have been traced. An index of words used in the work has been inserted.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

DILLISVARI: By *Brajendra Nath Bandopadhyaya*. Published by *Gurudas Chattopadhyaya and Sons*. Second edition. 1355 (B.S.). Pp. 94. Price Rs. 2.

It is hardly necessary to say much on a work which on its first publication received the highest praise from eminent historians like Sir Jadunath Sarkar and late Akshoy Kumar Maitreya. The author has dealt with the lives of two great Muslim women-rulers, Raziya (generally known as Raziya) and Nurjahan. The first was the only Muslim lady that ever sat on the throne of Delhi. The other, though never a sovereign *de jure*, was the *de facto* ruler of the mighty Mughal empire. Each of them had a unique personality and passed through an eventful life into a tragic end. Such characters are rare in history, and are more suitable for drama than real life. It is almost inevitable that popular imagination would weave romantic tales around them so that in course of time it has been difficult to distinguish truth from fiction. But the author has taken great care to sift historical evidence in a critical manner in order to portray the true lives of these two eminent ladies. The sketch he has drawn is severely true to life, but though one misses some familiar and fascinating episodes, the author's story never flags in interest. For even the unvarnished account of their lives is of absorbing interest. This small book would prove highly interesting to those who would like to know the history of two great women who played a distinguished role in the history of India.

R. C. MAJUMDAR

BANGLAR ADHUNIK GALPA: Edited by *Sj. Rabindranath Ghosh*. To be had of *Bengal Publishers*, 14 Bankim Chatterjee Street, Calcutta. Price Rs. 4-8.

Bengali literature has, within a comparatively short period, shown remarkable progress in the domain of short stories. Some of the modern Bengali short stories may be ranked with the best short stories of the continental literature. The present compilation is a collection of 23 short stories from the pen of only the living short-story-writers of modern Bengal. During the last few years various collections of Bengali short stories have been published but the present one is a new venture inasmuch as herein the stories of both famous and new but talented writers have been gathered together. Tarasankar, Bibhuti Banerjee and Mukherjee, Annadasankar, Sailajananda, Ramapada Mukherjee, Manoj Bose, Narayan Ganguly, Manik Banerjee—these are the top-ranking litterateurs of Bengal whose stories have been included in this collection. Among the stories of less famous writers

mention may be made of Sudhirbandhu Banerjee's *Amul Tarur Atmakatha*. Two or three stories have been selected from *Prabasi*, the Bengali monthly magazine. One may get a fair idea of the trend of modern Bengali short stories from this compilation which proves the compiler's clear literary judgment.

NALINI KUMAR BHADRA

HINDI

KOI SHIKAYAT NAHIN: Krishna Hutheesingh. *Navayuga Sahitya Sadan, Indore*. Pp. 180. Price Rs. 5.

This is a highly commendable Hindi translation by Shri Mohammad Harris of Shrimati Krishna Hutheesingh's "family-portraits gallery," *With No Regrets*. The sincerity and spontaneity of the original have been fully preserved, while the photographs of the members of the Nehru family of Anand-Bhavana, Allahabad, have only enhanced the value of the book to the proportion of a gift presentation. The author-artist's delicate touches in painting the pen-pictures betray the beauty as well as truth of great literature.

DUNIYA KI TASWIR: By *Suryanarayan Thakur*. Sant Publications, Kadam Kuan, Patna. Pp. 99. Price Rs. 2.

A collection of eighteen short stories by a young writer, who has a flair for cameos and character-sketches, and who has portrayed life's kaleidoscope with intellectual and imaginative sympathy. He bids fair to be a writer of repute, as his own creative genius comes more and more into contact with the truth of life and with the life of truth.

G. M.

GUJARATI

BHIKSHU AKHANDANAND (With a manuscript letter of Mahatma Gandhi): By *Sopan and J. H. Dane*. The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1947. Pages 464. Price Rs. 3.

The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad, Bombay, has ever since it came under the management of that well-known businessman Manu Subedar, after the sad demise of its founder, Bhikshu Akhandanand on August 4, 1942, been handling various topics and publishing a large number of cheap standard works, on subjects which the late founder would never have dreamt of touching. Biography, science, philosophy, devotional songs, medicine, domestic science are some of them, and only a few of them could be noticed below, due to exigency of space.

The book is a biography and gives in detail how Swamiji came to renounce the world and devote himself to the good of humanity. His wanderings in the Himalayan forests and contact with Sadhus are fully set out, and with the aid of various friends, who had come in contact with him, the compilers have given to Gujarati literature a biography, which should prove of great interest and value.

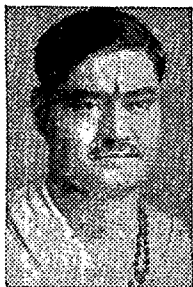
SWAMI ATMANAND SARASWATI: By *Ratneshwar Bhavanishankar Vakil*. The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1947. Pages 184. Price Rs. 2.

This is the life of the founder of the Tapi Brahmacharya Ashram at Surat. He will long be remembered in Gujarat for his holy sermons and pious *pravachanas* (addresses).

K. M. J.

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RAJJYOTISHI

Jyotishsamrat Pandit Sri Ramesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, Jyotisharnab, M.R.A.S. (Lond.), has won unique fame not only in India but throughout the world (e.g., in England, America, Africa, China, Japan, Malaya, Singapore etc.) and many notable persons from every nook and corner of the world have sent unsolicited testimonials acknowledging his mighty and supernatural powers.

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future of India and Pakistan which had been sent to the Prime Minister of India on the 11th August, 1947 and subsequently published in various Newspapers) have proved correct to the detail, amazed people the world over and have won for him unstinted praise and gratitude from all quarters including His Majesty George the Sixth, the Governor of Bengal and eminent leaders of India. He is the only astrologer in India who was honoured with the title of "Jyotish-Siromani" in 1928 and "Jyotishsamrat"—Emperor among astrologers and astronomers—in 1947 by the Bharatiya Pandit Mahamandal of Calcutta and Baranashi Pandit Sabha of Benares. Panditji is now the Consulting Astrologer to the Eighteen Ruling Princes in India—a signal honour that has not been endowed on any astrologer in India so far.

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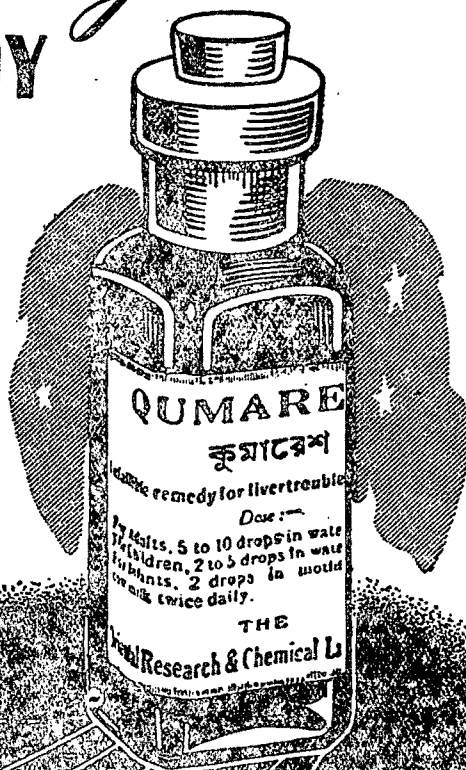
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INDIAN PERIODICALS



India's National Language

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru is intensely interested in the question of language. In a press article he draws attention to the wider cultural aspects of the question. The article is reproduced from *The Indian Review* :

A language, which is confined in a strait jacket, with no doors and windows open for progressive change, may be both precise and graceful, but is apt to lose touch with a changing environment and the mass of the people. This inevitably leads to a loss of vigour and a growth of a certain artificiality. At any time, this would not be good, but in the present dynamic age, with almost everything changing round about us, a strait jacket will deaden a language. The courtly languages of previous ages had much to commend them. But they are totally unsuited to a democratic age, where we aim at mass education. A language, therefore, must fulfil two functions : it must base itself on its ancient roots and at the same time, vary and expand with growing needs and be essentially the language of the mass of people and not of a select coterie. This is all the more necessary in this age of science and technology and world communication. In so far as possible, that language should have common or similar words with other languages in regard to scientific or technical terms. It must, therefore, be a receptive language, accepting every word from outside that fits into its general structure. Sometimes that word may be slightly varied to suit the genius of the language. . . .

If I was asked what is the greatest treasure that India possesses, and what is her finest heritage, I would answer unhesitatingly it is the Sanskrit language and literature and all that this contains. This is a magnificent inheritance and so long as this endures and influences the life of our people, so long will the basic genius of India continue. Apart from its being a treasure of the past, it is, to an astonishing degree, for so ancient a language, a living tradition, I should like to promote the study of Sanskrit and to put our scholars to work to explore and bring to light the buried literature in this language that has been almost forgotten. It is surprising that while we talk so much of language to terms of an extreme nationalism, only lip homage is paid to it or it is exploited for political ends. Very little is done to serve it as a language should be served. Whether in Sanskrit or in the modern Indian languages, constructive work is rare. We often follow a dog-in-the-manger policy of disliking any other growth and at the same time not doing anything ourselves. A language will grow ultimately because of its inherent worth and not because of statutes or resolutions.

The true service of a language is to increase its value, practicability and inherent worth.

However great Sanskrit may be, and however much we may like to promote its study, as we should, it cannot be a living language. But it must be, as it has been, the base and inner substance of most of our

languages. That is inevitable. But an attempt to force this is neither inevitable nor desirable and is likely to lead to evil results.

Persian has played an important role in the last few centuries in developing some of our provincial languages, more especially Hindustani and has affected our ways of thinking also to some extent. That is an acquisition and it makes us richer to that extent. It must be remembered that no language is nearer to Sanskrit than Persian, and indeed Vedic Sanskrit and Ancient Pahlavi are nearer to one another than Vedic Sanskrit and classical Sanskrit. So, a certain overlapping of the two is easy and does no violence to the genius of our language or our race. In any event, a few hundred years of history and the life of the people have fashioned us for what we are and it seems to me rather absurd and certainly unwise, to try to undo this work of history. From the cultural point of view, such an attempt at undoing and going back would mean depriving us of the cultural heritage which we possessed. It would mean making ourselves poorer. We should rather aim at richness and at accepting whatever adds to that cultural content. Therefore any attempt at excluding what we have already absorbed is wrong from every point of view.

If these considerations are borne in mind, it follows that the all-India language that we should seek to promote must be flexible, receptive and must retain all the cultural features that it has imbibed through the ages. It must also be a language essentially of the people and not of a small coterie of learned men. It must be dignified and full of power and it must rigorously try to put down artificiality, shallowness and ornateness.

Inevitably the base of the all-India language and a great deal of its content will be derived from Sanskrit, but it will include any number of words, phrases and ideas from other sources, notably Persian and also English and other foreign languages.

In regard to its technical terms we should first of all accept every word that has been accepted in popular use. In coining new words, we should again try to approximate to popular use and understanding, and in regard to technical words, so far as possible we should not detract from the world language that is growing up.

It would be desirable to collect a number of basic words, say 3,000 or so, which might be considered well-known common words, used by the people generally. These may often include alternative words for the same idea, provided both are in common use. This should be the basic vocabulary which everyone, who desires knowledge of the all-India language, should know.

Yet another list of technical words should be prepared on the lines indicated above. I must say that many of the new words being used for technical terms are so extraordinarily artificial and meaningless in the real sense of the word, because they have no background or history behind them, that they horrify me,

If these two lists are prepared, the rest should be left to the natural growth of the language. No limitations should be put on anyone writing on what might be called pure literary Hindi or pure literary Urdu or anything in between. With the growth of education and a vaster reading public, this itself will exercise a powerful influence on the writers and speakers. Gradually, I have no doubt, that a fine and vigorous language will grow and expand without any compulsion from above.

Medium of Instruction in Primary Schools

When educational opinion all over the world is agreed that the mother tongue of the child should be the medium of instruction, is it not wholly the duty of the state to provide for the education of the minorities through their own mother tongue? M. K. Desai observes in *The Social Service Quarterly* :

It is rather strange that even three months after the publication of the astounding Press Note by the Government of Bombay regarding the medium of instruction in the Primary Schools, none of our educationists, public men or journalists appears to have taken any notice of it.

Briefly stated the Press Note in question, No. P-1006 dated 16-6-1948, lays down that the Primary Schools maintained by the School Boards should impart instruction only through the language of the region concerned. However, if there is a substantial demand, provision may be made to impart in these schools a knowledge of any other language of the Indian Union. Private schools may, however, be started for imparting instruction through a language which is not a regional language and they will be eligible for grant-in-aid from the Government.

There are in the three regions of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak in the Bombay Province, particularly in the border-line areas, minority communities from the neighbouring regions, whose mother tongue is other than the language of the region. The School Boards in these regions do at present conduct a number of schools, in which instruction is being imparted through the mother tongue of these minorities. The effect of the Government policy will, however, be that these schools will be closed down and all the children residing in a particular region irrespective of their mother tongue will be taught in the schools conducted by the School Boards through the medium of the regional language only. Thus the Gujarati schools in the Khandesh and the Thana Districts and the Marathi schools in the Belgaum and the Karwar Districts will have to be closed down, if the policy of the Government is implemented.

This is something which cannot be understood educationally. Are not educationists all over the world

agreed that at least at the Primary Stage the medium of instruction should be the mother tongue of the child? Has not even the Central Government decided that Primary Education should be imparted through the mother tongue of the child? It is true that the children of the minority communities in the different regions are more or less bilingual. However, the regional language is certainly not their mother tongue.

Imparting instruction to these children through a language other than their mother tongue is bound to entail great hardships on them and to hamper their mental growth and educational advancement.

The policy of the Government of Bombay as reflected in the above decision cannot in any case be defended on educational grounds. However one can understand it on political grounds. The Government probably hope to solve the question of the minorities by this crude measure. They perhaps think that teaching all children through the medium of the regional language would lead to the merger of the minority communities. However, it is very doubtful if it will have the desired effect. Imparting instruction to the minorities through the medium of the regional language cannot possibly lead to the fusion of the minority with the majority communities. If it were so, the Marwaris living in Maharashtra for the last 150 years or more would have long ago merged with the Marathas. The fact, however, is that it has not been so, even though they are being imparted instruction through Marathi all these years. The short cut to the solution of the minority problem devised by the Government of Bombay is not at all likely to succeed.

It may be argued that the Government is to allow the imparting of a knowledge of their language to the children of the minority communities in the Board Schools. But even in their case the medium of instruction is going to be the regional language. It is not enough that arrangement is made for giving the children a knowledge of their language. What is essential is that all school subjects should be taught to them through their own language. Otherwise educationally it will do them tremendous harm.

The action of the Government is also precipitous and premature. The language of none of the three regions of the Province is the state language of the Government of Bombay, which would look upon the three regional languages—Gujarati, Marathi and Kannada impartially and see that the people speaking of any of these are not educationally handicapped in the other regions.

If the future Provincial Governments reconstituted on linguistic basis, had issued such a Press Note, one could have at least understood it. But the present Government of Bombay, representing as they do the regions of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Karnatak, had no business to take this ill-advised action.



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T. S. Eliot

Eliot is versatile, he is at once a poet, an innovator, a sociologist and a thinker, and a literary critic of profound and penetrating intelligence. P. Lal writes, in *The Indian Review* :

The twentieth century, with its remarkable display of poetic ingenuity, its intensive experimentation and radicalism, boasts of no greater poet than T. S. Eliot.

An undoubted master of poetic technique, he exerted, and is yet exerting, a powerful influence upon contemporary verse.

St. Louis, Missouri, (September 26, 1888), was the birthplace of Thomas Stearns Eliot. He started writing while at college and contributed some poems to *The Harvard Advocate*, the College literary journal, of which he was also the Editor. He married in 1915; and in 1917 appeared his first volume of poems, *Prufrock and Other Observations*. After that followed book after book of prose and poetry: *The Use of Poetry and the Use of Criticism*, *The Idea of a Christian Society*, *Collected Poems* (1909-1935), two poetic dramas, *Murder in the Cathedral* (1935) and *The Family Reunion* (1939), *What is a Classic?*, *Selected Essays*, and in 1944 he gathered together in one volume titled *Four Quarters* what is surely his most important achievement and the really great literary production of the century, the four interlinked philosophic poems, *Burns Norton*, *East Coker*, *The Dry Salvages*, and *Little Gidding*. With *Four Quartets* Eliot seems to have reached the peak of his genius—suddenly all poetry has stopped coming from his pen and he is mainly absorbed in his duties as Director of the publishing firm of Faber and Faber.

After initial neglect honour upon honour has been heaped on him.

In the 1948 New Year Honours List he was awarded the Order of Merit, the highest honour that can be bestowed on an English subject; and in the same year he received the Nobel Prize for Literature, a rather unexpected award.

In the light of this it is interesting to trace his subtle but sure development since 1917. J. Alfred Prufrock's first sound in this world must have been discontented squawk: even when he came of age, inhibited, culture-ridden, he was voicing distrust and disappointment, and wondering why

*In the room the women come and go
Talking of Michelangelo.*

Prufrock is confused, wavering:

Do I dare

Disturb the universe?

So how should I presume?

Then how should I begin

*To spit out all the butt-ends of my days
and ways?*

*Shall I part my hair behind? Do I dare to
eat a peach?*

Prufrock was written while Eliot was still at Harvard: and it may be very true that *Prufrock* is in part the undergraduate Eliot struggling to find sense in the petty bourgeois haphazard modes of living.

But as poetry, *Prufrock* fails. It is futile to point out how many times it has been given prominence in anthologies as representative of Eliot's style; so is *To a Skylark* supposed to be significant of Shelley's poetry. *Prufrock* is nothing of the sort: it is only a prelude to maturation in *The Waste Land*, which in turn is in a way a prelude to the magnificent *Four Quartets*. If any

single poem is to be taken as representing Eliot's poetry, it must be the *Quartets*, nothing else.

For in Eliot poetry is a dynamic, changing process, quite unlike the static state of things that occurs in most mediocre poets, and even in some good ones. Instead of shifting and developing, a certain permanent immobile standard intrudes and affects all verse the poet composes. But no specific period (prior to *Four Quartets* of course) in Eliot gives way to analysis of this sort. From the tentative blunderings of *Prufrock* and the revolting antics of Apeneck Sweeney one is led to the sober, age-old philosophising of Krishna on the battlefield of Kurukshetra: a strange transition to say the least, but one that was bound to seem inevitable to any close observer of Eliot's poetic and incidentally philosophic progress.

The early poems of Eliot show a distinct influence of the French symbolists and Gerard Manley Hopkins. The five *Landscapes* with their spondaic beat can remind the reader only of the style of Hopkins. Later on, as thought and technique progressed, Eliot imbibed a bit of Robert Browning, a bit of Donne and Marvell, and tried personal experiments in metre not far removed from the elusive metres of the Elizabethan Lyrists. But the predominant influence as Eliot himself admits, is that of Ezra Pound. The charge of obscurity in Eliot is ill-founded. He is no more vague than Shakespeare in his references to ancient religious books, little-known medieval poets, and his quotations from all sorts of sources. The very ordinary reader can unravel the maze with the help of a simple commentary.

If *Prufrock* blundered, *The Waste Land* (1922) recoiled, partly in horror and partly in pity. It was a relentless, brutal exposure of the sham and hypocrisy of the post-war world, and Eliot was in perfect hold over himself and his genius. But the same old sense of futility and helplessness lingered: man groped, his eyes blindfolded, struggling, half-hoping:

What shall we do to-morrow?

What shall we ever do?

The Hollow Men (1925), a surrealist fantasy, nearly told him what to do—nothing. Or perhaps, if something must indeed be done one could

...go round the prickly pear

Prickly pear, prickly pear

At five o'clock in the morning.

A grand disillusionment was creeping into Eliot's philosophic conceptions, and the poet was flung about in kaleidoscopic confusion and meaninglessness:

This is the way the world ends

This is the way the world ends

This is the way the world ends

Not with a bang, but a whimper

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The New Review observes :

Kite-flying is a professional sport of newsmen ; it may show the direction of high-winds when the lower atmosphere is in silent tension. The Red victory in China, the soothing speeches of Comrade Cachin and Co. in France, the moves of the W.F.T.U. and the British Communist party on the one hand ; the renewal of civil services in America, the progressive steps towards a federation of western Europe and a North Atlantic Pact on the other hand brought such apparent changes in conditions at the end of the winter season that fathoming high altitudes was irresistible for American journalism. The observations taken showed no real change ; boisterous weather in China, squalls in Palestine, and Burma, tornado over Berlin, fog over Europe, bar-low in Washington and Moscow ; temperature below freezing point. The cold war would continue.

The initiative of the American newsman gave Stalin and Truman an occasion to restate their position. Stalin was most anxious to meet Truman but those who look after his health prevent him from crossing the vodka frontier. He was prepared to make a common declaration of not seeking war ; that much had been said on all sides at the U.N.O. meetings ; litto about disarmament. He is ready to lift the blockade of Berlin ; last summer it was on condition that Berlin currency would be under the sole Soviet control, now it would be on condition that no government be set up in west Germany.

The U.S.A. Secretary of State answered at leisure. No duet of the Big Two ; all instruments to join in the concert. Let us first finish Berlin's unfinished symphony, then we will tackle *Die Wacht am Rhein*. He added with dry placidity : Russian artists always join all harmonising about the Atom Bomb and the J.N. army. As to inviting the American maestro to a fifth journey of Sovietland without any return visit, that was hardly within the rules of etiquette.

In short matters stood where they stood last year. The Reds had used the incident as a popularity stunt ; it fell flat. The Soviet politicians fancied they would impress war-wearied people, and rally them against any war preparations in democratic countries, specially against the West-Europe Union and the North Atlantic Pact. That their declaration had little substance was plain enough for any man to see. Had Stalin been anxious to meet President Truman, he had tationery enough to write a straight invitation. Had he any substantial proposition to make, he did not ask diplomats to take it across. If he fancied that the U.S.A. would enter into separate negotiations and pass by Britain and continental countries, he was badly mistaken and once more proved that dictators cannot imagine an alliance between democratic countries differs from Red comradeship. A clumsy invitation, a dash of all that had been said a hundred times, a bid for popularity : that is all there was in the Soviet move. The answer of America indicated a firmer attitude and a faster pace for western unity. Leaders are off the bear's dove-mask : what of the arrest and conviction of Cardinal Mindszenty ? what of the concentration camps in Russia and Siberia ? For years eastern democrats had kept silent about persecution and atrocities in the Soviet-controlled lands for fear of irritating Communists ; at long last they came out in the open. It was none too soon. The Yalta and Potsdam hopes of converting the comrades had proved aive delusions of democrats ; speaking plainly and stating tough is the only method of bringing the Reds to their senses.

LOOKING FOR PARTNERS

Moscow did not lose heart when it failed to blind the world with its olive-perfumed dust. It turned to frantic snatches at Norway to keep her away from the North Atlantic bloc. Spacious but thinly populated Norway has a lengthy coast on the Atlantic which is of high strategic value, as was shown in World War II. She had discussed a neutrality alliance with Denmark and Sweden, but she met with little sympathy from Sweden. Norway turned to America and her Premier was boarding a plane for the U.S.A. when he was given a second Soviet document inviting him to a non-aggression pact with Russia.

Non-aggression pacts are convenient instruments of Red policy ; they are supposed to work one way only. Russia had non-aggression pacts with Poland, Finland, Lithuania, Estonia, and Latvia ; she threw them away when it suited her, and on these occasions the democracies shamed themselves with their opportunist silence. As long as 'what is useful to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and that only, is ethical' remains the principle of Red policy, the Soviet can expect trust only from her fifth columnists or from political infants.

Dr. Lange is of another stamp. He knows that in the coming war Norway would be invaded and enslaved by Russia. He proceeded to the U.S.A. and took his time for drafting a reply to the Soviet invitation. Sweden renewed her attempts at a Scandinavian alliance, but her past conduct inspired little confidence. Sweden had a dubious attitude during the war. She had sold equipment and munitions to both sides at impartial prices but she allowed Nazi troops to pass through her territory when they supported Finland and invaded Norway. She gave Hitler ten times more help than Franco did without ever rousing the wrath of democracies. Dr. Lange prefers a straight alliance with America which is not land-hungry and is plain-spoken.

Turkey is of the same mood ; she twice declined an invitation to an Asian conference at New Delhi, and has rallied to the 'Truman doctrine' and to the Marshall aid. She wants to link up with Europe and the Atlantic.

No country of Europe can feel certain to escape future hostilities which will be waged with unforeseen weapons, in large-scale manoeuvres and on modernized logistics. Each one calculates its chances each one tries to visualize not so much the fortunes of the war but the treatment accorded by the victors after the war. The difference in treatment America and Russia give the lands they respectively occupied since 1945 should enlighten them all.

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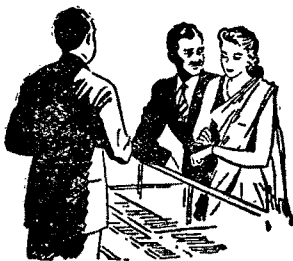
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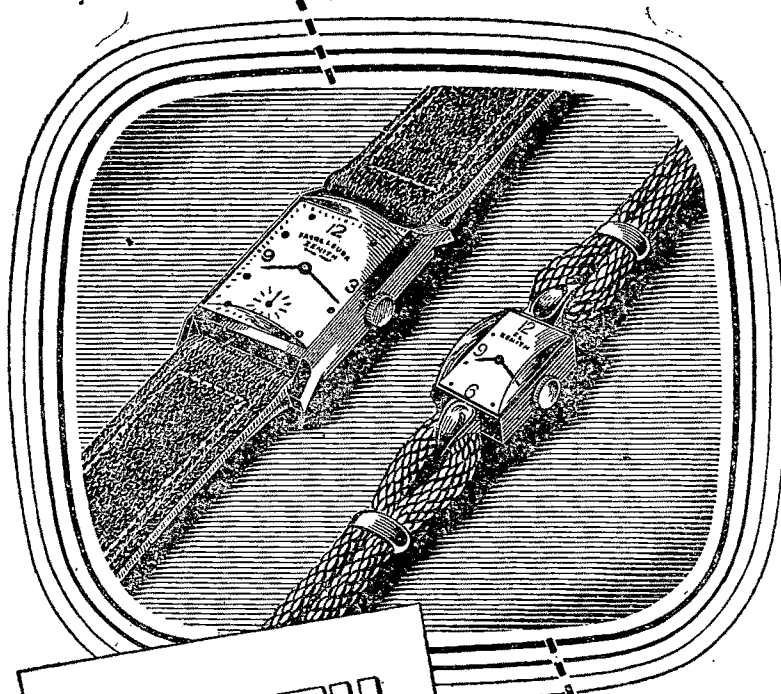
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The Partition of Kashmir

Dr. Taraknath Das makes the following comment in the *America-India Feature and News Service* :

It is no secret that the present Governor-General of India, Mr. Rajagopalacharia, was the foremost advocate of appeasing the late Mr. Jinnah and the Moslem League and favored partition of India which the British also wanted. It is equally clear that Pandit Nehru, while he was at the conference of Dominion Prime Ministers in London and attended the meetings of the United Nations at Paris, tacitly agreed to save the face of the Pakistani leaders, those avowed enemies of Indian freedom and Indian unity, by not opposing so-called plebiscites in Kashmir.

It goes without saying that the part of Kashmir now under the so-called Azad Government, i.e., under Pakistan, will be incorporated into Pakistan by plebiscite. This will be heralded as another stroke of statesmanlike genius and magnanimity on the part of the present Government of India. Actually, of course, it will amount to the Government's accepting partition of an integral part of India to appease the Pan-Islamists and the British, and to save the face of those United Nations leaders who have acted against Indian interests. Accepting the principle, the balkanization of India seems to be the sign of great statesmanship these days.

When Will the Government of India Recognize Israel ?

In the same *News Service*, Dr. Taraknath Das draws the attention of the Government of India to recognize the State of Israel :

While the present Government of India has accepted partition of India to appease Pan-Islamism, it has also consistently opposed the cause of freedom for the Jews, and, ironically enough, the principle of partition in Palestine. One of the darkest blots on the record of the recent Asian Conference in Delhi is the fact that although Yemen, Transjordan and even Australia and the Philippine Islands were invited to participate in it, Pandit Nehru's Government did not see its way clear to invite Israel, which is undoubtedly the most important and enlightened of all the Middle Eastern States.

Israel, by virtue of armistice negotiations, has been recognized by Egypt and Transjordan. Even the British have been forced to recognize it because they had no other alternative. Altogether some thirty-five States have already extended recognition to Israel ; and it is pretty certain that the Government of Israel will become a member of the United Nations during its next session. When will India recognize Israel ? If Pandit Nehru has any other reason for not recognizing Israel than appeasing Pan-Islamists, when will he tell the Indian people the actual causes for his opposition to the freedom of the Jewish people ?

Pan-Islamists of India and outside of India have always worked against Indian freedom and unity. This cannot be said of the Jews who have throughout the world in many ways aided the cause of Indian freedom.

It is high time for the people of India and the Indian Constituent Assembly to take action regarding the issue of recognition of Israel.

Sarojini Naidu's Death Shocks Americans

Washington, March 4.—The sudden death of Madame Sarojini Naidu, famous Indian poetess, nationalist and Governor of the United Provinces, came as a deep shock to many Americans who had known her either in India or on her trip to the United States.

James Lampton Berry, of the Department of State's planning staff, expressed the feelings of many of those who had known and admired Madame Naidu. Berry, who was secretary to the personal representative of the President of the United States in New Delhi in 1942, said : "She was one of the most accomplished and brilliant women that I have ever known anywhere." Berry spoke of her death as a great tragedy and added : "She had one of the finest minds I have ever known."

In New Delhi, American Ambassador Loy Henderson made the following statement upon hearing of Madame Naidu's death :

"The death of Her Excellency Sarojini Naidu came as a profound shock to me as I know it did to all India, particularly to those who for so many years worked so closely with her and shared so many experiences in which her counsel and her personality were of unfailing assistance."

Madame Naidu's death has occasioned considerable comment in the American press. Long obituaries summarizing her activities and achievements have appeared in leading papers including the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*.—USIS.

Women of the Soviet East

Nadezhda Aralovets writes in *Tass—News Agency of the U. S. S. R.* :

The Second International Women's Congress held at the beginning of last December in Buda-Pest for the discussion of important questions of the inter-

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national democratic women's movement, was attended by 390 delegates representing 38 countries.

The Soviet delegation was a striking reflection of the phenomenal political and cultural growth of women in the country of socialism, the splendid road of public and state activity they have traversed in Soviet years.

The indignation of the Soviet delegates was aroused by the accounts they heard at the Congress, of the incalculable sufferings and destitution to which millions of women and children are doomed in capitalist and colonial countries. The monstrous exploitation of women's and children's labour, race discrimination, complete lack of political and social rights, an existence on the verge of starvation, widespread poverty and disease, a high death-rate make up the tragic lot to which working women and their children are condemned in capitalist countries.

One of the most notable of the victories won was the emancipation of the women of the Soviet East, and their transformation into active builders of the new socialist life. Uzbek, Tajik, Kazakh, Turkmen and Kirghiz women are among those of the nationalities of the Soviet East who only thirty years ago enjoyed no right to human dignity, and whose thoughts and actions were determined wholly by their husband's will and the religious laws of their country. They have now become free citizens, enjoying equal rights with men in their own Soviet country. Thousands of women have shown outstanding ability in various branches of work, in state affairs, science and art, and are excellent organizers.

This development became possible only because the socialist revolution produced fundamental changes

in the position of the nationalities populating the outlying parts of the country. They were given the right and opportunity for free national development in fraternal co-operation with the other nationalities in the USSR. The consistent practical application of the Lenin and Stalin national policy followed in the Soviet State, a policy built on the great principles of perfect equality and friendship among all the peoples of the USSR, ensured the rapid growth of the economic and cultural life in the Soviet republics.

The once backward national regions of old capitalist Russia have been transformed in Soviet years with the brotherly aid of the great Russian people, into flourishing socialist republics with modern industries, a large-scale mechanized agricultural system, and a highly developed culture.

And all these things were accomplished with the active participation of women.

The years of socialist construction were milestones in the splendid progress of Soviet women, the rapid advance to knowledge and science. During the Stalin Five-Year Plans women shared in the building of factories, plants, beautiful new towns, in making technical and scientific discoveries; women reared the young generation of the Soviet country.

The women of the USSR take an active part in the administration of the state; 277 were elected to the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, a higher number of women deputies than in the parliaments of the whole world. About 18,000 were elected to local organs of authority in the Kazakh SSR, while in the Uzbek SSR women constitute one-third the number of all the deputies to the local soviets—there are 103 in the Supreme Soviet of that republic.

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Women hold high positions in the administration of the state. They are ministers and deputy-ministers in the union and autonomous republics, members of the Supreme Courts, directors of various state institutions.

Illiteracy in U.S. Lowest in History

Washington, March 14, 1949.—Illiteracy in the United States has dropped to 2.7 per cent today as compared with 20 per cent in 1870 when the first survey was made, according to the U. S. Office of Education.

An Education Office spokesman noted that illiteracy has steadily declined during the past 19 years, despite the gain in population which has now reached a record of 148,000,000. Illiteracy was 4.3 per cent in 1930.

School attendance is now greater than ever before, the Office of Education said. It is forecast that in this school year 25,798,000 children will attend elementary and high schools, while college enrollment is estimated at over 2,250,000.

In another survey, the National Education Association, a non-government agency, called attention to the need for a positive schooling program for approximately 1,000,000 children of migratory farm workers in the United States. A spokesman said the children had little or no schooling since they accompanied their parents following crop harvestings in various states. Their spokesman said: "Measures for an improved program would necessitate aid on a national scale for all states."

An Office of Education spokesman said that many states have "become more sensitive" to this problem. He said the state of Michigan, where many Mexicans come to harvest the sugar beets, "is training teachers to deal with bilingual groups."

He explained that in a country of the size of the United States, migratory farm workers are part of the economic system. The problem confronting educators is how to adapt the school curricula to fit both the children of permanent residents and those of migratory workers.

To do this, he explained, "special courses must be given in areas where these migratory children come. The teacher must have special preparation. Legal aspects of the problem must be met. Attitudes and sense of responsibility on the part of the community must be aroused."—*USIS*.

Motion Pictures in U.S. Education

Washington, March 14.—The 16-millimeter moving picture film is becoming standard educational equipment in the United States—in schools, industry and community groups. The number of film projectors in American schools increased from 458 in 1936 to over

35,000 in 1946, and the U. S. Office of Education estimates that by 1950 the schools will have 100,000 in use.

In an experiment conducted in one school, science students were divided into two groups. One was taught without the use of films. The other was shown films, in addition to their other teaching. Examination marks of members of the groups which had the benefit of the films averaged 43.1 per cent higher than the marks of members of the other group.

The films are not meant to supplant the teacher's instruction but are intended to supplement it by graphically portraying facts on the subject being studied.

In elementary schools motion pictures are promoting international understanding by showing the lives and customs of children in other lands. Hundreds of films are available for use in secondary schools on music, geography, history, art, literature, biology and science.

FILM COUNCIL OF AMERICA

Since quantity production of 16-millimeter films began in 1923 many national organizations have been formed to assist in their makeup and distribution. One of the most important is the Film Council of America (FCA) which has headquarters in Chicago, Illinois, and which works in co-operation with smaller councils in 120 cities in the United States, Canada and Hawaii.

A nonprofit, educational organization, the FCA strives to aid education "by fostering, improving and promoting the production, distribution and effective use of audio-visual materials." It is an outgrowth of the National 16-millimeter Advisory Committee which organized volunteer groups during World War II to show films depicting the nation's war effort. More than 10,000 prints of 207 different 16-millimeter films were distributed through 450 community centers. The Committee estimated that 1,217,825 separate audiences, totalling 305,000,000 people, saw the films. Because of this success the FCA was formed to continue co-operative films activities in peace time.

COLLABORATES WITH UNITED NATIONS

FCA has an international relations committee which works with the United Nations, the U.N. Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization and national film councils in other countries.

Institutions of higher education in the United States obtain some of their 16-millimeter films from the University Film Producers Association. The American Library Association, aided by the Carnegie Foundation, circulates films through public libraries.


Films shown in medical schools enable large numbers of students simultaneously to witness surgical operations. Operative techniques are fully explained and emphasized through slow-motion and repeated runnings of the films.

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Community groups are using motion pictures for adult education projects and to dramatize social problems.

In industrial plants 16-millimeter films are used to reduce the time needed for the technical training of new personnel.—*USIS*.

Wife of Indian Scholar Acclaimed for Book on American Women

Washington, March 4.—Dr. Sonya Ruth Das, wife of the Indian scholar and labor expert Dr. Rajani Kanta Das, is being acclaimed for her book *The American Woman in Modern Marriage*.

The book has just been selected by the American Printers and Book Manufacturers' Association as among the first 12 of the "Fifty Most Influential Books" produced in 1948.

Dr. Das, discussing the book says she is "very pleased" over its success, and hopes it will make a valuable contribution to society.

Dr. Henry P. Fairchild, professor emeritus of sociology of New York University, describes the book as follows: "An excellent summary review of the outstanding aspects of the marriage institution in the modern Western world, and particularly the role and status of the American woman in that institution."

Dr. Sonya Das and her husband combine a staggering amount of education and intellect. Born in Russia, she came to the United States in 1913 after graduation from a Gymnasium. She continued her studies at John B. Sætson University, in Florida; college of the City of New York, and Columbia University, New York. After marriage to Dr. R. K. Das in New York in 1922, the couple left for study and travel in Europe.

Studying at the University of Berlin, she completed graduate work at the University of Paris, receiving the diploma in American literature and civilization and the diploma *des études supérieures* on "Marriage in Modern American Literature."

In 1934, she received her doctorate in letters with honorable mention on "*la femme Américaine dans le mariage moderne*."

The most exciting and nerve-racking part of receiving her doctorate, she says, was defending her thesis in an oral argument before the faculty of the University of Paris. This, she explained, was part of the usual procedure involved in obtaining a doctorate.

Dr. R. K. Das, who was born near Calcutta and received his early training in arts and sciences at Calcutta University, holds the following degrees from American Universities: Bachelor of Science in Agriculture from Ohio State University; Master of Science in Agriculture from the University of Missouri; Master of Arts in Biology from the University of Wisconsin; and Doctor of Philosophy in Economics from the University of Wisconsin.

He has lectured in economics at Northwestern University, Chicago, Illinois, and at New York University; in addition he has been on the staff of the International Labor Office at Geneva and has served as an economic adviser to the United States Military Government on the National Economy Board of South Korea.

His publications include more than a dozen books, and numerous articles on agriculture, economics, labor, and population problems.

Dr. Sonya Das was co-author with him of the book, *India and a New Civilization*, published in Calcutta in 1942.

Both have travelled extensively in India and, though holding American citizenship, have intellectual and family ties in India.—*USIS*.



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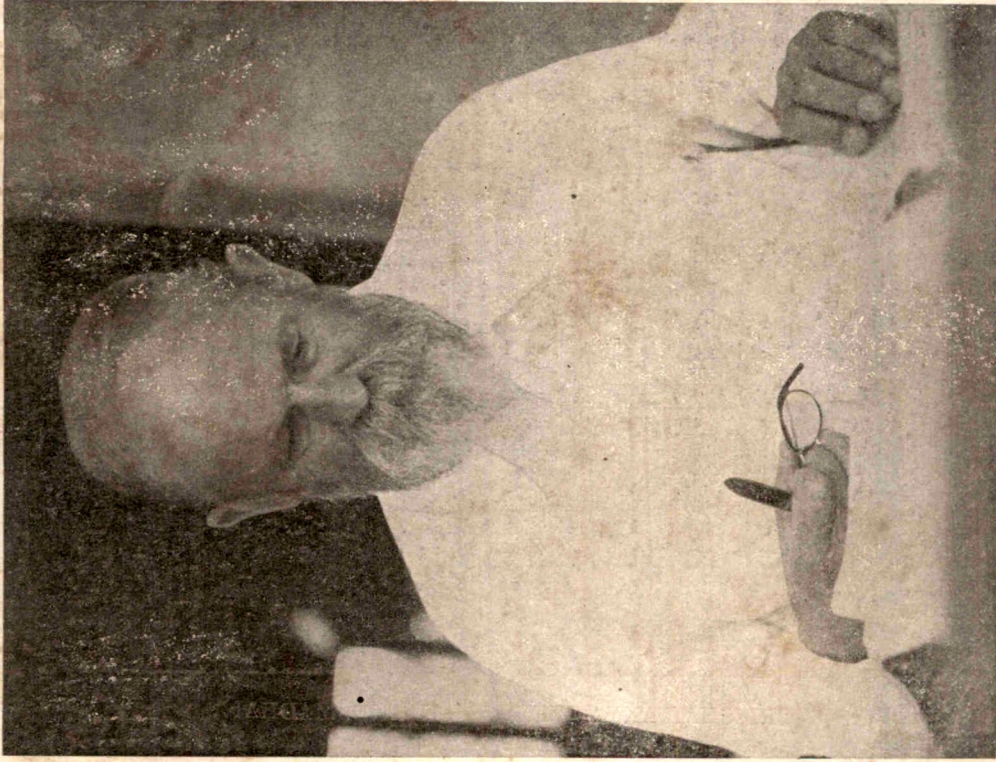
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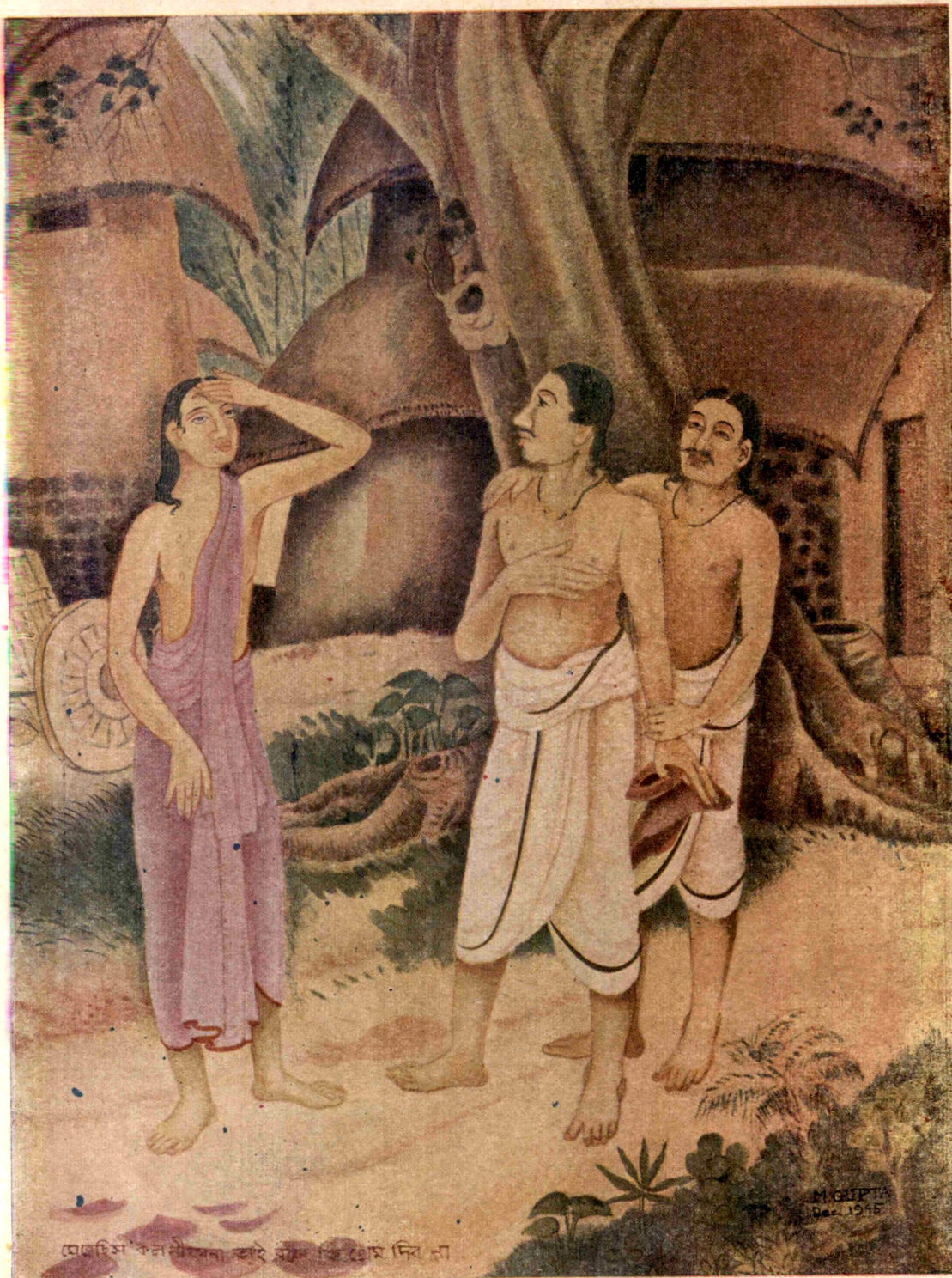


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NOTES

India Adrift?

India's internal politics are undergoing a partial eclipse due to the deep umbra of the present international situation having fallen on this part of the world. Today there is a tendency on the part of the leaders of the nation to defer all crucial decisions, to compromise on matters involving breach of the fundamental principles laid down by the Congress of Mahatma Gandhi and even to condone those evils which are admittedly gnawing at the vitals of the Nation, on the plea of exigency. Congress leadership in the past was always reluctant to grapple with stormy situations and was always only too ready to sidetrack essential issues by means of empty—and sometimes false—platitudes. When such evasions and compromises resulted in a major crisis involving the nation's honour and prestige, and the situation became so critical that no further retreat was possible, then the burden of solution and vindication was placed on the shoulders of Mahatma Gandhi, with effusive vows of fidelity to his decisions from the culprits. Today that Titan amongst the leaders of mankind is no more with us, and the curse of mediocrity has fallen on the nation. We entered into freedom in a holiday mood, with the supreme confidence in the ability and integrity of our leaders, although we had seen them frittering away time, substance and energy, in the fashion of Lotus-eaters, during the interregnum. And now that the sky is overcast and the outlook ominous, we find that they, in whose hands we placed the helm of the Ship of State, are nervous, distraught and incapable of coming to any decision. "Grope, shift and side-track, and compromise when cornered" seems to be the order of the day. Hence the entry into the port of the Commonwealth.

We admit that the science and craft of Statesmanship can only be learnt and acquired at the hard school of real-politics after many failures and numberless slips. We are also prepared to concede that major exigencies may force temporary compromises with evil, and that mistakes in administration are liable to occur more frequently when the heads of administration are new, inexperienced and unaccustomed to the taking of major decisions. But we refuse to admit the logic of the idea that since to err is only human therefore we should expect our leaders to err as a matter of course. We think that a period must be put, now and without further delay, to the erratic and exceedingly casual methods of our leaders that are leading the nation into a maze of evil design and ruinous waste. With a tame Assembly devoid of all opposition, with the services ruined by nepotism, favouritism and undeserved promotions, it is easy for our Olympians to float along rainbow-lined clouds of adulation and complacency. But to those who are observant and are in contact with the masses, the portents are getting more and more ominous everyday. Lest we be accused of "crying havoc" without reason or rhyme, we append an extract from a letter written to Dr. Taraknath Das by an American friend who is a trained observer, and who has recently returned to the U.S.A., after a fairly long stay in India.

"Things in India are worse than ever. The economic side is quite bad. In fact, you could actually call it a depression. There is no business activity due 100 per cent to Government's policies which have put a damper on the whole show. Income taxes are too high and *not enforced equally*. There is a 6 per cent limitation on dividends which has killed all the joy in investing for everyone. Import policies are bad. There is no drive for exports which is what England is doing. All in all you could

say it was due to lack of common sense and imagination by the Government; and the rumblings of political unrest are getting louder. The Communists are getting stronger especially in Bengal area. The Government's labor policy is very bad. Nepotism and corruption are ten times more rampant. The railways just are not working, hence food can't be moved around the country. I am afraid, as many are, that this state of affairs cannot go on. There will be a counter-revolution—has to be—and the only trouble with this is that the Communists will of course take over. Only wish the present government would use common sense. The new budget is a hopeless affair. It's a pretty depressing picture..”

Dr. Das asks :

“Is this the true picture? There is no time for Indian leaders to act as ostriches. It is time for them to show their manliness and get rid of those who have used the Congress Party for their personal gain. The time has come to have a house-cleaning from the very top and to do all that can be done to aid the poor and the needy and the masses; so that the people of India will stand by those who will fight for true freedom, justice and liberty for all.”

He concludes his letter with the following exhortation to Pandit Nehru and the Congress leaders :

“My dear Pandit Nehru and present Congress leaders, do not forget that in the past India was sold to foreigners by Indians—Umichands, Mirjaffars, Jinnahs and others did this, and there are many today who are holding high positions and selling the best interests of the country for their personal gain. The time has come to get rid of them or they will create a condition which will bring about destruction as it has happened in China. Will you act now? Will you set your own house in order? Will you check corruption, inefficiency and nepotism?”

We consider the reference to China as being exceedingly apposite. China had freedom, vast resources and aid on a major scale from the U.S.A., and yet what a catastrophe has overtaken it, after it emerged victorious out of the Japanese invasion and World War II. We do not say that all the trouble in China is of her own making, indeed on the contrary. Further, we do not consider that China of the Kuomintang has had a fair deal from the Western Nations, considering the fact that but for her heroic resistance—and that of Russia—the world would be lying today under the heels of the Rome-Berlin-Tokyo Axis. For America had been caught unprepared, and where would be she now but for the years of time and millions of square miles of space—hard fought and dearly bought—which China and Russia provided and in which the mighty war machine of the Axis spent itself? But all the same, China of the Kuomintang compromised with evil within its domains, pleading exigency, as our leaders are doing today, and Nemesis has followed, as it will in India, sure as fate, unless we heed the omens.

We do not deny that, with the whole of the Old World in ferment, there is justification for the pre-occupied attitude of our leaders. Chaos and cataclysm has fallen upon China. Indo-China and Indonesia are involved in a life and death struggle with the forces of French and Dutch colonialism, while Burma is faced with a disintegrating war of secession. At home

we have Pakistan carrying on with a cold war of attrition, in which all the advantages are with her, thanks to the vacillating and supine attitude of our Olympians. And in Europe after the Atlantic Pact the cold war has entered a new phase.

But pre-occupation is one thing and preparedness is quite another matter. The first move in any scheme of preparedness is to set one's own house in order. The reason why for our being perturbed is that we find we are proceeding from one disorder to another and that there does not seem to be any attempt at raising a dam against the floods of corruption and disaffection that is threatening to engulf the State.

India in the British Commonwealth

India will continue to remain a member of the British Commonwealth even after she becomes a Republic. This has been announced in a statement issued from No. 10, Downing Street, London, at the conclusion of the Prime Ministers' Conference. A joint Declaration issued by the eight Commonwealth countries says :

“The Governments of the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon, whose countries are united as members of the British Commonwealth of Nations and owe common allegiance to the Crown, which is also the symbol of their free association, have considered the impending constitutional changes in India.

“The Government of India have informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the Indian people that, under the new Constitution which is about to be adopted, India shall become a sovereign, independent republic.

“The Government of India have, however, declared and affirmed India's desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of the independent nations and as such the Head of the Commonwealth.

“The Governments of the other countries of the Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognize India's continuing membership in accordance with the terms of this declaration.

“Accordingly the United Kingdom, Canada, Australia New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon hereby declare that they remain united as free and equal members of the Commonwealth of nations, freely co-operating in the pursuit of peace, liberty and progress.”

The statement issued from No. 10 Downing Street, said :

“During the past week the Prime Ministers of the United Kingdom, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, Pakistan and Ceylon and the Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs have met in London to exchange views upon the important constitutional issue arising from India's decision to adopt a republican form of constitution and her desire to continue her membership of the Commonwealth.

“The discussions have been concerned with the effects of such a development upon the existing structure of the Commonwealth and the constitutional relations between its members.

"They have been conducted in an atmosphere of goodwill and mutual understanding and have had as their historical background the traditional capacity of the Commonwealth to strengthen its unity of purpose, while adapting its organization and procedures to changing circumstances.

"After full discussion the representatives of the Governments of all the Commonwealth countries have agreed that the conclusions reached should be placed on record in the joint declaration quoted above."

Reaction at the Delhi Government circles seem to be one of satisfaction and relief. Sardar Patel, the Deputy Prime Minister of India, has hailed the decision as "momentous." Another reaction is reflected by the view of a senior Congress leader, who said that looking back over the past three years, he was surprised at the transformation of India's attitude towards Britain from bitter hostility to a general desire for friendly association. Three years ago, he said, few Congressmen wished to "touch the Commonwealth with a pair of tongs." Had India left the Commonwealth, it seems that it would have deeply and truly disappointed those very Congress leaders who, for the last 18 years, every year on January 26, read and made the audience recite the Independence pledge which contained the sentence, "We believe, therefore, that India must sever the British connection and attain *Purna Swaraj* or complete Independence." The reaction of the people has been one of bewilderment, the younger and progressive leftist groups consider it as an unwarranted surrender of India to the needs of the British Ruling classes in the Dominions. With the Ghetto Act in South Africa, White policy in Australia and similar attitude prevailing elsewhere, it has been clearly demonstrated that the interests of the White Ruling class come foremost in the Dominions where racial discrimination continues unabated. We wonder what the people of India will gain by allying with these ruling classes in the Dominions. India's continuance in the Commonwealth is as yet to their benefit and not ours. The present Congress President, probably in his eagerness not to dissatisfy either school of thought, made the guarded statement that "India is neither elated nor depressed over the decision."

Sardar Patel addressed a Press Conference in New Delhi where he said that the decision was "great and momentous," that in essentials past statements by the Prime Minister about India's position had been vindicated and that the Constituent Assembly's Objectives Resolution remained the corner-stone of the Draft Constitution. The following is the text of Sardar Patel's address :

"I am sure all of you have already read the Press communique which has appeared in this morning's papers on the discussions on the problem of India's association with Commonwealth of Nations which have been going on in London for the past week.

"As a Dominion we have been, like other members of the Commonwealth, owing allegiance to the Crown. When we accepted this position, we made

it quite clear that this was for the time being and that the question of our future status was one to be decided by the Constituent Assembly as a sovereign body with complete freedom. We had already passed an Objectives Resolution in the first session of the Constituent Assembly. That resolution stands and shall remain the corner-stone of our Draft Constitution, and our republican status clearly forms a part of that objective.

"At the same time, we have throughout expressed the view that we desire close association with Britain and other countries of the British Commonwealth of Nations. The problem before us was how to regulate such association having regard to our proclaimed objective of a republican status.

"It was a difficult problem and we have given this matter the most anxious thought and consideration. Throughout, however, we have never flinched from our objective of our republican status, and never has the problem been of modifying that status in order to suit such form of association with the Commonwealth as might be evolved. On the other hand, it has been our endeavour to determine that form of association without in any way affecting or departing from our republican status.

"This undoubtedly involved an adjustment of the existing structure of the Commonwealth. We have to remember that, throughout its existence the Commonwealth has never been a rigid institution. It has displayed an amazing adaptability to the ideological growth in its component parts. It has lain principally its integrity and strength and it is through that adaptation that it has survived many critical moments in its history.

"Throughout the discussions we have had on this important matter, we have had full understanding of our attitude by H.M.G. and representatives of the other Dominions. There has been manifest throughout a desire for adjustment to suit our constitutional position. I should like to acknowledge the assistance and co-operation which we have had from these gentlemen.

"The Prime Minister from time to time has made statements on this question and has explained the ideas underlying our approach to this question. Before he left India to attend the conference, he restated our position and I am sure you will be glad to find that, in essentials, that position has been sustained as a result of the conclusions reached at the conference.

"It is not for me to give you any idea of the course of the negotiations. I know this much : throughout the deliberations of the conference our Prime Minister found a general attitude of friendliness, cordiality and goodwill and an earnest desire to achieve a solution which would accord India an equal place in the Commonwealth without affecting its republican status.

"I shall now say a few words by way of explanation on the conclusions and decisions which have emerged from the London talks. You will notice that there is a change in the nomenclature of the Commonwealth. In future, it will be known as the 'Commonwealth of Nations.' Such a thing was inevitable in view of the changing character of its composition.

"India's status of a sovereign independent republic is, by no means, affected, because there is no question of allegiance to His Majesty the King who will merely remain a symbol of our free association as he would be of other members.

"There is no break in our membership of the

Commonwealth. We continue as member and with other members we remain united as free and equal members.

"So far as our Constitution is concerned it will remain republican both in the internal and external spheres. You will notice that the King's headship of the Commonwealth is limited to being the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations."

Asked if the king would have any functions in relation to India, Sardar Patel replied in the negative, adding that as Head of the Commonwealth His Majesty would have only a status. Asked what the functions of the King would be as the Head of the Commonwealth, he replied, "so far as his functions are concerned, they are hardly any. But he gets a status. He is, as mentioned in the *Communique*, a symbol of the free association of all these units." Asked what was the idea of a symbol, Sardar Patel avoided the question by asking the correspondent to look up the Webster's Dictionary.

The question raised at the Press Conference and avoided by the Deputy Prime Minister, is one of prime importance. The agreement announced in the joint declaration of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers means that although the King will have a symbolic status recognised by India, he will have no constitutional functions so far as India is concerned. The future head of a Republican India will be an elected President who will express the sovereign will of the people and exercise the functions hitherto performed by the King. The agreement is considered to reflect the view that the Commonwealth should not be regarded as a super-State with the King as its head. The new phrase "head of the Commonwealth" used for the position of the King is understood to be considered only a phrase and not as constituting a new title. There is still no question of changing the King's title in the adjustment of the situation. The net gain of the London Conference has been the securing of India's consent to continue in the Commonwealth in spite of her declaration to become a Republic. An immediate formula has been found to achieve the immediate objective, there will now be time for legal and constitutional experts to define the meaning and constitutional implications of the new symbol.

In the economic field India will, as a result of this decision, continue to enjoy full Imperial preference in trade matters—a thing she, till August 15, 1947, bitterly resented.

In the Conference, the British faculty for self-renewal has once again been strikingly displayed. But we doubt whether our leaders have succeeded in showing an equivalent degree of statesmanship.

India's membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations is a *fait accompli*. Hard-headed intelligence may find justification for this affiliation. But in human history it has often been proved that instinct and sentiment are a better guide to and a better foundation of social and political structures. But, today the Nehru Government has

decided otherwise, and we do not propose to raise a recriminatory controversy over it. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel has hailed it as a "great and momentous" decision; he has spoken enthusiastically of "the amazing adaptability" of this particular union of States; he has hinted at the privileges and "obligations" of this line-up without caring to indicate these. Others have made themselves busy with analysing the "implications" of the new arrangement. Columnist Shri Krishnalal Shridharani has crooned over the advantages that India is supposed to have gained in contrast with what is enjoyed by Pakistan, Ceylon and South Africa. This may prove to be a short-lived satisfaction. For, these three States are not likely to tolerate for long this discrimination in favour of India. Another nameless commentator from London has thus described the value and beauty of the "new Commonwealth."

By this agreement as embodied in the declaration, the other countries reaffirm their allegiance to the Crown, and at the same time accept Republican India—to whom this allegiance does not apply—as an equal partner in the Commonwealth.

As a result of this agreement the King ceases to have any functions so far as India is concerned, as in the new context of Indian Republican statute, he will not be the King of India as he now is.

India's relations with the other members of the Commonwealth remain unchanged after she becomes a Republic.

The future elected President of Republican India will not be the representative of the King.

He will express the sovereign will of the people of India and exercise the power to appoint ambassadors and sign international treaties.

The opinion of an Indian who has lived abroad for four decades, and who has continuously striven and moved for the independence of India may be of value to our readers, as it is a view detached from any political bias or alignment. We append below the view that Dr. Taraknath Das holds about the matter:

"We are told that Mr. Nehru thinks that for India's internal and external security India needs Britain's aid. All friendly states are inter-dependent and India needs outside help. But India needs no more and no less support from Britain than Britain for her economic and political survival needs today from the United States of America. No Indian would ever dream that to get American support Britain should agree to become the 49th state of the United States of America; and no American will ever suggest any such proposition to Mr. Churchill, Mr. Bevin and others. Therefore, unless Indians wish to make India a part of the British Empire, there is no reason to think that to get British aid India must continue to be a Dominion and not become a free Sovereign Republic. It should not be overlooked that Britain needs Indian co-operation in every way. Britons want opportunities for trade in India. Britain needs Indian economic support (the Indian Sterling Balance is useful to Britain in building up her trade and world commerce). Britain needs India's military support. Under these circumstances two free and independent nations should co-operate as friends and allies.

To be outside of the Empire or Commonwealth (whatever you choose to call the British Empire) does not mean that India will follow an anti-British or anti-Anglo-American policy. All the member states signing the Atlantic Pact are outside the British Empire but they are in alliance to defend themselves. The United States is giving tens of billions of dollars to aid these powers economically and will supply arms and ammunition worth tens of billions freely because they have common interests in world policy.

India, as a free Sovereign Republic, should be ready to sign an alliance with the Anglo-American Powers on condition that these powers supply capital, food, machinery of all kinds and extend aid to strengthen India's position militarily, navally and in the air. India must learn to assert her position at least like Turkey to get aid so that India will be able to help the Anglo-American Powers effectively.

It is hardly logical for Mr. Nehru to say that India will remain neutral and at the same time continue to be a part of the British Empire. It is necessary to assert that India will fight for her interests and against her enemies whoever they may be. For this she must strengthen her position. Those who wish to have India's friendship will have to co-operate with India to further her interests as well as theirs. It is surely grand-stand play to say that India does not want to be entangled in Power-politics. India has become free due to the international situation as well as the sufferings of Indian patriots, and not because of the goodwill of British statesmen. India is a part of world politics and she will be affected by World War III, if it ever breaks out. Realizing this, I advocate that Indian statesmen should realize that it would be to India's advantage and helpful to the cause of Asian freedom for India to be a party to an Anglo-American-Indo-Chinese-Japanese Alliance.

It may be worthwhile that after the London Conference Mr. Nehru should, to broaden his world outlook, visit the United States. India should have direct and intimate relations with the U.S.A., and it is necessary for Indian statesmen to get in personal touch with American statesmen who have more wholeheartedly supported the cause of Indian freedom without partition than British statesmen did in the past."

Foreign Capital in India

The long awaited statement of the Government of India regarding its policy on the participation of foreign capital in India has been made by Pandit Nehru on April 6 last. The Prime Minister of India prefaced his statement with the following remarks on the need for a change in India's attitude towards foreign capital.

"The stress on the need to regulate, in the national interest, the scope and manner of foreign capital arose from past association of foreign capital and control with foreign domination of the economy of the country. But circumstances today are quite

different. The object of our regulation should therefore, be the utilisation of foreign capital in a manner most advantageous to the country. Indian capital needs to be supplemented by foreign capital not only because our national savings will not be enough for the rapid development of the country on the scale we wish, but also because, in many cases, scientific, technical and industrial knowledge and capital employment can best be secured along with foreign capital."

The statement admits that India requires foreign capital for her industrial expansion, it welcomes foreign capital and finally it offers inducement for the import of foreign capital in India.

The statement deals not only with future foreign investments in this country but also with the existing ones. The first important point made out in the announcement is a categorical statement that while the Government expects all undertakings, Indian or foreign, to conform to the general requirements of its industrial policy "as regards existing foreign interests, Government do not intend to place any restrictions or impose any conditions which are not applicable to similar Indian enterprise." It further assures that "foreign interests would be permitted to earn profits subject only to regulations common to all." The Government have assured that there will be no difficulty or obstacles "in continuing the existing facilities for the remittance of profits" or even in regard to withdrawal of foreign capital investments, subject however only to foreign exchange considerations. The most important feature of the statement in relation to existing foreign investments is its unequivocal declaration that "if and when foreign enterprises are compulsorily acquired, compensation will be paid on a fair and equitable basis."

Although it has been the declared policy of the Government of India that protection will be granted for the growth of Indian industry, this statement on foreign capital will largely nullify the previous policy. Struggling indigenous industries will now be placed on the same footing as strong and well-established firms working in this country, and the statement is silent on the duty of the Government in the event of a rate war between the two. On the contrary, the statement gives the assurance that "the Government of India have no desire to injure in any way British or other non-Indian interests in India. "Government will frame their policy as to enable further foreign capital to be invested in India on terms and conditions that are mutually advantageous."

Pandit Nehru's statement is vague in regard to the extent of interest and ownership that foreign interests will be permitted to enjoy. He says, "Obviously there can be no hard and fast rule in this matter Government will not object to foreign capital having control of a concern for a limited period, if it is found to be in the national interest, and each individual case will be dealt with on its own merits." "In all cases, however, the training of suitable Indian personnel for the purpose of eventually replacing foreign experts will be insisted upon."

So far as British investors are concerned, they seem to have heaved a deep sigh of relief. 'The twin fears of nationalisation and discrimination are no more. But from our standpoint, we must be on our guard about their future activities here. With India inside the British Commonwealth and British capital firmly saddled here, we have reason to be watchful and vigilant. Economic power without political responsibility is certainly preferable to them to the pre-withdrawal position.

The American reaction is also of much interest to us. Mr. Loy W. Henderson, the present U.S. Ambassador to India, speaking at the Lucknow Rotary Club early this year, said, "The average American company entering into operations abroad does not demand or expect special privileges. It does, however, wish to make sure that it will not be discriminated against, merely because it is privately-owned or foreign. As a rule it brings to the country into which it enters the benefit of its experience and technical advantage and is glad to train the nationals of that country in its production methods." So, they have got exactly what they wanted. Sir B. Rama Rau, the Governor-designate of the Reserve Bank of India, stated in a press interview on his return from America after relinquishing his Ambassadorship at Washington, a few days ago, that there is "a great willingness in the United States to invest money in India and give technical assistance," but added, "the Americans naturally desire to have adequate safeguards which any foreign investor would expect." One of these at least is clear from Mr. Loy Henderson's statement quoted above, namely, absence of discrimination against foreign capital merely because it is foreign or privately owned. This has been conceded.

The statement has also been received well by the Indian industrialists although they are the persons who are faced with serious competition from their stronger foreign rivals. Most of our top-ranking businessmen have become partners in foreign firms working in this country. One of the requisites of the Foreign Policy statement is that foreign firms working in India will take Indians in their management. The way in which our industrialists have behaved during the war and post-war years, has made the entire country suspicious of them. It is certain that placed as competitors of foreign firms, they will be pushed to the wall, but with these men as co-partners, foreign houses in India may mean a basis of joint exploitation of the consuming masses. Some benefit might accrue to us if there is a healthy competition between Indian and foreign firms working in India under the supervision of the Government of India and within the framework of a National Plan. Without such a plan and with a combination between the two interests, the new declaration may prove to be the source of a new menace to the Nation.

Corruption

Every responsible man in the country today is convinced that corruption is rampant everywhere, in

politics, in society and in the administration. People's experience is bitter. Men in authority both in the Government and in the Congress have made numerous appeals for putting a check to the all-round degeneration but no serious effort has yet been made to follow up the appeals with suitable actions. The seriousness with which Sardar Patel viewed corruption in 1947, seems to have definitely abated by now. In that year, at the instance of Sardarji, Act No. II of 1947, was passed by the old Indian Legislature for making the prevention of bribery and corruption more effective. The Act remains a dead letter. Now in the new Indian Parliament, on March 12, 1949, referring to the complaints of corruption, Sardar Patel said there were cases of corruption, dishonesty and misbehaviour. He asked members of the House to ask themselves, "Who amongst us has not erred?" They were also asked to give an allowance for the influence of the war on men's morals. What they drew today was only one-third of what they got before. He also asked the House to bear in mind the difficult circumstances and appreciate the immensity and heaviness of the burden on the services which had been terribly depleted and had a lower standard on account of repeated promotion and all-round difficulties. About a year ago, in reply to charges of corruption among Railway servants, Dr. Matthai, then Railway Minister, returned a flat denial. Sardar Patel has asked for tolerance of corruption and has virtually made out a case for its existence. The "arguments" advanced by Sardar Patel in support of the utterly dishonest, inefficient and corrupt hierarchy, do not bear a moment's scrutiny. It is now about four years that the war is over. Given proper efficiency and honesty at the top, it was sufficient time at least to turn the trend away from the evil practices let loose and encouraged during the war. Even the one-third valuation of the Rs. 2,000 to Rs. 4,000 monthly salaries drawn by officials leaves sufficient balance for them to lead a decent and honest life. Corrupt people do not add to their income through malpractices for balancing their family budgets but for an unregulated lust for money. Where the top is corrupt, the bottom is bound to follow suit. The plea of serious depletion of officers does not fit in with the very recent professions of embarrassments due to the influx of surplus officers. During the past two years, many of the worst and corrupt officers have succeeded in securing promotions very often at the cost of honest officers with efficiency and integrity. Immensity and heaviness of the burden of the national services are pleaded only by those worthless people who have been picked up on considerations other than that of merit, and never by officers selected through open and fair competition and promoted on the ground of merit alone.

This lenient view of Sardar Patel on corruption at least explains the mystery as to how the recent big cases of corruption under the Central Government have been veiled up. Where the Central Government develops such a curious *laissez-faire* attitude towards

corruption, conditions in the provinces are bound to be worse. The other day, in the Orissa Legislature, the Premier said that as to corruption he would take action even if there was no regular evidence. He said, "I do not want any regular evidence. If somebody in a responsible position is himself convinced *prima facie* that an officer is corrupt and tells me so, I shall enquire into the matter at once. No useful purpose would be served by merely passing on allegations. Such allegations would only demoralise the officer." We wonder how, with Sardar Patel's new theory at work, a Provincial Premier can translate his pious wishes into action.

We would like to remind the Home Minister of India, one of the closest followers of Mahatma Gandhi, what Gandhiji had said four days before his martyrdom. In his prayer meeting, Gandhiji said, on January 26, 1948 :

"The subject of corruption is not new. Only it has become much worse than before. Restraint from without has practically gone. Corruption will go when the large number of persons given to the unworthy practice realise that the nation does not exist for them but that they do for the nation. It requires a high code of morals, extreme vigilance on the part of those who are free from the corrupt practice and who have influence over the corrupt servants. Indifference in such matters is criminal. If our evening prayers are genuine, they must play no mean part in removing from our midst the demon of corruption."

Ministerial Re-shufflings

The change in the leadership of the Congress Party of Madras has become almost an annual fair ; East Punjab went through a change four or five weeks back, during which time the position of the Premier was made impossible and he was forced to resign ; no other Province has reported the possibility of quick-change in the Ministerial set-up. Of the States re-constituted into *Pradeshes*, one, the Vindhya Pradesh, has registered a ministerial break-down due to causes other than political bribery and corruption. It would be indivious to think that the Provinces are freer from these abuses ; Bihar with its *gur* scandal comes to the mind. But both the Congress High Command and the Central Government appear to have turned the blind eye on these provincial peccadilloes simply because these are being run by seasoned Congress leaders while the Pradesh chiefs are new-comers only.

Cynics and sceptics apart, the men and women of the commonalty find it difficult to explain to themselves these meteoric changes in the ministerial field in the Provinces—why Prakasam should have been followed by Omandur Reddier to be superseded by Kumaraswamy Raja ; why Gopichand Bhargava should have to yield place to Bheemsen Sachar. The Madras Press has been at pains to explain the situation. Tamil-Telugu tension has been a longstanding cause ; the Kannada-speaking and Malayalam-speaking legislators hold a precarious balance ; these latter are said to

be divided into two rival groups each ; the first under the leadership of A. B. Shetty and K. R. Karanth respectively and the latter under Palghat R. Raghava Menon and K. Raghava Menon. There has been talk of a "Ministry-maker," pointing the finger to Shri Kamraj Nadar, President of the Tamil Nad Congress Committee. The new Premier Kumaraswamy Raja is said to have been found acceptable because he is "a true Gandhian"; because though "a Telugu by birth," he is "a Tamilian by up-bringing"—whatever be the significance of this description.

"Group ambition" seems to be the only pointer for explaining the upset in the East Punjab Ministry. The Sikhs have been sore because they are not having their own way towards building a predominantly Sikh State or Province. The recent reshuffle is said to be due to the rivalry between Sardar Baldeo Singh, the Central Government Defence Minister, and the Maharaja of Patiala. We cannot locate its cause. But it is widely believed that Gyani Kartar Singh has been pulling the strings in the interest of the Akali Party which swears by Master Tara Singh. The seat of this Sikh malady appears to be that the Sikhs do not know what they want of the many desirable things that they desire ; they are, therefore, being moved by contradictory feelings, sentiments and ambitions.

The contest between Dr. Gopichand Bhargava and Lala Bheemsen Sachar is inexplicable except on the supposition of personal or group ambitions. Though the latter has been allowed to be Premier, the episode of his getting three ministers of his own party sworn in in defiance of the Central Parliamentary Board's directives should be a warning. It is handsome of the late Premier, Dr. Gopichand Bhargava, that he should have agreed to serve under his rival. That has evidently been done at the insistence of the Congress High Command faced with constant irritations inside the Ministerial party in the North-West Frontier Province of the Indian Union.

This story may not be pleasant or limited to Madras and East Punjab alone. Everywhere group spirit has been getting the better of the idealism that the Congress had called forth. The why and how of this debacle is, however, another and a bigger story in which even our highest leadership may not come off without blame or reproach.

Linguistic Provinces

We have long been broken into the habit of having long-winded resolutions issued by the Working Committee of the Congress. The latest, endorsing the three-leaders Committee's report on Linguistic Provinces, is characterized by the same defect. In trying to drive home the points of its findings there have been any number of repetitions of arguments, pleas and special pleadings that do not appeal to our understanding.

We feel that in the handling of this particular problem, Congress leadership has been paralysed by a palsy of

will that has driven it to self-contradiction. Shri Kishorelal Mashruwala, writing in the *Harijan* of April 17 last, has put the criticism neatly when he said:

"... they (the three-leaders Committee) have chosen to act as if they were merely secretaries of certain Government Departments or organizations, awaiting further orders of the most effective group."

So, we propose to accord to the *ex-cathedra dictum* of the "Big Three" as much consideration as we do to those of the know-alls of the bureaucracy. Because, we think that the opinions expressed in this report are vitiated by the same ineffectiveness as that which followed the classic example of the "neither accept nor reject" formula with reference to the "Communal Award" of Ramsay MacDonald. The best commentary on the wisdom of the Congress leadership is that they failed to realize that by adopting such a futile and knock-kneed attitude, they were laying the foundations of Pakistan. The same leadership is in control to-day with the same outlook. The "Big Three" have also confessed that when they or their lackeys placed "the seal of approval" on the "general principle of Linguistic Provinces", they were

"not faced with the practical application of this principle and hence it had not considered all the implications and consequences that arose from this practical application. There had, however, been a persistent demand and agitation for the formation of Andhra and the Karnataka provinces. The Congress approval of this principle was partly due to the *artificial manner in which existing provinces had been created by the British power in India*. It was chiefly due to a desire to have, as far as possible, homogeneous cultural units which would presumably advance more rapidly because of this homogeneity."

The only interpretation that we cannot but place on the first four lines of this quotation is that our leaders have developed a queer fear of implementing the promises that they continued to utter for more than a quarter of a century. And why?

"At the present moment of our history when some of the smaller States have been merged into a province, a neighbouring province has objected with such violence and language that one would have almost thought that two countries were on the verge of war. These are evil symptoms and we have to be very careful lest we do anything to encourage them."

These three leaders of ours are honest people, and they have attempted by a confession of weakness to relieve their conscience. But it is not by confessions like this that the rulership of States justifies itself. The world will ask why could not the Central Government, of which two of the present Committee are members, get hold of the Province that used "such violence and language"? Is it because a representative of that particular Province was one of the "trinity" that ruled the Congress? Do these leaders of ours realize that the effect of this toleration of "violence" can have but one significance? Kishorelalji has indicated it.

"The principles which it (the "High Committee") has set forth and the counsel which it has given are good, but it hands over the trump card to agitators when it confesses in so many words: However, if public

sentiment is insistent and overwhelming, we, as democrats, have to submit to it, but subject to certain limitations in regard to the good of India as a whole and certain conditions which we have specified above. Public sentiment must clearly realise the consequences of any further division so that it may fully appreciate what will flow from their demand."

We do not know if this is not an invitation to "violence" in language and action. In this particular the particular Province referred to has shown by results that "violence" pays handsome dividends, and the way in which it has been allowed by the Central Government to walk away with two States is an incentive to further greed. For the benefit of Pandit Nehru and Sardar Patel we propose to illustrate this. Within the territory of that Province a non-Indian firm has been building up an industry. Technicians were advertised for on an all-India basis. To an applicant otherwise competent who was interviewed by the firm's executive they expressed inability to take him in because he happened to be a Bengalee, and they could not take the risk of pin-pricks administered by that Province's Government. This is the footling unity which the "Big Three" swear by, while encouraging all manner of chauvinism in Bihar, in Assam and more or less in other Provinces by winking at the sources and symptoms of this disease in our body politic!

Experiences like these have led us to the thought that the thunder of the "Big Three" is a squib. We cannot treat with consideration their declaration:

"We are clearly of opinion that no question of rectification of boundaries in the provinces of northern India should be raised at the present moment, whatever the merit of such a proposal might be."

We are in good company in this stand. The Provincial Congress Committees of Maharashtra and Karnataka have revolted against the "Big Three" decision. The feeling in other language-areas is also not receptive to their wisdom. Then, whom do the leaders propose to lead? Who can take them seriously when they cannot come down on the prime offenders against the main principles laid down by themselves?

Manbhum Satyagraha

Under the Congress President's directive the organisers of the Manbhum Satyagraha, the Manbhum Lok Sevak Sangha, have suspended their movement started for the assertion of their rights as citizens of India, of their dignity as men and women which for about 18 months have been trampled under foot by the Congress Ministry of Bihar. This directive imposes on the Congress Executive the reciprocal duty of righting the wrongs against which the Satyagraha Movement had been started on the 6th of April last. The world would like to know why it has taken the Congress Executive so long a time to make an enquiry into the validity of the grievances brought to their notice from before Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramiyya's spell of office since the third week of December last. Is it to be believed that the supreme Executive of the Congress cannot be moved except under the threat of trouble, violent

or non-violent? We regret that no other explanation seems to fit in.

Whatever be the interpretation of their ostrich policy, now that the Congress Executive has been apprised of the points of contention, we hope that there will be no more delay in going into the matter. It is a responsibility that Dr. Pattabhi has assumed. The Director of the Manbhum Satyagraha, Shri Atul Chandra Ghosh, a veteran Congress leader in Bihar as good as any body else, a consistent follower of the Gandhian philosophy and practice, in his letter to Dr. Pattabhi acknowledging the receipt of his directive has brought out, though somewhat indirectly the various issues that had forced their hands. This letter is instinct with a sense of righteous indignation at the callousness of fellow-workers now placed at the head of Administration, Provincial and Central. We publish it below with the hope that the supreme Executive of the Congress will appreciate and respect this feeling. Dr. Pattabhi's letter accompanying his directive called for criticism, which, we are glad to notice, has not been made soft. We will watch with interest the way in which he reacts to this plain-speaking.

To The President, Indian National Congress

Dear friend,—On 22nd April, 1949, we received the following telegram from the General Secretary, Sri Kala Venkatrao:—

"Congress President on advice of Working Committee posted letter requesting you to withdraw Satyagraha. Letter by mistake went to Atulya Ghose, Secretary, West Bengal P.C.C. posting letter to you today with correct address."

On the previous day i.e. on 21st April a telegram came from Sj. Atulya Ghose of West Bengal P.C.C. too, containing some portions of the contents of your letter which appeared in the newspapers on the 22nd April, as reported to the Press by U.P.I., Delhi, and which was said to be the full text of the letter addressed to me.

After receiving the telegrams, we took the letter published in the newspapers to be a *verbatim* reproduction of the original, and all these necessitated our coming to a decision over the matter. Accordingly, we made preliminary arrangements then and there to prepare the field for giving effect to the decision we arrived at, as we would have to do when your original letter would come. We have not received your letter as yet. As we had no reason to disbelieve the *bona fides* of the letter and as we had already made preliminary arrangements to give effect to our decision in anticipation of your letter, we proceeded to implement the decision we took on the letter as published in the Press.

The letter published in the papers was taken by us to be a complete reproduction of the original letter. We went through the letter minutely. It did not give us a clear idea of the position. It needed clarification from you. We thought it necessary to know clearly what place was given to our contentions, to our stand and approach in the purview of the letter containing your decision. It remained for us to understand whether our issue has been

correctly appreciated, or not. Yet we saw in it a gesture for finding out a solution. So we suspended the movement on and from the 23rd April in compliance with your advice in order to obey and honour the request of our President and the Working Committee, which we are always in duty bound to do as Congressmen, unless there be a conflict with truth. Moreover, we suspended the Satyagraha in order to explore, as Satyagrahis, the offer of solution when it is made, and to have the letter considered by our "Parishad." After suspending the Satyagraha when we were going to issue a statement on our behalf, we received a true copy of your original letter, sent by the Secy., West Bengal P.C.C. There are in it the last ten words in the concluding sentence, which have changed the whole nature of the context. These words were not published in the newspapers. The complete sentence in your letter is this:—

"I hope therefore you will give up the movement which you should not have undertaken in this haphazard manner."

This line altogether changed the attitude of the letter. It has given us much pain. With due respect and humility we have to say that it pains us much to think that verdict should be given on a matter which is *sub-judice*. The pain is all the more acute if we are to think that our revered President of the great organisation from which we, as its sincere followers, have been seeking help month after month, has blamed us without having heard what we have to say.

We do not understand what you mean by 'haphazard manner.' Certainly it does not mean that we have done it without having exhausted all the constitutional means. Your office has kept records of the incessant appeals and importunities made by us month after month or a full year. But unfortunately, we did not find any remedy, help or guidance. This long period has seen how we have approached times without number the Ministers, the Congress leaders, and the executives as well as many All-India personalities. Not to speak of getting any help or guidance from them, we have not even got any reply from them to our requests for their intervention and solution. After all these, do you mean that we have undertaken Satyagraha in a 'haphazard manner' in this sense?

Certainly you have not meant by 'haphazard manner' that we have started the Satyagraha without sufficient grounds for the urgency for it, because we have submitted to you necessary papers to let you know how the situation became urgent, necessitating the starting of Satyagraha and what cogent reasons were there for embarking on it. You have not denied the validity of our charges or contentions so far. So, we cannot think that you have rejected our allegations without having any knowledge of the situation. We cannot also think that you have rejected the urgent prayers of a great number of people, having had biased opinions from interested persons without considering the necessity of understanding our case. So, are we not right to conclude that the

words 'haphazard manner' have not been used in this sense?

The question of 'haphazard manner' may be raised in regard to the type of Satyagraha, i.e., whether it is being conducted in accordance with the prescribed rules of Satyagraha, or in a 'haphazard manner.' Certainly you have not meant it, as you have no first-hand knowledge of the same. If you have had any opportunity of knowing about it through any responsible person, you must have known that the Satyagraha is being performed in the strictest sense of the term and in complete accordance with the directions laid down by Mahatmaji in this regard. May we not think that you have not spoken the words from this idea?

We humbly say that we are entitled to know the reasons for the unmerited attributions we are to put up with, otherwise we would labour under a sense of wrong done to us however unwittingly.

As for the justification of Satyagraha, we may make a reference here to our talks with the General Secretary Sri Sankar Rao Deoji. He personally came to Manbhum in the month of June '48 with the then President of Bihar P.C.C. and got an idea of the situation. He knows how many times we approached your office for help. In course of a talk in Delhi in the month of December last he told us that they had practical difficulties for intervening in the situation and that we were justified to take self-action. He said at last that we might put up our case once more before the Parliamentary Board, and if no remedy was forthcoming soon, we would be more justified to resort to Satyagraha. Are we not more justified today in offering Satyagraha in Manbhum in view of what happened between your office and us after our last efforts to get remedy from you?

We have made known to you many times how the situation here has become perilous and how civic life has become intolerable in Manbhum owing to the actions of the Congress Ministry in whose hands you have given the responsibility of implementing the commitments our Congress organisation has made to the people. You have the ultimate responsibility for this. But unfortunately we have to say that not a single effort has been made so far even to see what is going on in Manbhum. If you did not believe our allegations, you should have taken us to task for accusing a Government which, if you think, are doing their duties faithfully, and have wrongly been accused. You have not done that either. You have to take up any of the two courses.....

An aggrieved person expects to be treated always in an unprejudiced way. But when he does not get any hearing but, on the contrary, is deprecated for any reason without trial, then it is sure that the wrong-doers find pretexts for their wrong-doings and thereby they are strengthened, however unwillingly, by the action of the persons who had no intention for doing so. We have to see that nobody gets an opportunity to say anything of this kind against our august organisation.

You have not said for some reason or other anything against the wrongs done to the people of Manbhum,

which we have brought to your notice through our representations and which you may have had occasions to notice in the Press also. You have asked us to stop Satyagraha having viewed it unfavourably. This means, though unwillingly, that you have wanted to stop the way of remedy which we have not got by any other means, and thereby allowing the wrongs to continue.

We suspended our Satyagraha in response to the gesture for your intervention and to have your letter considered by our "Parishad." Now, besides these questions, another question has come up before us—the clarification of your views on the justification of the Satyagraha we have launched. Deprecation of the Satyagraha means that we are not justified to take recourse to it even when there is no other remedy. Certainly, when there are other constitutional remedies, there would be no justification for it. But when there is no other remedy available, it is fully justified if conducted according to its principles. So, this matter involves the question whether we have started it in accordance with the principles when there was no remedy coming from any quarters responsible to find it; or even when there was the assurance of remedy, we started without taking cognisance of it. If there be no remedy forthcoming, we humbly say we are and shall be justified to pursue the Satyagraha in order to eradicate wrongs unbearable and derogatory to humanity. We must be satisfied as to the reasons before we are asked to stop the Satyagraha. Otherwise, there will be, we apprehend, no justification for tying our hands to prevent us moving against wrongs. We would expect a clear opinion from you on this point.

We cannot allow the situation to go on indefinitely in this way. We have allowed it to go on for a pretty long time. Now there should be a clear-cut way for us. If you think that we are in the wrong, then we should be taken to task soon and we like to have a speedy trial for it; but if we have a *prima facie* case before you, there should be a speedy investigation and remedy for the wrongs that would be established thereby. If neither is done, we have our duty. We cannot be expected to remain silent onlookers in a precarious condition. It would be imprudent. So we would justly expect that you—our President of the Congress—would help us to clear up the uncertain position.

The visit to Manbhum by an impartial and responsible person with the determination to help in easing the situation would have corrected it long ago. Its need remains as before. If this be not possible, even in such an endangering situation as is the case with Manbhum, we are justified to follow the path we have undertaken, we humbly think.

We would expect a reply from you to our queries. We would humbly expect to be acquainted with the reasons for the views entertained by you about our Satyagraha or we would expect the removal of the misconception if there have been any in our views about it. We would also expect to find the right basis behind your decision of proposed intervention mentioned in your letter for meeting our grievances and our approach. We

would have to clarify the position very soon; otherwise, our cause and our fight against the evils, that is being conducted through undergoing sufferings, would be hampered which cannot be allowed under any circumstances. So, kindly keeping our above reasons in view, you would help us in coming to a decision on our pending position as early as the situation demands. We think that a period of a week from the date of the receipt of this letter would not be inconvenient for you to let us know your attitude and opinion about the matters raised in this letter.

We are not undergoing sufferings as Satyagrahis without reasons, or for any adventitious reasons. Satyagrahis here are giving a true non-violent fight against wrong just in the way you yourself wish the people to move in a non-violent mass struggle to establish real Swaraj in our country. It would be evident to you when you come to know the real facts. You will then find the justification of the Satyagraha.

The Satyagrahis are demonstrating a true non-violent frame of mind in the face of inhuman and barbarous tortures inflicted by the evil elements of society under the active guidance of the Government and officials. Oppressions organised by the men of the Government have made it evident that the Satyagraha was urgently needed, and that the intervention of responsible persons which has constantly been sought for is long overdue. Today our question to you is whether we could follow the truth and the duties it imposes or we would submit to unnatural restrictions which come from the unreal state of affairs, that have no relation with truth.

We are fighting for the cause of the people. We are pledged to protect the civic rights and to work towards establishment of true Swaraj in our country. In these efforts of ours we expect that our Congress would stand to implement and to protect faithfully all the rights of the people which are entrusted to it to do. We have our duty in this regard. We cannot be expected to compromise with anything derogatory to our cause. We hope that we would be strengthened in our right cause by co-operation of the organisation from which we have always been seeking guidance and help.

As it is a matter of public importance, and as your letter to me was released to the Press, I hope; you will not mind my releasing our communication to you for publication.

Your sincerely,
Sd. Atul Chandra Ghose.

"After Partition"

This is a 125-page book issued by the Publications Division of the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting, Government of India. The date-line is 1948; here are indications that the story told has been rought up to the middle of last year.

A general picture of the post-partition position in the Indian Union and Pakistan is all that we get in the book. A wholly unsatisfactory account of pre-partition developments has been given adding practi-

cally nothing to our knowledge of the events that forced the leadership of the Congress to accept the division of the country. In page 12 we have, however, two remarks that throw curious light on the mental workings of the writer or writers of the book or of the Minister concerned or of the whole Government.

"... when the situation looked far from helpful, the Congress accepted the principle of partition and *wasted no more time on utopian schemes* for maintaining the unity of the country."—(Italics ours)

"To decide what the composition of the successor Government would be, negotiations were at once started with the leaders of the Congress, the Muslim League, and the Sikhs; and to *everybody's amazement and satisfaction* it was found that *all responsible parties* were in favour of the partition of the country on a communal basis."—(Italics ours).

The Ministry which is responsible for putting forward this version of the story should be asked to specify the persons other than the Anglo-Muslim conspirators, who were amazed and satisfied with the prospect held forth by partition; the writer appears to have lifted without acknowledgement the word used by Lord Ismay, Lord Mountbatten's political adviser, uttered in course of a luncheon-party speech at London some time in the spring of 1948. There are other quotations without acknowledgement, (p. 3, p. 82, p. 111) for instance. We have a certain feeling that Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel made out a better story of the causes of the partition in his speeches at Nagpur and Benares (November-December, 1948); he lifted a part of the veil from over the face of the Anglo-Muslim saboteurs of India's unity and integrity.

The attempt to foist a story of satisfaction with the Mountbatten device constitutes an outrage on human credulity. The world knows that the man who India's present rulers love to call—"Father of the Nation"—was not satisfied with it; and his last days were a torture to him as he surveyed the consequences of partition. Recognizing that the moving hand has written certain indelible lines in India's history, we would have found justification in such a book if the real story of the partition had been presented with the historian's detachment and fullness of details. In this story Feroze Khan Noon's "Chenghiz Khan" stunt, as referred to in page 7, should have been given as a minor detail of Muslim League intransigence. The story as told here leaves the impression that Feroze Khan Noon's threat worked the miracle by demoralizing our leadership!

Every one of the Ministries has been issuing its reports, pamphlets, books detailing its own activities. The facts given in this book summarize many of these. Perhaps, that is its only value.

Evacuee Property in India and Pakistan

On the eve of his departure for London in connection with the (British) Commonwealth Conference of Prime Ministers, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru

sant a message of good cheer to the Hindu and Sikh evacuees from the State of Pakistan. While appreciative of the nature of the catastrophe that has overtaken them, India's Prime Minister could not hold before them hopes of early relief from their sufferings. In the analysis of the factors that made their life miserable he referred to the problem of property, urban and rural, that they had been forced to leave behind them. Custodians of evacuee property have been appointed by the two States; District Magistrates have generally been saddled with this new duty. But the agreement reached at Karachi in January last does not appear to be working. If we understand Pandit Nehru's statement he appears to suggest that the Pakistan authorities have been creating difficulties, and in face of their tactics nothing tangible can be done.

We have had reports that Pakistanis under official inspiration or encouragement have been carrying on open propaganda that no Hindu or Sikh property should be bought; that conditions are being created which in the absence of buyers will make these cheaper than their intrinsic worth. This is the purpose of the Pakistani propaganda to get rich at the expense of the "Afir."

Owing to this particular difficulty no estimate of the value of evacuee property has been found possible. The Ministry of Information's pamphlet, *After Partition*, has given us the information that in Delhi alone up to July, 1948, over 94,364 claims have been registered with the Registrar of Claims; these refer only to West Pakistan. We cannot say that the Central Government has made any arrangement for evacuee property from East Bengal. The Delhi Registrar appears to have been able to consider 66,583 claims whose "consolidated value comes to Rs. 806 crores." We remember to have seen an estimate that put the value of all evacuee property in West Pakistan at more than Rs. 1,200 crores.

As against this the following estimate of property left by Muslim evacuees in the Indian Union is worth recording. Bombay, West Bengal, Bikaner, Bharatpur, Rajkot are excluded. East Punjab 43 lakh acres; 128,274 houses and shops; 1,495 factories. United Provinces 14,221 acres; 3,950 houses and shops; 1 factory, 1 tea estate and 2 rice mills. Bihar 1,214 acres; 694 houses and shops. Orissa 2 rice mills. Central Provinces 406 houses and shops. Delhi 17,800 acres; 26,300 houses and shops. Ajmere 1,600 acres; 43,000 houses and shops; 41 industrial concerns. Patiala State 71,008 acres; 84,048 houses and shops. Alwar State 4,29,000 acres. Jaipur 823 houses and shops.

This list is evidently incomplete even with reference to Provinces and States noted above. Their value also has not been estimated; it must be lesser than what has been left behind by Sikhs and Hindus. And unless pressure which Pakistan will feel and appreciate is brought to bear on it, the problem will remain unsolved. Even the latest conference of the two States has not produced results.

Kabul—Karachi—Delhi

Strategy and politics on India's north-western front has started taking a new turn. Pakistan's Frontiers has been placed far beyond the Indus deep on our side. This has been the greatest source of danger to India's defence.

Indian Rulers of old days felt that security of our country could not be assured without extending India's control over the Kabul Valley. This had been the corner-stone of old India's defence policy. During the British subjugation, the same strategy was followed by trying to make the Amir of Afghanistan a tributary to the British and controlling his foreign policy from New Delhi. This chapter has also ended. New India's Foreign Office has acted with creditable promptness in establishing friendly relations with Afghanistan. A trade pact has already been concluded between the two countries and Kabul-Delhi relations seem to be coming closer.

Pakistan has naturally become nervous with India's arm ready for retaliation and with the implications of the Pathanistan movement. The cry of Islam is cutting no ice. Iran has snatched away a frontier fort from Baluchistan and has shown no mood to return it. The newspapers of Kabul and Karachi have started a wordy battle between the two countries.

This self-imposed predicament of Pakistan seems to have alarmed badly the British die-hards. The Persian Gulf still plays a very important role in the defence of Britain's life lines to the East *via* Suez, but a vital change has taken place in the security of this Gulf. After the British withdrawal, the centre of defence of the Persian Gulf has shifted from Delhi to Karachi. Pakistan has therefore assumed great importance in British strategy in the East. Britain's safety now depends on a stable Pakistan. Sir Olaf Caroe, former Governor of the N.-W. F. P., told the Royal Empire Society of London on April 6 last, that "either alone or in union with others Pakistan must now safeguard both doors to the Indian Ocean theatre,—the front door *via* Persia and the Gulf, with Karachi and Quetta as the sea and land entrances, and the side door as it were of Peshawar and Kabul. The landward entrance was likely to cause her more immediate trouble. The Pathans are not amenable for long to the Islamic appeal and Pathan anarchy is Russia's opportunity.

"Pathans, skilfully misdirected, could do much harm to Pakistan, and so to the continent behind it. Along both the Persian and Afghan frontiers existed Russian "culture" republics of the same race as those across the border. The Russian policy of cultural absorption was 'one variant of the fifth column and deliberate.'

"The strategic centre of all Asia and the hub of the Muslim world is the Persian Gulf," said Sir Olaf. "The security of this region is vital not only to Pakistan and India but to the civilized world.

"The points of danger to the North-West are the Persian Gulf and the Continental frontier: to the East,

Burma and Malaya. These points are on the periphery of the region. If a region of power is of itself strong and stable, the periphery can be held by a regional grouping based on the centre—for example, Delhi—far from the circumference as was done by Britain in India.

"The British system of Indian defence was in fact a standing example of regional security radiating from India, and succeeded in preserving India herself from the impact of war in her own territory through the two most shattering wars in history by deploying power and diplomacy as needed on the periphery.

"And as regards the land frontier, the little frontier wars, an anachronism to the outside world, enabled the great life of India to go forward untroubled by Afghan and Pathan ferments.

"Partition has changed all that. There is doubt whether India and Pakistan can unite to provide defence in depth for this region: even united they could not stand alone.

"It may be that a new grouping must be evolved to maintain the stability of a region stretching from Istanbul to Karachi and beyond, and known vaguely as the Middle East. This, and not Waziristan, is the North-West Frontier problem.

"It is the Atlantic Powers, whose interests are vitally engaged in this region by oil and communications, who must underwrite any such regional grouping if it is to be effective.

"It will be for the regional Powers to contribute defence in depth by the provision of bases."

Anti-Pakistan Demonstration in Kabul

The following news gives a typical idea of Afghan sentiments about Pakistan:

According to a Kabul news item a large gathering of people including Ulemas, Mushaikh and other eminent persons from the sub-divisions of Kunduz assembled before the Government building on the 20th of Hamal (Afghan Calendar). They questioned the right of Pakistan to attack and bomb their Afghan brethren in the Azad Frontier.

They expressed great resentment against Pakistan's aggressive measures towards the Afghan tribal people of the Azad Frontier. They demanded that the Government should take steps in getting the rights of the Frontier brethren restored and to bring to an end the "unpleasant" activities of Pakistan.

They also presented a petition in which they expressed willingness to sacrifice their all for the cause of restoring the rights and freedom of their Frontier brethren and demanded Government's action in this respect. They requested that their petition be forwarded to the King as soon as possible.

The Administrator congratulated them for their sentiments and asked them to be patient as the Government was doing its best for the honour of their Frontier brethren.

According to the Bakhtar News Agency a large num-

ber of the Jaji people, who resided in Kabul, assembled at Government House and expressed their sympathy for the Frontier Afghans and criticised the Pakistan Government's aggressive policy towards the "Azad" Frontier. "We Jajis, who have always been voluntarily placing our services at the disposal of the National Government, are even today prepared to sacrifice our lives and property in the cause of national service," they said.

"No doubt some of our people living in the southern province have earlier expressed to the King their readiness to serve, but we, who are at the moment in Kabul, cannot tolerate Pakistan's hostile attitude towards our Muslim and Afghan brethren in the Frontier.

"We want that our Government should immediately take strong measures against Pakistan's aggressions," they said. In the end they expressed their readiness to sacrifice everything for the restoration of the rightful independence and freedom of their Frontier Afghan brethren.

Information reaching New Delhi from Kabul suggests that a deputation of the leaders of the Mashud, Mohmur, Ahmedzai and Waziri tribes from the "Azad" frontier was received by His Majesty the King of Afghanistan a few days ago.

The members of the deputation strongly condemned the "inhuman activities and stubborn aggression of Pakistan" against their brethren in the "Azad" frontier and were very glad at Afghanistan's protest against Pakistan in this connection. They requested the King to give them necessary instructions regarding the fulfilling of their national obligations.

In his reply, the King expressed his thanks for the members' sentiments towards their fellow brethren of the "Azad" frontier and said that he was glad to learn of their unanimous support to the Government's policy in this connection.

Pathanistan versus Pakistan

Kabul, a leading Afghan journal, has recently published Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan's latest statement—presumably sent out from prison—regarding his Azad Pathanis movement and his accusations against Pakistan. The statement is of particular importance as it gives the background of the recent happenings on the Pakistan border, and of the repercussions on Afghanistan's relations with Pakistan. The Pathan leader also discloses what talks he had with Mr. Jinnah during his visit to the Frontier. This article has been specially translated from Pushto by Khan Ghazi Kabuli and published in *The People*, Delhi. We quote below the substance:

The noble mission of our sacred Khudai-Khidmatgar movement is to liberate the Afghan nation from alien rule, so that they can function as free members of the assembly of Eastern peoples. What inspires the Khudai-Khidmatgars is not greed or selfish interest, but the will of God and the welfare of the nation. That is why I shut my eyes to suffering or harassment. I rely on God and on our own pure intentions and firmly believe that I must succeed in establishing the will of God. No worldly power can stand in our way and Azad Pakhtoonistan is inevitable.

The problem of the liberation and unity of the Pathan or Pakhtoon nation is not a new one. It has been with us ever since Feringhee selfishness split us into many fragments. What I desire is that my brother Pakhtoons of the Frontier Province, of the Tribal area, of Baluchistan, those on the Indus bank and in the Chach-Naga should all be knit together as one body.

From the very beginning I and my organisation have aimed at achieving the national unity and betterment of the Pathans. To this day we have struggled and sacrificed for this object.—To this day we continue to offer ourselves at the altar. In this struggle irrespective of who helps us or not, it is my irrevocable decision that I must achieve Azad Pakhtoonistan for my Pakhtoon nation. I shall continue to strive thus with my last breath; in this effort I would willingly lay down my life.

It is due to the sacrifice of the Pathans that Pakistan and Hindustan have achieved independence, and British supremacy been at last buried. In the battles of India's independence the sacrifices made by the Pathans have been distinctive, nay unique. That is why the Feringhee regards the Pathan as his greatest enemy and to ruin him utterly he has sought to incorporate his homeland into Pakistan.

I would like to avoid entering into controversy with regard to the establishment of Pakistan. That concerns me not. But I must insist on my people getting what is rightfully theirs, so that they can establish Azad Pakhtoonistan in their homeland. I pleaded for this with Mr. Jinnah, urging that in consideration of their innumerable sacrifices the Pathans must not be denied their freedom. I told Mr. Jinnah that even after achieving Pakhtoonistan, we would be willing to continue with Pakistan on the understanding that if the British still have a foothold in Pakistan we would be free to secede. This understanding to my mind was necessary because I see that in Pakistan British ascendancy will continue. I told Mr. Jinnah that if the British deprived me and my people of our rights, I could have no grievance because I know them to be the eternal enemies of the Pakhtoon nation. "But," I added, "you and I are brothers in faith and therefore I expect that you should give me my due. In this way, you will secure my friendship and strengthen Pakistan." It is a disappointment to me that Mr. Jinnah could not be persuaded.

My misgivings have since then come true. A Feringhee has been appointed as the Governor of the Frontier Province, and at that one who all his life has been known for a policy of repression and for spreading disunity among Pathans, and whose high-handedness in dealing with Pathans has utterly discredited him amongst them. Political administration is manned not by Pathans but by those who have been supporters of British policy. Is this Pakistan and Islam? If so, it becomes clear that Pakistan too like the Britishers wants to keep the Pathans in chains.

When Pandit Jawaharlal visited Waziristan, the Political Agent at Miranshah asked me: "We have served the Pathans with crores of rupees; what have you done for

them?" I replied: "Yes; it is true that your great service to the Pathans consists in fostering greed and dissension among them, and in seeking to corrupt them with your gold so that their instincts for self-respect and freedom might die out."

The present-day Pakistan is a British creation. That is why it wants to keep me down and to lord it over the Pathans. I proclaim my resolve that this shall not be. The Khudai-Khidmatgars are adhering to the programme that I laid down for them. I firmly believe that by carrying out this programme my people will achieve their goal and embrace freedom. I assure the whole world that my victory and the defeat of the enemy is a certainty, because God is with me.

Industrialisation of Pakistan

Conscious of the availability of rich raw materials, Pakistan has been striving to develop its industries as rapidly as possible. On the eve of partition, Pakistan had practically the world's monopoly of raw jute but not a single jute mill. Similarly it had abundant cotton of the finest quality but no cotton mill. Facts available for the last quarter of 1948 show that the position will not be so for long. For West Punjab started during that period a cotton mill with a capital of Rs. 1 crore. A cotton and ginning and pressing factory was started in Sind with a capital of Rs. 5 lakhs. East Bengal established two jute baling and pressing companies with a capital of 40 lakhs and two insurance companies with Rs. 10 lakhs. These were part of the 33 major companies which Pakistan floated during the three months with a total capital of Rs. 360 lakhs. Twelve of these were industrial concerns and the rest commercial, mostly dealing in export and import business.

The North-Western Frontier Province too seems to have made rapid headway during the past eighteen months in the sphere of industry. Commendable progress has been achieved by the Sugar Factory at Takhtbai. Production has increased in this factory from 1.24 lakh maunds in 1946-47 to 1.78 lakh maunds in 1947-48. The output is expected to reach 2.3 lakh maunds in 1949-50. More machinery valued at some Rs. 15 lakhs, has been ordered, which, when installed, is expected to double the output. Besides the Premier Sugar Mill at Murdan will go into operation this November and produce about 50,000 tons of Sugar. These measures go a long way in making Pakistan self-sufficient in sugar.

The Pakistan Government has requested the services of an expert in paper as a consultant in regard to the starting of a paper factory in Pakistan. The expert is Mr. Ulstron, a Swiss Paper Technologist, who arrived in Pakistan some time ago. He is making a detailed study of the proposed paper factory in East Bengal. He is likely to undertake an extensive tour of the Chittagong Hill Tracts where bamboo is available in abundance.

The Pakistan Government has been negotiating with some prominent Indian industrialists either to move their Calcutta Jute Mills to East Bengal or to start new factories

there. If they find it difficult to move machinery to Pakistan, then the Government would offer, it is stated, top priority for import of the required machinery from abroad.

Simultaneously with the schemes of industrialisation, plans for the development of hydro-electric power have also been taken up. Construction of big hydro-electric stations at Warsak and of another at Dargai, costing Rs. 9.5 crores and Rs. 1.5 crores respectively, has been making headway. By the end of this year, Kohat, Abbotabad and Haripur will receive electricity from hydro-electric generators.

United Provinces Goes Ahead

The United Provinces Government has to its credit a great reclamation scheme and refugee settlement in the malaria-and-beast-infested area in the Naini Tal Tarai. The *Leader of Allahabad* publishes a glowing account of what has been done, of the hopes entertained.

"In the first phase of the land reclamation operations, which started some 15 months ago, it is proposed to reclaim one lakh acres in Naini Tal Tarai, of which 80,000 acres will be culturable, 47,000 in Meerut Ganga Khadar, of which 21,000 acres will be culturable and 20,000 acres in Ghogra Khadar, of which 15,000 acres will be culturable, the rest to be left for grazing or forest.

"The total acreage reclaimed during last year in the three areas was 28,000 acres and it is hoped to reclaim 40,000 for Kharif, 1949."

They have a bigger scheme of the reclamation of 8 lakh (24 lakh *bighas*) by 1952-53 if the loan from the World Bank can be secured and advances from the Central Government. Even if these be not available, the U. P. Government does not propose to sit idle; another 41,200 acres is proposed to be reclaimed in Naini Tal, Bundelkhand and certain other areas.

An estimate of the expenses shows that the Government has been able to run the scheme at a profit. Against the total investment of approximately 25 lakhs (including all expenditure on capital investment), the cost of reclamation and other agricultural operations and overhead charges including the pay of all the staff (including the P. W. D. and anti-malaria staff) from the beginning of the scheme up to October 31, 1948, there was an estimated net return of Rs. 11.66 lakhs till the end of Kharif, 1956 Fasli. This amount does not include the cost of 32,000 maunds of paddy and nearly 60,000 maunds of paddy-straw (worth Rs. 4.7 lakhs) which were given to the refugee settlers by the State to help them live before the *rabi* harvest. The figure of 25 lakhs does not include the cost of construction of the buildings and roads. The cost of the buildings will be recovered in 25 yearly instalments from the settlers themselves while the cost of roads is being treated as normal development expenditure. The total production in these two areas has been 80,000 maunds of paddy and 60,000 maunds of paddy-straw, 60,000 maunds of Juar fodder, 2,000 maunds of Juar grain and 86,000 maunds of sugarcane.

American bull-dozers and tractors have been used to clear the jungle and break the soil, and within a few months a buzzing colony has sprung up in the primeval forests. More than 5,000 refugees and 20 families of ex-servicemen have been allotted and which has been divided in blocks of ten acres for cultivation, and co-operative societies have been formed in most of the villages. Well-designed *pucca* houses, with a tube-well in the centre of each village, have been constructed, and to make the colony self-sufficient plans are well under way for the construction of hospitals, schools, police stations and post offices.

The story related here indicates the path of duty to the other provinces of India. What the United Provinces has done others can do more quickly as they would be able to call upon the experience gained in this work. It should be better known.

"Advancement of Learning"

The April (1946) number of *Science and Culture* has an article with the above title that the Government and the people of India should ponder on. The writer, R. G. C., opens it with two questions that throw a challenge to our universities and scientific societies; "Do the Universities always advance learning, do the scientific societies always encourage research?" The answers suggested in the light of experiences in England and in our own country appear to draw a not wholly promising picture. The following extract will explain the writer's charge-sheet:

There are three steps by which knowledge is resisted in the Universities. The subject is kept out of the curriculum as being debatable, abstruse and premature. Even when included in the curriculum, it can be left out of examinations. This is the subtle way of making the classes of young lecturers less important from the examination point of view, and growing minds have thus been stifled on several occasions. Thirdly, anyone specialising in a new subject can be kept out of a University chair. Scientific research arises out of the teaching in the Universities. If it is routine research it arises in loyal discipline. If it is fundamental it arises by outrageous rebellion. "Professors are free to inquire. But men who inquire about new things are not free to become professors."

The writer appears to have had no high opinion of Ministries which flaunt their enthusiasm for science. He quotes Dr. Darlington to explain the formation of the Scientific Advisory Committee in England:

"The Minister, who is usually a non-science man, appoints twenty men. Rather his advisers do. They begin by appointing themselves—half a dozen of them—to provide sound non-scientific foundation. Then they add half a dozen men who have had no scientific training long ago, but have now been made tame and tractable by an unblemished lifetime in the Civil Service. And, finally they make up the number to a round score with administrative scientists, eminent men, who have, however, for a good while, been prevented by university committees from engaging in scientific research."

These two extracts may have been modelled on British experience. But in the opinion of this writer,

"our Universities and Ministries are but imitations of those of England"; and these share the former's defects. There may be truth in this criticism. But there is no suggestion to remove these. Britain may have muddled through. But in India can we trust to chance to make things better for us? We have to throw off the traditions of the former regime, build new ones in consonance with our more mature traditions and material interests. To work towards this consummation constructive criticism has become more than ever necessary.

Multi-Purpose River-Control Projects

Dr. Dillon Ripley, professor of Zoology in the Yale University, was sent by the American National Geographical Society, the Yale University and the Smithsonian Institution as the head of an expedition to study the flora and fauna of Nepal and its neighbourhood. After a stay of about six months he left for home on April 6 last. He appears to have talked to representatives of the Bombay Press on his recent experiences in India. And what he said on the vast multi-purpose river-control projects and their influence on the "grow more food" programme is worth consideration. The Central Government of India should heed to his warning as it was summarized in the following A. P. I. message :

"The deforestation which has been going on very rapidly in India must stop immediately if India is to thrive.

"He was not sure that the 'Kosi River Project' in Bihar, one of the biggest hydro-electric and flood control projects in the world, would serve its purpose, because the forest along the Kosi river had been cleared and was still being cleared.

"The result would be that the soil would not be held in its natural place and would slip down with the river water, fill up the lake and make the dam 'quite useless.'

"No grow-more-food campaign could ever be successful unless the planners realised the value of the soil, the forests and the fauna."

"One of the greatest troubles with our planners these days is that they take into consideration only the seeds and certain minerals, but they never discuss the soil and the fauna at all. If a full life was to be lived, animals must be made the objects of study and research.

"I am very 'anxious to see a couple of Indian students come over to the United States to study our 'National Park Service.' National parks, very common in the United States, were usually a short distance away from towns and some of them ran into several hundreds of square miles. Those parks contained natural mountains, forests, rivers and wild animal life."

Nepali National Congress

The fact that this organization has had to hold its annual sessions in a territory outside Nepal is an eloquent commentary on the state of things in our neighbour principality. Its third annual conference was held at the Laheriasarai (Darbhanga) Kisan Sava Hall

on the 1st of March last; it was held in camera with Shri Matrika Prosad Koirala as president.

The most important resolution passed in the conference reiterated "the fundamental declaration of the Nepali National Congress, viz., establishment of a popular responsible government under the constitutional leadership of the king. The conference further declared that the failure of "compromise" talks with the Nepal Government left no other choice to it than "the launching of a country-wide movement." An amendment was proposed and "overwhelmingly rejected" that unless His Majesty made the needed gesture before the next Conference, the declaration in the constitution—"under the constitutional leadership of the King"—would be changed by the use of the words "a democratic Republic" in Nepal.

We do not know what the reaction of the Nepali authorities has been to the various resolutions of the conference dealing with other aspects of the kingdom's life. Surely, they cannot sit still when all the world has been moving. The days of "Hermit Kingdoms" are gone.

A Scientists' Colony in the Himalayas

A news item appeared in the Press that the Government of India proposed to send a party of six scientists to the Himalayas again in this summer with a view to find a mountain top at a height of 14 to 16 thousand feet, with about 10 acres of flat land on which could be located a multi-purpose laboratory of the type of the Jungfranjoch Laboratory in Switzerland. This party, as in last year, would consist of a meteorologist, an engineer, two experts on snow and glaciers, a geologist and a botanist. Last year the party of scientists visited the neighbourhood of Badrinarayan (the Narayan Parbat—19,570 ft.; the Nar Parbat—19,210 ft.) and three sites in the neighbourhood of Kuari Pass ranging in height from 12 to 15 thousand feet. They made certain tentative recommendations. The Government of India appears to be anxious to have as complete data as possible before they go in for this costly project.

The objective of the laboratory has been indicated as follows with separate departments dealing with (1) snow and glaciers and their contribution to Indian rivers; (2) astronomical and astrophysical observations; (3) cosmic rays; (4) constitution of the upper atmosphere, study of solar radiation, meteors, mother of pearl clouds, etc.; (5) geology and geophysical observations; (6) meteorology of the Central Asian table-land; and (7) study of flora and fauna.

An account of the project that we have seen described the project thus: The site finally selected would have to satisfy many hard tests. It would have to be on a mountain top with about 10 acres of flat space on which buildings can be constructed to house an astronomical dome and a compact building to house departments for cosmic rays, biological research, snow and

glacier study, meteorological observations, research on flora and fauna of the Himalayas, etc.

This multi-purpose laboratory would be run by a number of scientists living in a Scientists' Colony which will be built at a somewhat lower level where living conditions are more suitable for human endurance than at the site of the laboratory.

Plans and projects like this show how much leeway we have to make to keep pace with modern developments.

Durban Riots Report

We summarize below the report of the three-man Commission appointed by the South African Union Government to enquire into the Durban riots that broke out between Indians and native South Africans on January last. In these riots 142 were killed and 1,087 injured and a crore of rupees worth of houses and property were burnt and looted. The members of the Commission were Appeal Judge Van Dan Heever and Mr. Masson and Mr. Schulz, Chief Magistrates of Johannesburg and Durban respectively. We could not expect any better findings from members of the South African White community who cannot be expected to hold their own Government ultimately responsible for the abominations of their racist policy. This policy is emblazoned in the Charter of the Established Church of Transvaal which in the eighties of the 19th century had declared that "in Church and State there could not be any equanimity between the White and the non-White." Almost all the South African Whites hold fast to this rule of conduct. They may be a minority in South Africa, numbering a little over 35 lakhs, amidst a black population of about 80 lakhs and a brown population of 2½ lakh Indians.

From this policy follow the specious pleading that the Enquiry Commission has put forward in defence of their Government and the police. From our recent experiences of hooliganism let loose over Manbhum atyagrahis, we can realize how the South African Government and its police behaved. The report makes it clear. It should be pointed out here that the Commission did not permit any cross-examination of the witnesses or any testing of evidence placed before it. Therefore this report cannot claim that its conclusions were reached by methods free of bias or subornment.

Published on April 17, 1949, the report of the Commission contains the statement: "Unless the position is carefully watched and all exhibitions of public violence are firmly repressed, the natives may make another attack upon the Indians to square their account." The position in Durban, scene of the race riots, needs constant vigilance, the report stated.

They said in their report that the clash between the natives and the Indians came as unexpectedly as bolt from the blue. "To suggest that the authorities are to blame for failing to prevent the initial outbreak would be to reproach them with not having

powers of divination." It listed a number of factors which it believed were the causes of the race riots.

One was the housing situation and of this the report said: "Slum areas on the fringes of Durban are a disgrace to any community which calls itself civilized."

It disclosed that in "these rabbit warrens" in the same areas on the fringes of Durban 23,000 Africans live under the most sordid conditions.

Another factor was the large numbers of male natives herded together in compound. Compound dwellers took an important part in the excesses of the rioting.

The report said that tension existed not only between the natives and the Indians "but also between 70 per cent of the Indians who are desperately poor, and the privileged 30 per cent of their own race by whom they are alleged to be exploited as much as the natives are." "The less privileged Indians are talking of lynching those Indians who had overcharged them or who associated with native women," the report said.

"One of the most unsettling influences upon the natives' mind is the fact that South Africa has an hostile Press."

"Ill-informed critics hasten to champion the native against 'racial intolerance' and 'the administration which is determined to pursue a policy of segregation and racial disenfranchisement.' These views are repeated in the South African Press and the cry is taken up by the so-called 'leaders of native thought,' by native intellectuals entirely sequestered from the thoughts and aspirations of their people, who are incapable of independent thought and who merely repeat the precepts of their mentors. From all sides, it is donned into the heads of the natives that they have grievances. It would be surprising if they did not become restive."

"Contrary to the opinion prevailing abroad, the average native is a keen supporter of segregation. He realises that as yet he is ill-equipped in the fight for survival which has become so sharp in modern times. Consequently he demands residential, racial and economic segregation."

"In how far that is realisable is another question, but those are his aspirations. So-called native leaders who speak in a different voice are motivated by political ambition and, it would appear, find it personally profitable to keep the fires alive."

Of the allegation that police failed to repress the initial outbreak with vigour, the Commission's report said that when the outbreak occurred on January 13 last, the police were on the scene promptly and did everything in their power to quell the disturbances.

"We are satisfied that the police acted with promptitude and discretion, considering the unexpectedness of the situation which had developed and the forces at their disposal." It stated that nothing had been placed before the Commission to show that the police had or should have had reasonable grounds for

believing that there was a likelihood of the natives reverting to "utter barbarism," on January 14 last, the second day of the rioting.

"The experience of the then recent events in that area would not have justified such expectation."

Of the suggestion that the principal cause of the riots was a growing sense of frustration and despair in the natives, the report said that it was significant that this idea emanated from the intellectuals.

"It is surprising that the type of native who took part in the riots is in general satisfied with the amenities he can enjoy."

"Organisations which expressed this view confuse cause and effect. They are continually drumming it into the natives' ears that he is unhappy and suffers many grievances. It would be surprising if he does not become discontented and does not get out of hand."

Certain sections of Indians had attempted to join natives into a united front against the Government and had "in doing so not scrupled to invoke assistance from abroad and disseminate distorted and malicious accounts of South African conditions and events."

They caused a feeling of unrest and dissatisfaction to stir amongst the natives which is always a dangerous course with a section of the community not yet ripe for responsibility.

"In result the Indians were hoisted with their own petard. The recent Indian passive resistance movement in Natal is shorn of its quasi-philosophical trappings." "The movement was in defiance of law and constituted authority. It set the natives a bad example."

On increasing tension between the Indians and the natives the report said that "events in India had had their repercussions here." "A certain type of South African Indians began to ride the high horse. The native thinks on colour lines and could not understand why a man of colour should exalt himself above his fellowmen. They keenly resented the air of superiority adopted towards them by the younger generation of Indians."

The report also referred to miscegenation and said that this grievance was one of the most powerful motives of anti-Indian feeling on the part of the natives.

Other aspects referred to included alleged exploitation of natives by Indian shopkeepers, economic competition between natives and Indians in employment and social status and discriminatory legislation.

Fan-Asian Bloc

The Conference of 18 Asian and African States that was held at New Delhi at the instance of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Indian Union's Prime Minister, to consider the situation created by the attack of Dutch imperialism on the Indonesian Republic did not produce any immediate result. With the tacit support of the ruling authorities of the United States and Britain, the Dutch have refused to accept the U.N.O. decision. This line-up of the two leaders of U.N.O.

behind French and Dutch colonialism has a lesson for all Asians. And we are not sorry that Western publicists have begun to speculate, not without trepidation, on the consequences of this betrayal of the basic principles of the United Nations Organization. Dr. Edward J. Byng writing in the *New York World-Telegram* dwelt on the significance of the conference, which our people have missed being so near to the scene; he suggested that when the millions of Asia grow conscious of their power and organize their forces and resources, they "may begin to eclipse in influence both the Cominform and the North Atlantic group of Nations."

Nothing could be more illustrative of this prospect than the imposing roster of States represented at the recent meeting in New Delhi, which brought together leaders from India, Burma, Siam, China, Indo-China, Indonesia, Malaya, the Philippines, a string of Mohammedan countries including Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran, and the member States of the Arab League, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Transjordan, Yemen-Syria, the Lebanon and Egypt, part of whose territory lies on the Asian side of the Suez Canal.

To the amazement of the world's most seasoned diplomats, the recent Pan-Asiatic deliberations in New Delhi united in perfect harmony the representatives of well over 320,000,000 Hindus, the 400-odd million Confucianists, Buddhists and Taoists of China; over 60,000,000 Buddhists in Ceylon, Burma, Siam, and Indo-China, some 200,000,000 Mohammedans of Indonesia, Pakistan, Afghanistan, the Philippines and the Arab countries and 30,000,000 native Christians in the Philippines, China, India and other Asian countries.

Dr. Byng thinks that the credit of gathering the Asian "clans" goes to Pandit Nehru, and he "may go down in history as the 'founding father' of Pan-Asia."

He attempts to go to the bed-rock of Pan-Asian "reaction" to both Russian and Western politics when he suggests that Asians have "a deep-set aversion" to the "materialistic interpretation of life." This interpretation does not, however, explain the swing of China's millions to Communism. Perhaps, the misery in the material plane of Asia's millions has resulted in this attempt to utilize the appeal of Communism as a weapon for their fight against a break-down in civilized life. It has no other intimate appeal.

Viet-Nam's Resistance Against French Imperialism

It is one of the peculiar features of international or United Nations Organization's politics that while the struggle of Indonesian Nationalism against Dutch imperialism has been receiving for about two-year wide recognition and appreciation, the equally long-drawn and persistent resistance of Viet-Nam has hardly received any notice on that world forum. Even such an upholder of Asian integrity as the Indian Union and as consistent a critic of finance-capital exploitation as the Soviet Union have not opened their lips before the General Assembly of the U. N. O. on behalf of Viet-Nam.

We cannot say that we understand the causes of this black-out. Indonesians may be 70 millions; Viet-Nam may be fighting on behalf of 30 millions. But the principle of national self-respect for which both have been fighting is one and eternal in moral integrity. Indonesians have shed as much blood as the Viet-Namese for the cause of freedom; both symbolize the same upsurge of the human spirit. Then, why should there have been this difference in the treatment they have received from liberty-loving peoples!

Viet-Nam had set up a State of her own almost at the same time as Indonesia—August-September, 1945, when after the surrender of Japan, Dutch and French imperialism were attempting to stage a come-back under the protection of United States and British armies. Since then both have been fighting for their cause. But the end of it is not in sight. The Dutch have had their two "Police Actions" since they signed the Linggadjati Agreement (November, 1946) with the Indonesian Republic. But the French have known no peace since the autumn of 1945. And the latest news from Paris is that they have been able to persuade ex-emperor Baodai of Annam to preside over the new set-up in Viet-Nam put against the *Ho Chi Minh* Government. And what is the nature and function of the Baodai administration? The News-Agencies reported the main clauses of this agreement on March 8 last. The *Viet-Nam Information* issued by the Viet-Nam News Service of Bangkok, Siam, has summarized it thus:

1. The unity of the "Viet-Nam Republic" will be decided by a referendum held under the supervision of French troops, and subject to the approval of the French Parliament;
2. "The independent Viet-Nam Republic" will have only administrative autonomy;
3. "The Viet-Nam National Army" officered by the French will be a simple police force;
4. Viet-Nam will have diplomatic agents in the countries of South-East Asia only, these agents working under the subordination of the French representatives in these countries;
5. Military bases in Viet-Nam will be controlled by the French;
6. Viet-Nam will unconditionally adhere to the French Union which, in its present state, is only the re-Christened French Empire;
7. Viet-Nam finances and economy will remain in the French hands.

This protege of French imperialism has been described as one of the "tenants of the night clubs from Shanghai to Hongkong and from Cannes to Menton." The two other elements that count in Viet-Nam are "the Resistance" and the "Xuan Government." The former is "directly or indirectly controlling the greater part of the ricefields and mountainous regions, some sectors along the coasts and frontiers. . . . The Ho Chi Minh Government has rallied round it the large majority of the active political leaders in the country. . . . United in the 'national struggle' for purposes sometimes different and even divergent, the Communists and Socialists, an important fraction of

the Viet-Namese Catholic Church, some moderates more or less traditionalist, a few members of the royal family itself execute the instructions of the clandestine authorities. These are efficiently governing important zones. . . . Deep economic and social transformations are taking place which should be taken into consideration."

The latter is presided over by "a French general. Set up before the independence and unity of Viet-Nam entered the realm of realities, the Xuan Government has not been able to have the confidence of the Cochinchinese autonomists. Its authority, essentially nominal, does not spread beyond the big centers occupied by the French expeditionary corps and the conditional support lent to it by Baodai is another handicap for it."

This report is taken from the article appearing in the *Information et Documentation*, dated 15th February, 1949, written by Jacques H. Gueric. He is supported in this interpretation by Robert Turnall's comment published in the *New York Times* on February 27 last:

" . . . This French move (to install Baodai as titular head of a unified Viet-Nam as a semi-independent state within the French Union) will not bring into line the partisans of Ho Chi Minh's fugitive Government. These are the people who are doing the fighting in Indo-China. Judging from reports available, the military situation throughout Indo-China is worse for the French now than it was two years ago."

After this, is there any reason why the U.N.O. or its members should turn the blind-eye on French coins in Viet-Nam? And France swears by the principles of Liberty, Equality and Fraternity!

Civil War in Burma

Though we are hopeful that Thakin Nu's Government will be able to ride the storm of civil war started by the Karens, it would pay us to try to understand the many forces that co-operated to release over the country this war amongst neighbours. It has been asserted that the Communist parties in India, Burma, Malaya and Siam met in a representative Conference at Calcutta and decided to start the campaign of sabotage against the Burma Government, that a Bengalee sporting the family name of Ghosal has been its organiser. A writer in the London *Daily Herald*, Andrew Mellor, revealed the fact that six parties and groups have been engaged in initiating this war. In independent revolt against the legitimate Burmese Government are (1) the Karen National Union and its army, (2) the Karen national defence organisation, (3) some White Band People's Volunteer Organisation men, (4) the Red and White Flag Communists, (5) two mutinous Burma Army battalions, and (6) a group of Muslims in Arakan.

The Karens, forming one-tenth of Burma's 17 million population, are struggling for a state of their own which a special commission, set up under Burma's Constitution, has recommended.

They want this State to be a large one, including the rich rice-bearing Irrawaddy Delta, but the Burmese Government claims they are nowhere in a majority and that the Salween area well north-east of Rangoon is the only possible location.

The Karen State as a unit of the Union of Burma has been conceded. But still the fight goes on. Religion appears to be playing a certain part in this war. A large section of the Karens are Christians; they have been accorded special treatment as recruits in the army during the British regime as contrasted with Burmans; this was some sort of a "martial race" theory with which we have been familiar in India. During the last world war the Karens rendered no inconsiderable service to Britain. For this reason Britishers have a soft corner in their hearts reserved for the Karens. We have heard the suggestion that certain Britishers have had a hand in starting the Karen revolt.

The other groups have their own purposes. The main aim of the White Band People's Volunteer Organisation—all P. V. Os. are offshoots of the assassinated General Aung San's anti-Fascist People's Freedom League and are largely composed of young former anti-Japanese resisters—appears to be to win Cabinet seats at the cost of the Socialists.

Some of them want the Government—a Coalition in which Socialists predominate—to negotiate with the Communists.

The Communists—of whom the Red Flags are the more extreme—started trouble nearly two years ago and since then have profited from everyone else's mistakes and cashed in on Karen military successes.

The Muslims of Arakan are "Pakistan"-minded. Across their border in East Bengal they have a "Pakistani" population who are not above fishing in the troubled waters.

Armistice talks have failed. The Karens are afraid that their revolt has broken the amity with their neighbours who will never trust them again.

The Atlantic Pact

The Anglo-Saxon world has nothing but *zindabad* to the Pact signed on the 4th April last at Washington by representatives of twelve countries belonging to what has been called the "Atlantic Community." But here are publicists, even in the United States, who have expressed dissent, from this general opinion. Devere Allen who had been head of the U.S.A. War Information Services during the second World War of the 20th century is one of these. He is connected with the *Worldover Press*, a News-and-Views Agency which has specialized in presenting an unbiased presentation of international developments. This is what Mr. Allen writes on the Pact.

Worst of all about the Pact is its bad timing. The Marshall Plan has been performing its task with brilliance. In face of the programme of building up a better life in Western Europe, Communism was in full retreat. Even in its own domain, it was tumbling, uncertain, losing prestige, troubled by schisms and splits. A method so conspicuously suc-

cessful, one might have supposed, would be pursued to its logical end, complete recovery, before a hard-boiled, extraneous, and questionable tactic was introduced to meddle with it, possibly to nullify its best results. Once again the world's peoples have been manoeuvred into the unenviable position where they must sanction outworn, explosive methods which often have led to war, and do it all in the holy name of peace. For from now on, the militarization of Europe will come to symbolize peace, and those who oppose such methods will be accused of aiding war. Without European rearmament, we shall be told, the Pact is useless; to seek further peaceful organization of the world without militarization will be to oppose peace itself. This will be a travesty of the truth, but it is one of the consequences the Pact is almost sure to bring.

We do not know if Mr. Allen's interpretation of the beneficent effects of the Marshall aid plan will be justified by the results attained. But one thing becomes clear—the two Power Blocs will be further divided by this Pact.

Birbal Sahani

The death of Prof. Birbal Sahani, founder-director of the Institute of Palaeo-Botany of Lucknow, took place within a week of the ceremony of laying its foundation-stone by the Prime Minister of India on April 3 last. The loss of this leading scientist at this juncture in India's life will be a severe blow. Birbal left the field of his mundane activities in the plenitude of his powers, before he had completed his 60th year. Son of the late Prof. Ruchiram Sahani, a pioneer of the advancement of science in the Punjab, nursed in the traditions of the Brahmo Samaj, Birbal won international repute by his contributions to Botanical research. He had something of the mysticism of Acharya Jagadish Chandra Bose; and in his speech as President of the Indian Science Congress he manifested an exaltation of thought and perception that recalled the strivings of the Rishis, the seers of our ancient land. The unity of life that they realized through their illumined thought was made manifest through material instruments by modern scientists. Birbal Sahani was a peer of the most eminent of them all.

Bethune School Centenary

The Bethune School named after Drinkwater Bethune, the then Law Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council, will be completing one hundred years of its life in the first week of May, 1949. The Managing Committee of the institution propose to celebrate the occasion with functions appropriate to it.

During this period the school has been a witness to the far-spread development of women's education in India. It was started on the initiative of men, European and Indian, who were progressives in social conduct. Among the latter were Ram Gopal Ghose, Dakshmina Ranjan, Mukherjee and Pandit Madan Mohun Tarkalankar, for instance. Among the conservatives Raja Radha Kanta Deb of Sovabazar was a pioneer in this education (1819-20); Christian missionaries also came to the field almost at the same time.

CAN DEMOCRACY FUNCTION IN A ONE-PARTY STATE?

By D. N. BANERJEE,

University Professor and Head of the Department of Political Science, Calcutta University

GENERAL

IN the course of his observations on the new Soviet Constitution¹, Stalin has been reported² to have stated in November, 1936, that the new Soviet Constitution "is the only consistently democratic constitution in the world."³ And we find Beatrice Webb remarking in answer to the question, "Is the U.S.S.R. a political democracy?", that "tested by the Constitution of the Soviet Union as revised and enacted in 1936, the U.S.S.R. is the most inclusive and equalised democracy in the world."⁴ At the same time we find it authoritatively stated⁵ that

"The Communist Party is the only political party in the country," and that "this has not been changed by the new Constitution, but has rather been emphasized through two direct references to the Party giving it for the first time a constitutional status, as the organization of 'the most active and politically conscious citizens' (Article 126⁶) and as having the right to nominate candidates (Article 141⁷)."

And commenting on Article 126 of the new Soviet Constitution, Mrs. Webb has said⁸ that

"This means, in fact, though it is not explicitly stated, that no other purely political organization is permitted to function in the U.S.S.R."

Stalin is very straightforward in this respect. He has frankly stated⁹ that

"In the U.S.S.R. there is ground for one Party only—the Communist Party; and in the U.S.S.R. only one party can exist—the Communist Party, boldly defending to the end the interests of workers and peasants."¹⁰

Further, we notice the Webbs observing¹⁰ that

"Admittedly, the administration (in the U.S.S.R.) is controlled, to an extent which it is

impossible to measure, but which it would be hard to exaggerate, by the Communist Party, with its two or three millions of members. On this point there is complete frankness. 'In the Soviet Union,' Stalin has said¹¹ and written, 'in the land where the dictatorship of the proletariat is in force, no important political or organisational problem is ever decided by our Soviets and other mass organisations, without directives from our Party. In this sense, we may say that the dictatorship of the proletariat is substantially the dictatorship of the Party, as the force which effectively guides the proletariat.'"

Again, the Webbs have stated¹² that

"It is, moreover, significant that these decisive acts (i.e., all important decrees of the U.S.S.R. Central Executive Committee or the Sovnarkom, whether legislative or administrative), are, in all important cases, initiated within the Politbureau of the Communist Party; and they receive in due course the endorsement either of the Central Committee or of the All-Union Congress of the Communist Party. Indeed, . . . the Communist Party is perpetually issuing 'directives,' great or small, to its members exercising authority or influence within all the other organisations of the State."

This, then, is the position of the Communist Party (i.e., the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks in the U.S.S.R. Now, therefore, the question is Can Democracy really exist or function in a State where there can be only one lawful party as, for instance in the U.S.S.R. today, and where that party practically controls its system and machinery of administration? Before we can answer this question, we should have some clear ideas as to what should be the criteria of our judgment on it. I think that our criteria should be nothing else than the true nature and object of democracy, and that leads us on to the question of the definition of democracy. What, then, is democracy? The term has been variously defined. I think that one of the best definitions of democracy was given by Abraham Lincoln when he described it, in the course of his famous speech on the field of Gettysburg on November 19, 1863, as the "Government of the people by the people, and for the people." Now the expression "Government of the people and by the people" is easily understandable. But what is the inner meaning of the

1. I.e., the Soviet Constitution of 1936.

2. See Anna Louise Strong, *The New Soviet Constitution*, p. v. Introduction.

3. Another version is: "Is the only thoroughly consistent democratic constitution in the world."

4. See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism, A New Civilization*, 3rd Edition, Introduction, p. xxi.

5. See Anna Louise Strong, *The New Soviet Constitution*, 1937, pp. 85-86.

6. Of the Soviet Constitution of 1936.

7. *Ibid.*

8. See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *op. cit.*, p. xxiii.

9. See Andrei Vyshinsky, *The Law of the Soviet State*, pp. 627-28.

* Andrei Vyshinsky has also said: "In the USSR there is only one party, the Party of the Bolsheviks . . . One single party of Bolsheviks, the Party of Lenin and Stalin, directing all the levers of the system of the worker-class dictatorship in the USSR."—*Ibid.*, p. 627.

10. See *Ibid.*, p. 332.

11. *Ibid.*, p. 332. We also find in Vyshinsky (Andr. V.), *The Law of the Soviet State* (p. 628): "The All-Union Communist Party of (Bolsheviks) is the directive force in the system of the socialist state, the directing nucleus of all the organizations of the entire social and state."

12. See *Ibid.*, p. 327.

13. "Contraction for the Political Bureau of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia, regarded as the most powerful body in the country."—Walter Theimer, *An ABC of International Affairs* (Peking).

expression "Government for the people"? To my mind this expression means a system of government which not only looks to the physical needs of a people, but also to its moral and spiritual needs. The human mind as well as the human body needs nutrition, and it should be the duty of the State not merely to help the development of the body of its citizens, but also the development of their mind. That is to say, the growth of their moral and spiritual personality as well as the proper development of their physique should be the chief concerns of the State in modern times. It must help to satisfy the hunger of the soul of man as well as the hunger of his body. The harmonious development of man needs "the free life of the human spirit" as much as bread.

Now this moral and spiritual personality of the citizen can grow only in an atmosphere of true freedom. And only in a real democracy is such an atmosphere of freedom possible. And there is no democracy where a people have no freedom of thought, freedom of speech, "freedom to print and speak in public" without maliciously injuring others, and, lastly, the freedom of combination among individuals, that is to say, the freedom to unite and form political parties for achieving their legitimate objects. As Poet Tagore has said :

"Political freedom does not give us freedom when our mind is not free."¹⁴

And this is the reason why John Milton, another great poet and thinker, has written :

"Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely, according to conscience, above all other liberties."

Further, he has in effect pleaded that

"Without freedom—without the liberty to reject, to choose and, where need is, to innovate—there can be no health in the moral and intellectual life either of the individual or (of) the nation."¹⁵

Thus, according to him,

"Freedom of speech and freedom of action are not evils to be tolerated, but blessings essential to the life and progress of any nation."¹⁶

Voltaire put the case for freedom of thought well when he told a person arguing with him on a question :

"I do not agree with a word you say, but I will defend to the death your right to say it."¹⁷

And in his *Essay on Liberty*, a perusal of which is to me as to many others, always a great mental tonic and a spiritual bath, John Stuart Mill has no less emphatically put the case for the rights of the individual reason when he declares :

"If all mankind minus one were of one opinion, and only one person were of the contrary opinion, mankind would be no more justified in silencing that one person, than he, if had the power, would

be justified in silencing mankind." "Were an opinion," he continues, "a personal possession of no value except to the owner ; if to be obstructed in the enjoyment of it were simply a private injury, it would make some difference whether the injury was inflicted only on a few persons or on many. But the peculiar evil of silencing the expression of an opinion is, that it is robbing the human race ; posterity as well as the existing generation ; those who dissent from the opinion, still more than those who hold it."

Further,

"No society in which these liberties—i.e., 'liberty of thought and feeling'; 'absolute freedom of opinion and sentiment on all subjects, practical or speculative, scientific, moral, or theological'; 'liberty of tastes and pursuits'; and the liberty of 'combination among individuals . . . for any purpose not involving harm to others'—are not, on the whole, respected, is free, whatever may be its form of government."

Thus freedom of thought with all that it implies, is a fundamental feature of a true democracy. It cannot exist in a one-party State like the Soviet Union today. Nor could it exist in Fascist Italy or in Nazi Germany.¹⁸ Italian Fascism, German Nazism, and Soviet Communism are all based on the principle of totalitarianism—a dictatorial system of society and government in which non-conformity to prevailing social and political ideas is a crime and diversity of views and tastes, a taboo ; and in which, if freedom of speech is at all allowed, it can be "only within limits set by the assumptions on which the regime itself rests."¹⁹ Power has an inevitable tendency to corrupt and intoxicate those who wield it, and a one-party State gradually develops intolerance, breeds fanaticism, and generates the "fatal disease or worship of orthodoxy": a kind of "doctrinal rigidity of the Orthodox Church."²⁰ Party dictatorship is sooner or later inevitable in a one-party State. The spirit of mutual accommodation soon disappears from it. And what follow in its wake are "a policy of governmental terrorism," the "use of censorship," a virtual denial to the individual of the right of self-expression, a ruthless suppression of free discussion, moral and political intimidation, a "summary judicial procedure," "purges," concentration camps, and "liquidation." This is the lesson of history. Thus we find Dr. Goebbels²¹ declaring once in Nazi Germany :

"Since we National-Socialists are convinced that we are right, we cannot tolerate anybody who contends that he is right. For if he, too, is right, he must be a National-Socialist, or if he is not a National-Socialist, then he is simply not right."

18. See W. F. Willoughby, *The Government of Modern States*, pp. 68-73 ; F. W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought*, Chap. XVII ; and C. D. H. Cole, *The Intelligent Man's Guide to the Post-War World*, 1948, Part II, Chap. VI. —

19. See Cole, *A Guide to Modern Politics*, p. 327.

20. See Sidney and Beatrice Webb, *Soviet Communism, A New Civilisation ?* 1936, p. 999.

21. See C. Lloyd, *Democracy and Its Rivals*, p. 74, foot-note.

14. *Nationalism*, p. 120.

15. Milton's *Areopagitica and Other Prose Works*, Vaughan's Introduction, (Everyman's Library).

16. *Ibid.*

17. Quoted by C. Lloyd, *Democracy and Its Rivals*, p. 72.

What an astounding assumption of human infallibility!!

And so far as the Soviet Union is concerned, the position is not materially different in respect of freedom of thought, speech, or organization. In the latest edition of their great work *Soviet Communism: A New Civilization*,²² Sidney and Beatrice Webb have admitted that

"Far more serious (than the continued inequality of incomes and the growing evil of bureaucracy), in its possible danger to future progress in social evolution, is the continuance in the U.S.S.R. of the deliberate discouragement and even repression, not of criticism of the administration, which is, we think, more persistent and more actively encouraged than in any other country, but of independent thinking on fundamental social issues, about possible new ways of organising men in society, new forms of social activity, and new developments of the socially established code of conduct," but that "it is upon the power to think new thoughts, and to formulate even the most unexpected fresh ideas, that the future progress of mankind depends."

Further, they have observed that

"The fatal feature of this disease of orthodoxy is that it is highly infectious. It spreads to men and women of all occupations, to teachers and students of all types of culture, injuring their intellectual integrity and cramping their creative powers, not only in the social sciences, but also in music and drama, in literature and architecture."

Professor Harold Laski who has not hesitated to say that "the Soviet Union has been the pioneer of a new civilization" and that in many respects it "stands today in the forefront of civilization," has also had to admit²³ that

"In the classic sense of absolute liberalism freedom does not exist in the Soviet Union. There is no liberty to criticize the fundamentals of the regime. There is no liberty to found parties to oust the Communist leaders. A man cannot found a journal of opinion, or publish a book, or hold a meeting, to advocate views which, in the judgment of the (Soviet) dictatorship, would threaten the stability of the system . . . Art, the drama, music, the cinema, through all of these the dictatorship has sought to pour a stream of tendency, often with ludicrous, and sometimes with tragic, results."

These views are practically corroborated by certain rather contradictory statements of no less a person than Andrei Vyshinsky, till recently Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and Russia's Chief delegate to the United Nations. In a work entitled *The Law of the Soviet State*,²⁴ he has first stated:

"Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of meetings, of street parades and of demonstrations, being natural and indispensable conditions precedent to the manifestation of freedom of thought and freedom of opinion, are among the most important

political freedoms. No society can be called democratic which does not afford its citizens all of them. Only in a state which actually guarantees these most important political freedoms, and in behalf of all citizens without exception, is expanded and completely logical democracy to be found."

But he has next stated:

"Soviet law stands on guard for the Soviet press;

"Freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly, of meetings, of street parades and of demonstrations are the property of all the citizens in the U.S.S.R., fully guaranteed by the state upon the single condition that they be utilized in accord with the interests of the toilers and to the end of strengthening the socialist social order."

"In our state, naturally, there is and can be no place for freedom of speech, press, and so on for the foes of socialism. Every sort of attempt on their part to utilize to the detriment of the state—that is to say, to the detriment of all the toilers—these freedoms granted to the toilers must be classified as a counter-revolutionary crime;"

And finally,

"Suppression and the use of force by the State are still essential during the transition period—force, however, exerted by the exploited majority upon the exploiting minority, different in type and new in principle. The indispensability of this force necessitates a special apparatus adapted to realize these purposes. The Soviet state is the particular apparatus, the special machinery, to crush enemies and all elements hostile to socialism."

It is evident from these extracts that views opposed to socialism or to the "socialist social order," cannot be propagated in the Soviet Union. Such an act will be treated as a counter-revolutionary crime. This virtual repression of independent thinking in the Soviet Union is justified "by the need for continued vigilance in defence of the existing regime, both against conspiracies from within and aggressions from without." This so-called need, however, for a continued vigilance will hardly disappear, and, as a consequence, the present "atmosphere of suspicion and repression" is likely to continue indefinitely in the Soviet Union.

And what is the position of the Press in the U.S.S.R.? The Press, it has been rightly said "is the central problem of modern democracy." And a Press is not "a Press at all" if it is not free. It can save, as Wickham Steed²⁵ has observed, "no higher standing, as an institution, than that of a gramophone industry." Moreover, "an alliance between the government and the press is fatal," to quote the words of Professor Laski,²⁶ "to the very heart of democratic government." The Press in a free country "must be free to attack authority in whatever manner it thinks fit, to publish what it pleases, to defend what programme it deems the only limitation being the law of libel."²⁷ Further unless there is an incitement to violence or to a defiance of its authority, a State should not, as Macleer²⁸ has

22. Reprinted in 1947, pp. 970-71.

23. See Laski, *Liberty in the Modern State*, Introduction to the Pelican Edition, pp. 41-43.

24. See pp. 610, 616-18, and 3. This book is really a joint product of Vyshinsky and a team of collaborators.

25. See Wickham Steed, *The Press*, p. 8.

26. See his *Grammar of Politics*, p. 86.

27. *Ibid.*

28. *The Modern State*, pp. 149-53.

very rightly observed, "seek to control opinion, no matter what the opinion may be."

"Opinion can be fought only by opinion. Only thus is it possible for truth to be revealed. Force would snatch from truth its only means of victory. Force can suppress opinion, but only by suppressing the mind which is the judge of truth. . . . Thus it attacks moral courage even more than mere belief. Nay more, it attacks the principle of life, by decreeing that the iron law of uniformity shall hold sway over its creative power. When the law of the State is exercised over opinion, then it becomes sheer coercion. . . . When law bids men believe it makes them hypocrites or rebels, and betrays its proper appeal to the mind of the citizen."

The liberty of the Press is, indeed, such a great bulwark of freedom that Richard Sheridan once declared²⁹ in the House of Commons, in reference to a remark of Minister William Windham :

"Give me but the liberty of the Press, and I will give to the minister³⁰ a venal House of Peers—I will give him a corrupt and servile House of Commons—I will give him the full swing of the patronage of office—I will give him the whole host of ministerial influence—I will give him all the power that place can confer upon him to purchase up submission and overawe resistance: and yet, armed with the liberty of the Press, I will go forth to meet him undismayed; I will attack the mighty fabric he has reared with that mightier engine; I will shake down from its height corruption, and bury it beneath the ruins of the abuses it was meant to shelter."

But what is the position in the Soviet Union? "One of the most interesting and important parts of this (Soviet) machine," writes Wendell Willkie in his *One World*³¹ "seemed to me to be the newspapers; like every other part, under government control."

"The press in Russia," he writes further, "I came to believe, is the strongest single agency in the hands of the Government for short-term purposes, just as I believe the schools are their strongest agency in the long run. The present government of Russia has had both the schools and the press in its control now for twenty-five years."

A controlled Press and a democracy are, I submit, incompatible expressions. And in a one-party State this official control over the Press is sooner or later inevitable. This was the case in Nazi Germany and in Fascist Italy, and this has been the case all along in the Soviet Union.

I have so far laid a special emphasis on freedom of thought because, as Christopher Lloyd has said,³² "it is the one condition of existence which makes life worth living," and "it is the duty of everyone who believes in democracy to guard it carefully with eternal vigilance."

"A long time was needed," writes Professor Bury in his *History of Freedom of Thought*,³³ "to arrive at the conclusion that coercion of opinion is a mistake, and only a part of the world is yet convinced. That conclusion, so far as I can judge, is the most important ever reached by men. It was the issue of a continuous struggle between authority and reason."

Again:³⁴

"If the history of civilization has any lesson to teach it is this: there is one supreme condition of mental and moral progress which it is completely within the power of man himself to secure, and that is perfect liberty of thought and discussion. The establishment of this liberty may be considered the most valuable achievement of modern civilization, and as a condition of social progress it should be deemed fundamental."

This liberty of thought and discussion, which is only another name for "the deliverance of reason from the yoke of authority," and which is so fundamental to democracy, cannot exist in a one-party State, and, therefore, democracy and a one-party State are incompatible terms. The two cannot coexist with each other; nor can democracy really function in a one-party State.

II

TRENDS IN INDIA

Before I conclude, I should like to say a few words in regard to the position in our own country. There is an apprehension in the minds of many persons—perhaps not without some reasons—of the possibility of the emergence of a one-party State in India, and the party in question will, it is held, be the Congress Party. The Indian National Congress has been a great institution, and it has certainly achieved great results by its ceaseless fight for freedom and by the sufferings and sacrifices of many of its members and workers. I should, therefore, hesitate to say anything by way of its disparagement. But I cannot help remarking here in the interest of truth that all those who profess to be Congressmen today are not always inspired by the lofty ideals of the Congress: There is often a wide discrepancy between what they profess and what they actually do. Nor am I prepared to concede that they have a monopoly of patriotism, statesmanship, and a political foresight. Nor, again, is it a fact that the wearing of "certified Khadi made from handspun yarn" as required by the latest Constitution of the Congress, is necessarily a sign or a guarantee of the inner purity, honesty and the patriotism of the wearer. Often, I regret to say, it is otherwise. We, therefore, need in India an effective Opposition in every Legislature. Those who think otherwise are mistaken. They must not forget that they are not infallible.

"His Majesty's Opposition," says Dr. Ivor Jennings³⁵ with reference to England, "is no idle

29. See Sheridan's speech in the House of Commons on 6th February, 1810, in Cecil Emdin, *Selected Speeches on the Constitution*, Vol. II, p. 28.

30. Presumably Mr. William Windham.

31. Pp. 54-55. The book was first published in Great Britain in 1943.

32. See his *Democracy and Its Rivals*, p. 78.

33. P. 14 (Home University Library).

34. Bury, *History of Freedom of Thought*, p. 239.

35. See his *Cabinet Government*, p. 15.

phrase. His Majesty needs an Opposition as well as a Government."

Dr. Jennings has gone so far as to say³⁶ that

"If there be no Opposition there is no democracy"; that the "Opposition is at once the alternative to the Government and a focus for the discontent of the people," that "its function is almost as important as that of the Government"; that it is "second in importance to 'His Majesty's Government';" and that "party warfare is thus essential to the working of the democratic system."

And President Lowell of Harvard University has observed³⁷ that

The expression 'His Majesty's Opposition' "embodies the greatest contribution of the nineteenth century to the art of Government."

Such, then, is the importance of the Opposition in a democracy. We are not, therefore, surprised that the Ministers of the Crown Act, 1937, has provided for the payment of an annual salary of two thousand pounds to the Leader of the Opposition. If, in view of all this, any Congress leader opposes the emergence of an effective Opposition in our Legislatures, which, however, accepts the fundamentals of our social and political system,³⁸ then his motive is liable to suspicion. We cannot have an efficient Parliamentary Government in

36. See *Ibid*, pp. 15 and 385.

37. *The Government of England*, p. 451.

38. We must insist on this. Our Opposition must keep in mind the following observation of the Earl of Balfour in reference to the party warfare in England :

"Our alternating Cabinets, though belonging to different parties, have never differed about the foundations of Society. And it is evident that our whole political machinery presupposes a people so fundamentally at one that they can safely afford to bicker ; and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict. May it always be so."—Balfour's Introduction to Bagehot's *English Constitution*, Oxford, p. xxiv.

India without its essentials. And the presence of an effective Opposition is of the essence of Parliamentary Democracy. The need of an effective Opposition in our Legislatures is particularly great today in view of the attitude of our (daily) press in general towards the Government. It is, unfortunately, an undeniable fact that, with a few honourable exceptions, our leading newspapers have, for one reason or another, become less critical today in regard to the acts of omission or commission of the Government than they used to be even during the British regime in India. They forget that their "first duty," to quote the words of Mr. Wickham Steed,³⁹ a famous journalist and a former editor of *The Times* (London), "is to the public," and not "to any Minister or Government who may at a given moment be in office," and that "to tlink or o act otherwise is to enter a half-way house on the downward way from the freedom to a totalitarian enslavement of the Press."⁴⁰

It is sincerely hoped that an effective Opposition which will also accept the fundamentals of our social, economic and political system, will soon come into being. That will certainly conduce to the efficient working of our new Parliamentary Democracy and, at the same time, to the prevention of any gradual and insidious encroachment upon the liberties of the people.*

39. See his book entitled *The Press* (Penguin), p. 13.

40. "The duty of the journalist," says *The Times* of London (February 7th, 1852), "is the same as that of the historian—to seek out truth, above all things, and to present to his readers not such things as statecraft would wish them to know but the truth as near as he can attain it."—See Wickham Steed, *The Press*, p. 78.

* This article has been developed out of a speech which the present writer delivered at a Symposium on "Democracy and the One-party State," held on 8th January, 1949, at the Convocation Hall, Nagpur University.

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THE ATLANTIC PACT

PROF. ANIL CHANDRA BANERJEE, M.A., F.R.S., PH.D.

THE Atlantic Pact is a well-drafted, practical document ; but, as in the case of all diplomatic speeches and papers, its implications are far wider than its wording.

The Preamble lays down three distinct objectives :

- (1) "To safeguard the freedom, heritage and civilization . . . founded on the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law";
- (2) "To promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area";
- (3) "To unite . . . efforts for collective defence."

The third objective shows that it is a military alliance, its ostensible purpose being defensive. The second objective shows that its scope is limited to a

particular geographical area. The first objective shows that it is much more than a military alliance. It is an ideological alliance pledged to defend a particular system of government. Article 2 imposes on the contracting parties the obligation of "strengthening their free institutions." That Article also lays down a fourth objective :

"To eliminate conflict in their international economic policies and . . . encourage economic collaboration between any or all of them."

So the alliance is based on common political principles, common economic interests and common defence problems.

Article 3 says:

"In order more effectively to achieve the objectives of this Treaty, the parties, separately and jointly, by means of continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid, will maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack."

This is a complete repudiation of the principle of disarmament. If the contracting parties intend to "maintain and develop their individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack," they will have to go on increasing their military strength. It is reported that a new American military lend-lease programme is envisaged at Washington as a vital cog in the Atlantic Pact machinery. A survey of the man-power and basic military resources of the 12 Powers (U.S.A., Britain, France, Belgium, Canada, Luxembourg, Holland, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Portugal, Italy) expected to join the Pact shows that their combined strength dwarfs that of the Soviet Union and its satellites in Eastern Europe. Some "usually well-informed sources in Paris" indicate that the U.S. Government is willing to send 3,000,000 to 5,000,000 dollars' worth of arms and military equipment to the European members of the Atlantic Pact in the first twelve months after its ratification. Data drawn from U. N. and other official sources show that the Atlantic Pact Powers will be able to bring to bear on their enemies that "overwhelming force" which, President Truman said recently, would henceforth oppose "any armed attack." It will be recalled that in October last, Russia's present Foreign Minister, M. Vyshinsky, asked the U. N. General Assembly to accept his proposal for the prohibition of the atom bomb and also for one-third reduction of "conventional armaments." The Western Powers were not prepared to accept that proposal as a basis for negotiations. Article 3 of the Atlantic Pact has practically shut the door. It is useless to ask whether this programme to "maintain and develop . . . individual and collective capacity to resist armed attack" is quite consistent with the proclaimed "desire" of the Atlantic Pact Powers "to live in peace with all peoples and all governments." A clear feeling of insecurity runs through the Articles of this fateful treaty and the modern State has not yet found any more dependable instrument of self-defence than "capacity to resist armed attack."

Mr. Acheson, the U. S. Secretary of State, has given us a somewhat curious interpretation of Article 4, which runs as follows:

"The parties will consult together whenever, in the opinion of any of them, the territorial integrity, political independence or security of any of the parties is threatened."

According to Mr. Acheson:

"There is no geographical limitation to the area in which a threat to the security of one of the Powers may take place in terms of Article 4."

Thus, a threat to the security of England may take place in Malaya; a threat to the security of France may take place in Indo-China. In case of such a threat

Article 4 provides for consultation, not for any specific action. But consultation may lead to specific action, and hostilities on a world scale may break out in any part of the globe in accordance with the terms of a treaty which seeks ostensibly "to promote stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area."

Specific action is provided for by Article 5:

"The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and, consequently, they agree that, if such armed attack occurs, each of them . . . will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area . . ."

It is clear that "armed attack" against one party will not lead to *automatic* "use of armed force" by all the parties. Each party retains its freedom to take "such action as it deems necessary." Apart from political and military considerations, such freedom is required by constitutional difficulties, particularly in the case of the U.S.A. Mr. Acheson said that the decision as to what "action" the U.S.A. deemed necessary in a particular case would be taken under the U.S. constitutional procedure. He was understood to mean that the decision would be taken by Congress if it involved a declaration of war.

An "armed attack" may take place, according to Article 6,

"on the territory of any of the parties in Europe or North America, on the Algerian Departments of France, on the occupation forces of any party in Europe, on the islands under the jurisdiction of any party in the North Atlantic area, north of the Tropic of Cancer, on the vessels or aircraft in this area of any of the parties."

Asia and South America are totally excluded; but, as we have shown above, any threat to any Asiatic dependency of any Atlantic Pact Power may lead to consultation (under Article 4) and then to "action" (under Article 5). Africa is excluded, with the exception of "the Algerian Departments of France." But we presume African dependencies of the Atlantic Pact Powers fall within the scope of Article 4—and then, of Article 5—just like their Asiatic dependencies. Explaining the term "the occupation forces of any party in Europe" Mr. Acheson said that an attack on U.S. aircraft flying into Berlin over Russian-occupied Germany in the air lift operation would be regarded as an "armed attack" under the terms of the Pact. The Bermudas, the Bahamas and other islands lying north of the Tropic of Cancer fall within the scope of the Pact. Even vessels and aircraft are not excluded, for International Law treats them as floating portions of State territory.

Mr. Acheson's interpretation of the term "armed attack" emphasizes two points. In the first place, "the actual gravity of the attack" must be taken into consideration; mere "border scuffles" will not fall within the scope of the Pact. Secondly, "purely internal

revolutionary activities" will not be taken to constitute "armed attack"; but "revolutionary activities assisted from outside . . . might well be regarded as an armed attack." It will not be easy to draw the line between these two kinds of "revolutionary activities." For instance, are the Communists of Malaya "assisted from outside"?

Article 9 provides for the establishment of a Council which "shall be so organised as to be able to meet promptly at any time."

It will consist of representatives of all the signatory powers. It will "consider matters concerning the implementation of this Treaty." It will set up "subsidiary bodies"—in particular, a Defence Committee—which "shall recommend measures for the implementation of Articles 3 and 5." This provision for the creation of a practically permanent machinery distinguishes the Atlantic Pact from the usual defensive alliances. We are probably witnessing the emergence of an organisation not unlike the Confederacy of Delos of ancient Greece, a league within a league—the "Atlantic Nations" within the larger framework of the United Nations.

It is quite clear that the role of the U.S.A. in this new confederacy will be similar to that of Athens in the Confederacy of Delos. The Pact will be signed at Washington; the authentic texts of the treaty "shall be deposited in the archives of the Government of the U.S.A." (Article 13). If any party wants to secede from the confederacy after the stipulated period of 20 years it shall send its "notice of denunciation" to "the Government of the U.S.A., which will inform the Governments of the other parties" (Article 13). Add to this Marshall Aid and the contemplated new lend-lease arrangements about arms and military equipment.

The Preamble, as well as Articles 5, 6, 10, 12, refer to "the North Atlantic area." Mr. Bevin, Britain's Foreign Secretary, says that it brings the democratic States "under a wider roof of security, a roof which stretches over the Atlantic Ocean." It seems, however, that the "roof of security" will stretch even beyond "the North Atlantic Area." The Italian Chamber has approved Italy's participation in the Pact by 342 votes against 170. Italy is not an Atlantic country and she has no direct interest in "promoting stability and well-being in the North Atlantic area" (which the Preamble lays down as one of the aims of the contracting parties). Italy's participation in the Pact will, therefore, widen its scope and purpose.

The Atlantic Pact is an ideological rather than a regional alliance. The Preamble emphasizes the

adherence of the contracting parties to "the principles of democracy, individual liberty and the rule of law." Article 2 requires them to "strengthen their free institutions." Mr. Acheson was questioned at a Press Conference at Washington about the eligibility for membership of countries whose internal institutions might be regarded as undemocratic. He referred to the "Accession Article" (Article 10) which, he said, had a strong implication that a member must be "in a position to further the principles of the Treaty." Asked specifically whether Spain was eligible, he declined to commit himself. It is significant that he did not exclude Spain altogether. Spain is not governed in accordance with "the principles of democracy individual liberty and the rule of law"; but her geographical position makes her co-operation essential for the defence of the Atlantic area.

The contracting parties have emphasized repeatedly their loyalty to the principles of the U.N. and to the provisions of the U.N. Charter. "Action" to be taken under Article 5 is governed by Article 51 of the U.N. Charter which recognizes

"the inherent right of individual or collective self-defence if an armed attack occurs against a Member of the United Nations, until the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to maintain international peace and security."

But this necessary recognition of "the inherent right of . . . self-defence" hardly contemplates the formation of an alliance composed of, in addition to other Powers, three out of five permanent members of the Security Council. Again, if Italy joins the alliance, it will clearly cease to be one of those "regional arrangements or agencies" which are recognised by Article 52 of the U.N. Charter. In that Article the emphasis is clearly on geography, not on ideology. It is clear that the Atlantic Pact Powers cannot rely on the Security Council because Russia's veto may nullify their majority. Article 5 of the Pact lays down that "action" taken by the contracting parties "shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security." What will happen if the Security Council refuses, or fails, to take such measures? Again, what will happen if measures considered adequate by the Security Council are considered inadequate by the Atlantic Pact Powers? The Charter of the U.N. and the treaty of Washington may not contain contradictory provisions from the lawyer's point of view; but politically this hardened grouping of powers undoubtedly reduces the strength and prestige of the U.N.



MODEL COLONIES FOR VILLAGE REGENERATION

By G. S. SARDESAI

SINCE the attainment of Swaraj, there has been quite a spate of plans and schemes for reorganising our life. To our regret most of the schemes are showing no result whatsoever. Government machinery is getting clogged. This state of affairs is really very disappointing and raises grave apprehension about the future of this country.

'Grow more food' and 'plant trees' campaigns appear to have benefited none except the campaigners themselves and have added little to our food supply. Government have taken in hand schemes of the Lemodar Barrage and the Koyana Barrage, but it will be years before these schemes begin to bear fruit. What shall we do in the meanwhile to fight hunger that is knocking at our door?

The plans that are being devised ignore the root cause of all this evil. Unless the outlook of the peasantry is changed it is futile to look for results. This transformation of the countryside will never come about unless there is co-operation between Government and the people. Not only is smooth co-operation wanting at present, but in its place we find obstruction and deliberate mischief. I may give definite instances here in proof of what I say; these instances are taken from round Kamshet, a village 29 miles north-west of Puna on the railway, but they are more or less common everywhere.

Honesty has become a rare virtue among men. If I engage labour on my fields the one thought of the men and women is to get maximum wages for minimum work; they will come half an hour late, leave half an hour too early. The total output of the day never bothers them. It is for the owner or landlord to think of the actual results. When they go back in the evening it is usual with them to pick up whatever they find in the compound—grass, fuel, ripe and unripe fruit, vegetables—and carry it home. Everybody instead of labouring honestly, seems intent on exploiting others.

The harvesting season is now in full swing. Crops of wheat, gram, pulses are ripening in the field. It is not possible for anybody to keep watch day and night. When I take a walk out in the evening the sight is common of young boys and girls plucking young corn and carrying it home. I am told that this has become a regular profession. There are also gangs of nomadic Katkaris, the Kaikadis, Wadaris who camp on the border of a village, steal young corn in the night, move to another village, and there repeat their activities. They depend on this system of pillage for their subsistence.

These villagers, should they happen to receive a cut on the skin anywhere in the course of their work, or get a nail or thorn inside their hand or foot or suffer from chicken-pox or tape worm, would absent themselves from work for quite a month or two, but they would never go in for timely medical treatment. They would rather go to a quack for medicines, seek relief

by animal sacrifices to village deities. They prefer this deception to treatment in hospital.

The state of these rustics is deplorable. The filthy conditions under which they live, the dirt and the bad odours prevailing in the cottages, lack of fresh air, light, and water, the suffocating atmosphere of the houses, everything is so disgusting. With these conditions prevailing you begin to doubt how we are going to live as a free nation and survive.

Mahatma Gandhi devoted his life to ameliorating the lot of the Indian peasantry. He placed before the public a grim picture of their wretched condition, and for thirty years preached the need of village improvement, cottage industries, removal of untouchability and advocated simple yet clean living. But how far has his teaching taken us towards the goal he was driving at? Truth and non-violence have remained mere phrases in the dictionary. Falsehood and violence are rampant everywhere.

I believe in the old adage, 'God helps those who help themselves.' It is man's efforts, his striving that makes or mars his plans. I therefore suggest the following scheme for bringing about a radical change in our surroundings: Let Government or Congress and every one who feels keenly interested in the subject start an experimental colony or school in every Taluka and in every district, or at least one for the entire province. This experiment will not merely aim at the spread of education or removal of illiteracy. I do not feel removal of illiteracy or spread of education alone is going to bring about the kind of social change that is desirable. The evil tendencies that one notices among the illiterate masses are equally present among the educated classes. Education appears to give an edge to falsehood and hypocrisy.

The primary human instinct is the desire to imitate. Man readily follows the example of others, whether good or bad. It is this power of imitation that has raised man to his present state of advance. A black sheep in a class spoils most other boys, and it is equally true that a good boy sets an example to his friends. Healthy competition among institutes has resulted in benefiting all. It is this healthy competition, this rivalry in the field of knowledge and adventure that has made England and European countries great. This thirst for knowledge opened to the ancient Aryans the wealth and prosperity this land was capable of. Foreign conquest had a cramping effect on the indigenous creative instinct which appears to have desisted this land. Our leaders who have realised this, have to think out measures for awakening the social conscience and for restoring moral values. Those who do not accept my diagnosis will deny my thesis. But such of us who have the interest of this country at heart will not look on contentedly. We have all to be up and doing, we poor and rich, weak and strong, we are all limbs of the body politic. Let us set up a model

institute which may set an example to all. Every district which has set up such a habitation will see that its influence permeates all the villages; that it becomes known everywhere. I will indicate briefly the subjects we may include in the course of such an educational institute.

The first essential is to fix on a convenient spot for a new township that will take into account the needs of communication and hygiene. Experts will decide how this township will have plenty of fresh air, fresh water, how it should be kept clean.

Once we have fixed on a healthy spot we will plan the roads and streets, the market place and human dwellings, always keeping in mind the needs of village life. The new houses may look like cottages, but will be neat-looking garden cottages full of light, air, possessing modern conveniences. The new houses should be allotted to nearby villages so that villagers will get used to the new conveniences and new way of life. This new colony may not show all-sided progress at once, but from the beginning we should have an idea how the scheme is going to develop. The plan from the very beginning should make provision for the growing needs of the inhabitants in the matter of conservancy arrangements, water supply, planting of shady trees by the wayside, pleasant school buildings, play grounds, parks, municipal hall, market place, maternity and nursing home, cinema house, radio, a public library, a place of worship and a market for the growing trade and commerce. Let us keep before us a model village in America or England, making the necessary changes to suit our circumstances. This new experiment will take note that not only farming but cattle breeding, poultry, pisciculture, weaving, smithy and other crafts connected with rural life are placed before the villagers. Today people have hardly any idea what they need and how they should get it. What this experiment aims at is to bring home to people that wealth does not fall like manna from heaven; that it is not created by stealing or trickery. It has to be produced by the labour of all.

The villages of today came into existence centuries back and have developed according to the needs of the time. They followed no preconceived plan or scheme. The struggle for existence was then not so keen. Land was plentiful and one could build his house where he liked and how he liked. The old ideas of light, air, cleanliness were different from those of the present day. In fact, the scientific outlook of today was then altogether absent. The plan of the old township is altogether insufficient for present-day needs, it is in many cases positively harmful. Neither does it admit of expansion. Villages have become veritable plague spots. Old wells and tanks have long dried up. Places of worship have crumbled down. Villagers no longer grow their vegetables or breed their dairy cattle at home. They are deserting the countryside and crowding into cities. The old handicrafts have been completely

ruined, the land no longer gets back the manure it received when fuel was plentiful, the productivity of land has gone down and the annual yield of agriculture is always showing the downward trend.

There was a time when nature preserved a balance between vegetation, the animal world and man. Vegetation was nature's gift to man; the animal world thrived on natural vegetation and man fed on nature and nature's gifts. The discoveries of science and the use of machinery have disturbed the traditional balance. Land is no longer producing enough for its children, and the country now stands on the brink of starvation.

The old social order was based on the caste system. The villages in Maharashtra were served by hereditary servants known as *Bara Baluts*. Those simple old days are gone. We are in the midst of a complex society and unless we adjust our lives to the new social order, frustration awaits us.

The world is shrinking. We have been drawn into the vortex of the new economic order and whether we will it or not we have to face world competition. It is very difficult to change human psychology, to alter ideas of morality, and to make the masses realize and understand their duties. But if this is not done our plans and schemes may go awry. The Congress Government are coming in for strong criticism at the hands of the people. The Congress in its turn finds fault with the Communist Party and the R.S.S., and these last in their turn indict the Congress. We are thus moving in a vicious circle. Let us stop this and go to the root of the problem. Let Government call together responsible leaders of all parties and with their help draw up a model scheme for the regeneration of our rural society. Let Government choose selfless workers and with their help work out the scheme and guide the people. Let them build model houses that will provide all modern conveniences, and yet will be cheap, if local labour is used under superior guidance. Let people also get to know how modern dairies may be run. They should be taught the value of co-operative farming with modern implement, manure, special seed grains, etc. All this new farming and housing should be built on the labour and co-operation of the villagers themselves. An individual has little capital to invest or credit to raise it, but the credit of a group should easily command capital and help to raise big loans. These in their turn would make it possible to build new townships, equip them with electricity, set up workshops and small industries in the countryside. Such experimental townships would infuse a new spirit of optimism to fight the present despondency among our people, or else, the forces of anarchy and revolution will break out and engulf us all, in the long run.

Oh countrymen! awake, arise or . . . share the fate of China today.

Kamshet, Poona.

FOOD ECONOMY OF WEST BENGAL

BY INDU BHUSAN GHOSH, M.A., B.L.

Food, clothing and shelter constitute the irreducible minimum of human needs. Deficiency in any of these essentials of life is a major calamity for any nation, as it clearly reflects the living standards of the people and the degree of their economic prosperity. The pitifully low standard of living of our countrymen needs no reiteration. Consumption level is dangerously low at present, and this is particularly true of the urban working classes. The per capita food consumption in India is estimated at 357 pounds, being less than one-fourth the level obtained in some of the progressive countries of the West. The per capita income in the Indian Union (excluding the States) is now placed at Rs. 213¹; but adjusted to the cost of living the figure comes down to only Rs. 70, showing little rise in the real income compared to pre-war years. The average income of an American is more than 23 times that of an Indian, while the income of an Englishman, Australian or a Canadian is more than 1. times that of an Indian. The average expectation of life in India is only 27 years, as against 59 in England and Canada, 60 in the United States, 63 in Australia and 47 in Japan. The soil is less fertile than the people, and there is not enough food production in the country to meet the requirements of the growing population. During the ten years 1931 to 1941 India's population increased by about 15 per cent, and a similar increase is expected to be recorded in the next decennial census. But agricultural production has virtually remained stagnant since 1939-40; total production of all food-grains amounted to 45.6 million tons in 1947-48, as against 46 million tons in 1939-40 and the peak level of 48 million tons reached in 1942-43.² We are increasing our numbers without a proportionate increase in production. The partition has left India with 70 per cent of undivided India's rice area and 64 per cent of wheat area to maintain 78 per cent of the total population. The area irrigated is only 65 per cent of the pre-partition total. With nearly 70 per cent of the population depending on agriculture and the most primitive methods of cultivation practised in the country, the food problem constitutes the greatest single menace to India's economic stability. Dependence on foreign imports for food requirements drains away much of India's dollar resources, which makes the import of capital goods, so essential for the country's industrial development, very difficult. India imported about 2.8 million tons of food-grains in 1948 costing about Rs. 129½ crores, of which more than 50 per cent was in hard currency; the import target for 1949 has been fixed at 4 million tons, which will probably cost over Rs. 175 crores.

Apart from reflecting in general the melancholy

situation in the country, West Bengal presents certain special disquieting features in the food front. The partition has left the province with only 34 per cent of the total cropped area of undivided Bengal to maintain nearly 35 per cent of the total population. There is the high deficiency in production of all essential food-grains, and the province is largely dependent on supplies from outside for her requirements of rice, wheat, pulses, sugar, mustard seed, textiles, etc. The uneconomic size and fragmentation of holdings constitute a serious drawback to efficient cultivation. According to the Bengal Famine Commission Report, in undivided Bengal 42.7 per cent of the families held less than 2 acres of land; 11.2 per cent between 2 and 3 acres; 9.4 per cent between 3 and 4 acres; 8 per cent between 4 and 5 acres; 17 per cent between 5 and 10 acres; 8.4 per cent above 10 acres and 3.3 per cent held no permanent interest in the land. Yields per acre are extremely low in the province, and there is not enough irrigation to allow any immediate increase in production. The illiteracy and prejudices of the cultivators impose an impediment to application of scientific methods to agriculture, and more than 60 per cent of the agriculturists are heavily indebted. The scourge of malaria and other curable diseases takes a heavy toll on human lives every year, while occasional famine realises the heaviest premium. The present scale of cereal ration in the statutory rationed areas does not provide even the minimum requirements of calories; the per capita ration allowed provides only 1,000 to 1,200 calories per day against the normal requirements of about 2,600 to 3,000 calories. Finally, the problem of refugees from East Bengal has put an additional pressure on the province's already depleted resources and finance. Nearly 1.3 million refugees have migrated from East Bengal, of whom about 800,000 are in Calcutta. The West Bengal Government is reported to have already spent more than a crore of rupees on dole, grants and loans to the refugees, and large sums have been earmarked for expenditure in the budgets for 1948-49 and 1949-50.

The following table will clearly indicate the extent of West Bengal's deficiency in respect of food :*

Commodity	Average annual production	Estimated annual requirements	Percentage of existing deficit
	Tons	Tons	Tons
Rice	3,400,000	4,000,000	15
Wheat	25,000	275,000	91
Pulses and grams	266,800	638,900	59
Potatoes	347,300	1,277,800	73
Mustard oil	11,000	138,000	92
Fish	27,000	423,500	94
Milk	392,800	2,129,900	82
Sugar	4,000	80,000	95

1. Commerce, (Bombay)—Annual Review Number, 1948, article on "National Income of Indian Union in 1947-48," page 1185.

2. Eastern Economist, (New Delhi)—Annual Number for 1948, table 11, page 1121.

* The figures are based on the estimates shown in *Prospectus for Agriculture in West Bengal*, 1949, page 27, table 22 and the survey of rabi crops in West Bengal carried out by the Indian Statistical Institute during 1946-47.

The above table only confirms the truth that chronic deficiency in the essentials of life is the weakest spot in West Bengal's economy. Without minimising the urgency of improvement in all spheres of agriculture, I would like to confine my discussion in this article on the staple food of the local people, *i.e.*, rice, which occupies the largest cultivated area in the province.

II

West Bengal now covers an area of about 29,370 square miles or 18,798,000 acres. The total cropped area is placed at 13,245,000 acres, of which 1,555,000 acres or 11 per cent of the total are cropped more than once, making the net cropped area 11,690,000 acres. Food crops account for about 90 per cent of the total, and only 13.1 per cent of the cultivated area or 1,724,751 acres are now irrigated. The current fallows total about 493,000 acres, and the province has 1,426,000 acres of culturable wastes. The per capita cropped area is worked out at 0.56 acre. According to the 1941 Census, the province had a population of 21,196,453, representing an increase of about 24 per cent over the 1931 Census. It is generally believed that there has been a further rise of about 15 to 20 per cent in the population since 1941, and the present number is estimated at 25 million. The average density of population per square mile is now placed at 851, as against 751 under the 1941 Census.

Of the total population, about 6,800,000 are now under statutory rationing and 1,500,000 under modified rationing. The annual requirements of rice for the 6.8 million people under full rationing on the basis of 2 seers 3 chattaacks (70 ounces) per adult per week† are estimated at 693,000 tons. The remaining population, including the 1.5 million people under modified rationing, require over 3 million tons, calculating the per capita requirements at 3 seers 4 chattaacks (104 ounces) per week. The total estimated rice requirements of the province at the present consumption level exceed 3.8 million tons, against a net yield (excluding seed requirements and wastage) of about 3.4 million tons. The province has thus an annual deficit of over 400,000 tons at the existing consumption level. According to the standard of balanced diet recommended for an adult in India, at least 16 ounces of cereals are required per head per day. Calculating on this basis, the annual requirements of rice in West Bengal come to about 4 million tons, showing a normal deficit of about 600,000 tons or 15 per cent. It is now relevant to examine the possibilities of increased rice production in the province to meet the existing deficiency.

The distribution of the area under food crops in West Bengal has shown a varying proportion of the total under rice since 1939-40, but the trend is towards

increased acreage under rice in recent years. The total rice acreage, covering 90 per cent of the area under food crops, has increased from 8 million acres in 1939-40 to 9.5 million acres in 1947-48. The winter rice (*aman* crop) accounts for about 80 to 85 per cent of the total acreage. The following table shows the area under rice in West Bengal since 1942-43 :

Year	AREA UNDER RICE ¹ (in thousand acres)			Total
	Winter rice (Aman)	Autumn rice (Aus)	Summer rice (Boro)	
1939-40	—	—	—	8,087
1942-43	5,600	1,598	56	7,254
1943-44	6,381	1,724	53	8,159
1944-45	6,445	1,706	50	8,201
1945-46	6,444	1,513	48	8,005
1946-47	7,412	1,693	49	9,154
1947-48	8,039	1,465	36	9,540
1948-49	7,872	1,421	n.a.	9,293

n.a.—Not available

The district of Midnapore has the largest acreage under rice, accounting for about 24 per cent of the total. The district of 24-Parganas comes next with 16 per cent of the total, while Burdwan stands third with 9 per cent followed by Murshidabad with over 8 per cent of the total. The distribution of the area under rice in the various districts of the province is shown below. The figures relate to the year 1946-47 the latest period for which details are available :

SHARE OF THE DISTRICTS ¹ (in thousand acres)			
Burdwan	..	..	£16
Birbhum	..	..	£51
Bankura	..	..	£93
Midnapore	..	..	2,163
Howrah	..	..	197
Hooghly	..	..	232
24-Parganas*	..	..	1,468
Nabadwip*	..	..	569
Murshidabad	..	..	783
West Dinajpur*	..	..	531
Malda*	..	..	437
Jalpaiguri	..	..	£19
Darjeeling	..	..	35
Total			9,154

* Estimated

Considering the fact that a balanced economy of the province requires improved production of food-grains as well as of other important crops like jute, tea, sugarcane, oilseeds, cotton and tobacco, the possibilities of immediate increase in the rice acreage are very limited. The rival claims of the commercial crops are no less important, as they provide the chief sources of revenue for the province. Of course, the obvious remedy lies in bringing much of the current fallows and culturable wastes under regular cultivation, but the limited irrigation facilities now available constitute a serious handicap to such a programme. Extension of cultivation to new areas is extremely difficult in a province where agriculture is almost completely

† When food rationing was first introduced in 1944, the weekly per capita ration was fixed at 4 seers (128 ounces). The scale gradually went down until it reached the lowest level of 1 seer 12 chattaacks (56 ounces) per week in December, 1947. The quantity was, however, increased to 2 seers 3 chattaacks per week in April, 1948, but it was subsequently reduced to 2 seers on November 15, 1948.

3. *Statistical Abstract of West Bengal, 1948*, page 38, table No. 4.4.

4. *Ibid.*

dependent on the mercy of Nature, i.e., rainfall and climate. Reclamation of waste land with the help of tractors and development of extensive irrigation facilities are essential to bring increased areas under cultivation in the province. The West Bengal Government has already made a beginning in the field of land reclamation, and about 3,900 acres of waste land have been reclaimed in Jalpaiguri district, of which about 1,500 acres have already been brought under cultivation. It is understood that tractors will also be used to reclaim about 800 acres in the Nadia district. The target is to reclaim 2,000 acres of waste lands in 1948-49 and 9,000 acres in 1949-50, the estimated yield in terms of paddy from these lands being 1,000 and 4,500 tons respectively. The province has over 1.4 million acres of waste lands, but the entire area cannot be brought under cultivation in the absence of an assured supply of water. As a preliminary to tractor operations, a survey of the waste lands should be conducted to ascertain their suitability for cultivation. The successful application of mechanical cultivation requires sufficiently large holdings, and the minimum area on which a 25 to 30 h.p. tractor can be economically used is 150 to 200 acres.⁵ This factor limits the possibility of using tractors on the fragmented holdings of the individual cultivators in West Bengal. It is, therefore, essential to locate suitable blocks of waste lands where tractors can be employed without undue interference with the existing land tenure system. With proper Government assistance and a planned programme, it may not be difficult to reclaim 14 to 15 per cent of the waste lands in the province in the course of the next four years, which will lead to an increased production of about 90,000 to 100,000 tons of rice.

What is most needed to bring the current fallows in the province under regular cultivation is development of extensive irrigation. Until the major projects like the Damodar Valley Scheme and the Mor Project materialise, sufficient funds should be provided for minor irrigation schemes like sinking of wells, construction of bunds, dams and clearing of silted up tanks and canals. At present, only 14 to 15 per cent of the total rice area in the province is irrigated, but it should be borne in mind that irrigation remains the most important single means of increasing agricultural production; by proper irrigation anything between 50 to 60 per cent increase in the output can be secured from the soil. It is, however, assuring to learn that the West Bengal Government is supplying Persian wheels to cultivators and is arranging to supply pumping plants and to install percolation wells. The lift irrigation arrangements undertaken by the Government are expected to benefit 5,100 acres in 1948-49 and 8,900 acres in 1949-50, the extra yield of paddy being estimated at 2,550 and 4,450 tons respectively. In addition, some minor irrigation schemes are also being undertaken by the Government, which will benefit 17,000

acres in 1948-49 and 10,600 acres in 1949-50. By the end of 1950, the extra production of paddy as a result of these schemes is estimated at about 7,000 tons. The Irrigation Department, West Bengal Government, is reported to have projected a number of development schemes, of which the following are scheduled for completion by 1950.

1. Rukni Khal Irrigation Scheme in the district of Bankura for an irrigable area of 500 acres.
2. Kulai Khal Irrigation Scheme in the district of Bankura for an irrigable area of 600 acres.
3. Putrangi Irrigation Scheme in the district of Midnapore for an irrigable area of 2,200 acres.
4. Jhargram Irrigation Scheme in the district of Midnapore for an irrigable area of 5,000 acres.

The West Bengal Government is reported to have prepared a scheme for the erection of a barrage across the river Ganges with a view to improving the crop conditions of Central Bengal on either side of the Bhagirathi and to 'resuscitate' the dying rivers Bhairab, Jalangi, Mathabhanga and Ichamati of Central Bengal. This scheme is still in the investigation stage. The Irrigation Department is also engaged in executing certain other minor schemes, including excavation and renovation of canals and derelict tanks. The total area expected to benefit by these schemes is over 140,000 acres with an estimated extra yield of about 42,000 tons of paddy. The Damodar Valley Scheme, when completed, will irrigate about 900,000 acres of additional land in Bankura, Burdwan, Hooghly and Howrah, and will help to produce over 200,000 tons of additional food-grains per annum. The Mor Project is expected to irrigate about 595,000 acres in the *kharij* season and 100,000 acres in the *rabi* season. The additional production of food-grains is estimated at 330,000 tons of paddy per annum. However, no appreciable benefit from these bigger projects will accrue before 1952 or 1953, and until that time it would be advisable to expedite completion of the minor schemes requiring less technical examination and assistance. The future of West Bengal's agriculture is closely bound up with wider development of irrigation facilities in the province.

The total area irrigated in the province at present by different methods is shown below. The figures relate to the year 1946-47, the latest period for which details are available :

AREA IRRIGATED ⁶			
(acres)			
Government canals	..	..	278,794
Private canals	..	..	28,101
Tanks	..	..	998,667
Wells	..	..	15,745
Other sources (natural waterways, etc.)	..	..	403,444
Total			1,724,751

It seems probable that in the course of the next one or two years an additional area of about 190,000

5. *Statesman*, Calcutta, dated July 26, 1948, article on "Importance of Tractors to India's Expanding Agriculture" by Mr. B. R. Sen, I.C.S.

6. *Prospectus for Agriculture in West Bengal, 1949*, published by the West Bengal Government, page 6, table 5.

acres will be irrigated in the province, the estimated extra yield of paddy being placed at 70,000 tons. Much larger area is required to be brought under irrigation in order to augment the supply of rice in West Bengal, but this is unlikely to happen before the Damodar Valley Scheme and Mor Project are completed. By the end of 1953, not more than 23 per cent of the total cropped area in the province will be irrigated, the present acreage being only 13.1 of the total.

III

Because of decline in yield per acre, the total production of rice in West Bengal has not maintained a progressive relationship with the total area under rice in the province. The soil is deficient in nitrogen, phosphate and other organic matter. Inadequate manuring and unscientific rotation of crops have added to the existing deficiency, which is most responsible for diminishing acreage yield. It may be mentioned that the average yield per acre in West Bengal is only 998 pounds, as compared with 2,903 pounds in Italy, 2,153 pounds in Egypt, 2,276 pounds in Japan, 1,468 pounds in the United States and 943 pounds in Siam.⁷ According to the crop-cutting experiments made during the four quinquennial periods since 1922-23, the following comparative acreage yields of rice in undivided Bengal were recorded :

Quinquennial periods	YIELDS PER ACRE ⁸ (Maunds of clean rice)		
	Aman rice	Aus rice	Boro rice
1922-23 to 1926-27	12.5	10.7	14.0
1927-28 to 1931-32	13.5	12.5	15.0
1932-33 to 1936-37	12.5	11.1	14.3
1937-38 to 1941-42	12.4	10.9	13.6

The winter rice (*aman*) accounts for about 85 per cent of the total production, while the autumn rice (*aus*) about 10 to 12 per cent, and the balance is accounted for by summer rice (*boro*). The total production of rice in the province since 1939-40 is shown in the table below. Weather conditions play a dominant role in the province's agriculture, and every third year comes as a period of crop failure. It is not surprising, therefore, that the production statistics do not bear any definite relationship with productive capacity but reflect only the occurrence of floods and droughts. As different sources furnish divergent statistics, each relying on its own method of compilation, the figures shown in the table should be accepted as indicative rather than actual. Furthermore, the difficulties involved in gathering and tabulating primary data in the country reduce the accuracy of all agricultural statistics :

TOTAL PRODUCTION OF RICE⁹ (In thousand tons)

1939-40	.. ..	2,666
1940-41	.. ..	1,349
1941-42	.. ..	3,12
1942-43	.. ..	2,52
1943-44	.. ..	3,388
1944-45	.. ..	3,369
1945-46	.. ..	2,353
1946-47	.. ..	3,565 (a)
1947-48	.. ..	3,406 (a)
1948-49*	.. ..	3,200

* Estimated

(a) The figures are obtained from *Prospectus for Agriculture in West Bengal, 1949*.

As already indicated, the province is faced with a normal deficit of about 15 per cent in supply of rice. With proper planning and determined efforts, it will not be difficult to wipe out this deficit and attain self-sufficiency in respect of food. In the opinion of experts, yields of rice can easily be increased by about 30 per cent with better manuring, improved seeds and protection from pests and diseases. Dr. Burns in his famous book *Technological Possibilities of Agricultural Development in India* (1944), maintains that a 5 to 10 per cent rise in the yield is possible by use of improved variety of seeds and 20 to 40 per cent by proper manuring. It is estimated that by applying 20 pounds of nitrogen per acre, at least 40 per cent increase in rice yield is expected. In the light of this observation by Dr. Burns, the food situation in West Bengal should not arouse much gloom or despair. What is most needed now is a carefully thought-out plan and a benevolent authority to work it out with sincere determination. Mere expression of anxiety or occasional enumeration of the difficulties will bring no solution.

There is probably no escape from the truth that with the present limited facilities of irrigation in West Bengal, the only way to improve agricultural production is to rely on more intensive cultivation. The foremost step in this direction is the supply of seeds of improved strain to cultivators at subsidized rates. According to the revised programme of the West Bengal Government, six seed multiplication farms are scheduled to be established in the province. One of these farms is now being set up, and three more are expected to be established by the end of 1943-49. It is understood that each of these farms, to be located in the six different soil-climate zones in Burdwan, Nalhati, Canning, Midnapore, Jalpaiguri and Maldah, will have 200 acres of land. The mother seeds produced in these farms will be multiplied through registered growers. It is not known what degree of priority has been accorded to the programme, but it would be well worth remembering that rice production in West Bengal can be increased in the near future by at least 160,000 tons or 170,000 tons per annum if improved seeds are made available to the cultivators.

Artificial fertilizers, mostly imported from abroad,

7. *Prospectus for Agriculture in West Bengal, 1949*, page 12, table 9.

8. *Statistical Abstract of West Bengal, 1948*, page 40 table 4.7.

9. *Estimates of Area and Yield of Principal Crops in India (1936-46)*, published in 1948 by the Ministry of Agriculture, Government of India.

are now in extremely short supply in the country, and there is practically no domestic production. The ignorance and prejudice of the cultivators have greatly limited the use of chemical fertilizers in West Bengal. The problem of supply is, however, likely to be solved to a great extent when the Sindri Fertilizer Factory in Bihar commences production by 1951 or 1952. The proposed factory, biggest of its kind in Asia, will have an estimated production capacity of 1,000 tons of Sulphate of Ammonia crystals per day and nearly 300,000 tons per annum. Nitrogenous manure can, however, be made available at present from cow-dung, compost made from village and town refuse, oilcakes, green manures, bonemeal, etc. Oilcakes have been found as good or often better than ammonium sulphate. The increased yield through application of ammonium sulphate has varied from 21 to 24 per cent in Bengal, to 70 per cent in the United Provinces and Kashmir. With oilcakes, the maximum increase has been as high as 110 per cent, 120 per cent, 150 per cent and even 190 per cent.¹⁰ There is great scope in West Bengal for increasing compost production, and it is believed that Calcutta alone can supply about 500,000 tons of organic manure every year. At present, the organic sources of manure are largely wasted in the province. The Minister for Agriculture, West Bengal Government, convened a conference sometime in October, 1948, to discuss the possibility of increasing manure supply in the province. Recommendations made by the conference included the collection and distribution to agriculturists of cow-dung from the *khatahs* (places where cows and buffaloes are generally kept) in Calcutta, expansion of compost production from sewage sludge in the Calcutta and Howrah municipal areas, and the award of prizes for composting water-hyacinth in the rural areas. In the case of paddy, the minimum dose of nitrogen per acre is 20 pounds, and it can be profitably increased to 60 or 80 pounds in areas where the level of fertility is high. The organic manures, such as compost, bonemeal, oilcakes, are applied at the rate of 2½ to 3½ tons per acre. Chemical fertilizers effect an increase of about 2 tons per acre, while organic manures increase the yield by only one-third of a ton per acre.¹¹

In 1946-47, the West Bengal Government distributed to cultivators about 9,265 tons of oilcakes at controlled rates, 2,700 tons of bonemeal at 50 per cent subsidy, 285 tons of ammonium sulphate at 50 per cent subsidy, 162 tons of sunn hemp seeds for green manuring, 60,000 tons of village compost and 8,846 tons of town compost. The necessary funds and organisation must now be provided to produce at least 1,000,000 tons of organic manure in the province. This additional quantity of manure is expected to augment the output of rice by nearly 160,000 tons to 170,000 tons per annum. According to the manure distribution schemes of the West Bengal Government, about 419,000 acres

are expected to be covered by distributed manure in 1948-49 for raising an extra yield of 54,900 tons of food-grains. The target for 1949-50 is fixed at 505,000 acres, the estimated extra yield being placed at 65,500 tons.

Another important measure to increase rice supply in the province is to raise more than one crop annually from the same plot. If only 2 per cent of the total rice acreage in West Bengal can be brought under double cropping, production of rice will increase by about 80,000 tons per annum. Introduction of minor irrigation facilities and scientific experiments relating to hastening the growth of rice crops will go a long way in this matter. Reports of experiments carried out at the University College of Science, Calcutta, proved that seedlings of one variety of rice when exposed in seed bed to sun rays for eight to ten hours daily for four to six weeks flowered within 47 days—about 90 days earlier than in the ordinary course. In another case, it was possible to harvest the yield two weeks earlier than the normal period. The results obtained in the laboratories should be repeated in experimental field plots before the new method of 'vernalization by light' can be popularised in rice cultivation. As a result of investigations carried out by the Indian Council of Agricultural Research, certain varieties of seedlings have been produced, which are suitable for resistance under flood, drought, attack of insect pests and diseases. In parts of the Central Provinces and Bihar, the evolution of purple-pigmented varieties has solved the menace of wild rice weed, which was indistinguishable from the rice plants. The percentage increase in yield from the important varieties of seedlings produced is reported to have been 20 to 25 per cent in Bihar, 30 to 52 per cent in Orissa, 17 to 23 per cent in Travancore and 55 to 70 per cent in Kashmir. The results in Bengal and Madras have also been of similar magnitude.¹² It is now desirable to bring the results of all agricultural research to the knowledge of the cultivators for introducing scientific aid to agriculture. Protection of the rice plants from pests and diseases can further augment the supply of rice in the province. The West Bengal Government intends to treat about 6,000 acres of paddy land with fungicide and insecticide chemicals in 1948-49, which will result in saving about 3,740 tons of food-grains. The target for 1949-50 is 110,000 acres, the estimated saving of food-grains being placed at 10,740 tons.

Considering the urgency of the food problem in West Bengal, the measures to increase rice supply, especially those discussed above, should be accorded very high priority in the development projects for the province. Certainly, the Government has a primary responsibility in initiating practical measures of agricultural development, and it should undertake an active role in providing the essential amenities to the cultivators.

D. *Indian Farming* of November, 1948, article on "Agricultural Research : A Review", page 444.

E. *Prospectus for Agriculture in West Bengal*, 1949, page 43.

12. *Indian Farming* of November, 1948, article on "Agricultural Research : A Review", page 441.

IV

The problem of introducing scientific method of cultivation is closely bound up with the existing land tenure system in the province. Farming under modern methods is not possible on the present uneconomic and fragmented holdings of individual cultivators. Furthermore, the average cultivator, living below the margin of subsistence, does not possess the necessary resources to adopt improved farming practices. In order to make profitable investment of more capital to land in the form of irrigation, machinery, fertilizers and power, the scale of operation is to be considerably enlarged. Creation of large economic holdings is, therefore, a condition precedent to efficient cultivation. Two fundamental steps appear necessary for a long-term planning in agriculture, viz., (a) State acquisition of all private rights in land and (b) settlement of these lands with village co-operatives or individual cultivators, subject to payment of an annual charge to the State, sufficient to cover the present land revenue demand as well as the annual cost of the compensation paid to the acquired interests. The abolition of the zamindari system, which is being delayed in West Bengal for financial reasons, will in itself bring no agricultural improvement in the province. Without some form of group or collective farming, sufficiently large holdings and necessary finance will not be available for scientific cultivation. The foremost step in this matter is to explain the full implications of the co-operative system to the cultivators to secure their willing co-operation. The initiative should, of course, come from the Government, and it should organise widespread propaganda work in the rural areas. As remarked by Mr. S. K. Dey, I.C.S., Secretary, Agriculture and Irrigation Department, Government of West Bengal:

"The tragedy of the co-operative movement in Bengal has been to set up institutions in advance of the mental and moral competence of the people; one reason for the failure of the farming experiment in a Bengal district eight years ago was an inadequate realisation of this truth."¹³

Mr. Dey is of further opinion that only multi-purpose village co-operative, charged with the comprehensive planning of the entire economy of the village, can be a success in West Bengal, as ordinary co-operative farming societies will not be able to deal with displaced labour that will follow rationalization of agriculture. In the absence of subsidiary occupations, the cultivators remain practically idle for nearly four to six months in a year. The neglected cottage industries in the rural areas provide extremely limited opportunities for non-agricultural employment. The situation is likely to grow worse under simple co-operative farming, as the pressure on land will continue but the number of people deprived of agricultural employment will increase due to less work to be performed by individual cultivators under

division of labour and specialization of function. According to Mr. Dey, the multi-purpose village co-operative, covering the industrial phase of rural economy, is the proper answer to the situation. However, in the present context of village economy and the limited administrative resources of the Government, it is doubtful whether such an ambitious programme can be undertaken. The question of finance is also a vital factor. The introduction of the principle of simple co-operation in agriculture is, in itself, a big measure, and far-reaching reforms will be necessary before it can make a headway in the rural areas. The ground must be prepared with feasible alternatives before multi-purpose co-operatives can be successfully organised. At the initial stage, therefore, a programme of revival for the cottage industries and simple organisation of group farming may prove effective. The aspect of marketing of agricultural products can also be brought within the purview of this scheme. The organisational aspect of the scheme is so vital that initial success will very largely depend on the degree of State participation and State aid.

Rice is only one item in the balanced diet recommended for an adult. The following table showing the daily nutritional requirements of an adult in India will be of some interest:

BALANCED DIET

Cereals	16 ounces
Pulses	"
Sugar	"
Vegetable	"
Fruits	"
Fats and oils	5 "
Milk	3 "
Meat, fish and eggs	2.3 "

Total 43.8 ounces

This balanced diet yields approximately 3,000 calories, which are required for the maintenance of normal health. Unfortunately, the Indians cannot afford to have a balanced diet because of low level of income. It is doubtful whether more than 8 to 10 per cent of the people of West Bengal live on minimum comfort level, while 20 to 25 per cent are just above the level of starvation and the remaining 70 per cent of the population are on the plane of sub-human existence. The living standards of the common people must be raised before they can enjoy nutritious food.

Any comprehensive planning for agricultural development involves rational distribution of the cropped area between different food crops, including fruits and vegetables. The necessity of expanding fruit and vegetable cultivation in West Bengal has already attracted the notice of the Government, and a scheme for production of improved seeds at Krishnagar farm has been sanctioned. A quantity of about 2,100 pounds of mother seeds was produced in this farm during 1946-47. Schemes for distribution of winter vegetable seeds were also undertaken, and 11,500 pounds of seeds and 24.5 million seedlings were distributed during

13. *Statesman*, Calcutta, dated November 16, 1948, article on "Design for Co-operative Living" by Mr. S. K. Dey, I.C.S.

1943-47. In order to solve the present very unsatisfactory position regarding supply of potato seeds, the West Bengal Government started a potato farm comprising about 150 acres of land in the hills of Darjeeling. The farm was expected to yield 220 tons of disease-free seeds last year, which were proposed to be distributed for planting about 600 acres in the plains. It is estimated that over 11,000 tons of seed potatoes are imported into West Bengal every year. The Government seems fully conscious of the need to encourage cultivation of food crops other than cereals in order to secure a balanced diet for the people. A scheme is already under operation for introducing cultivation of *rabi* crops, vegetables and fodder in the double-cropped areas, and seeds and seedlings are being distributed by the Government. The consumption habit of the local people and low income level preclude introduction of any new item of food in the daily diet. However, plans of future development should take into account the necessity of supplementing rice with other foods which will lessen the dependence on cereals. Animal husbandry and fisheries also form integral parts of agricultural planning, and these have particular significance to West Bengal. Several schemes are now being developed in the province for livestock research, cattle breeding, dairy development and for more intensive exploitation of tank and estuarine fisheries. A central livestock research cum breeding station is being established at Haringhatta, about 35 miles north of Calcutta. This station is expected to produce 1,400,000 pounds of milk, 13,000 pounds of butter, 27,000 poultry, 27,000 eggs, 1,500 goats and 17,000,000 maunds of fodder every year. It is understood that the Government of India will grant 50 per cent subsidies on schemes for dairy development in West Bengal.

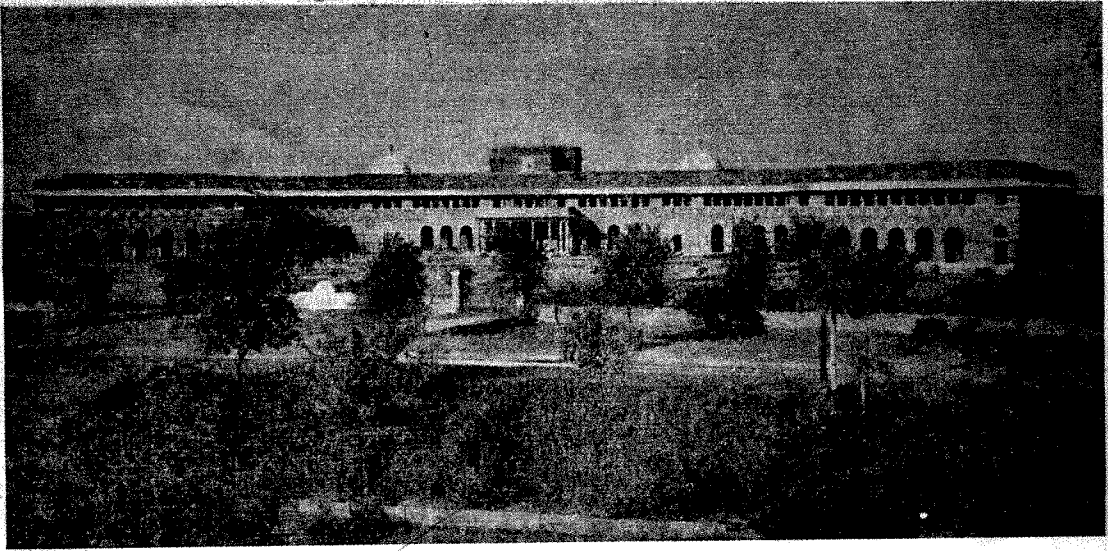
There is yet much left to be done in every sphere of agricultural improvement in West Bengal, and the

several paper schemes sponsored by the Government are mere drops in the ocean. In any plan of economic development for West Bengal, food production should get the top priority, as self-sufficiency in food is most vital for economic security. The people must be raised above the starvation level to make political independence a reality. The question of finance is the limiting factor in all development projects, but the Government of India should remedy the injustice done to this province in the matter of allocation of Income-tax Revenues and Jute Duty.* The Central Government should also extend much larger financial aid to West Bengal for implementing the schemes of agricultural improvement.

Finally, it is relevant to invite attention of the Government to two standing evils in our social life, namely, (a) adulteration of food by traders and manufacturers and (b) indiscriminate multiplication of numbers among the lower-income groups. The former has assumed a dangerous proportion affecting national health to a serious extent, and the latter is adding more mouths to feed upon the less expanding production. Adulteration of foodstuffs should be treated as a national crime deserving the maximum deterrent punishment. Time has come to accept a more rational view on the growth of population.

* The Government of India had decided that until March 31, 1950, West Bengal would receive only 12 per cent of the total provincial share of income-tax, as against 20 per cent allowed to Bengal under the Niemeyer Award. The share of jute duty allocable to the provinces was reduced from sixty-two and a half per cent under the Niemeyer Award to 20 per cent only of the net proceeds, and the total provincial share would be distributed among the jute-growing provinces in proportion to the amount of jute grown in each province. The Central Government had, however, agreed to institute an expert inquiry into the whole question of allocation of the net proceeds of income-tax and jute duty, so that revised allocation may be given effect to in the 1950-51 budget.





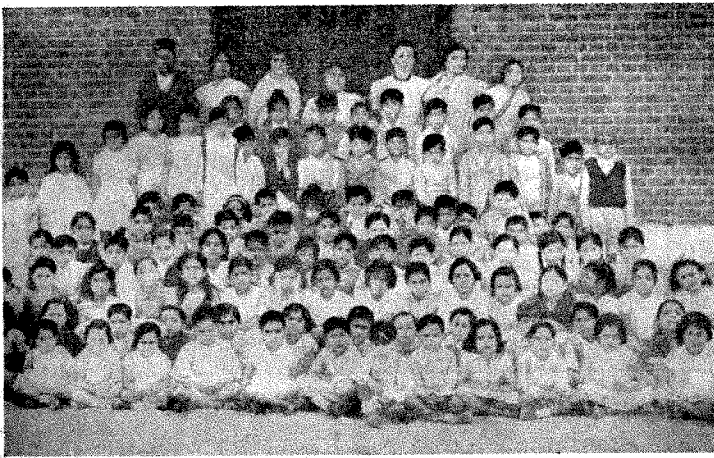
Modern School, New Delhi. Present school building. Front view

A SUCCESSFUL EXPERIMENT IN EDUCATION

By N. K. SEN,

Ex-Registrar, Delhi University

In 1935 Dinabandhu C. F. Andrews gave his impression of an educational experiment in Delhi in an article contributed by him to *The Modern Review*,* in which in the school by Mr. Raghubir Singh, the founder, in close collaboration with Miss Kamala Bose, the first Principal.



A Montessori group of children

The school is unique in its nature, as it is difficult to place it in a class or a category. One is likely to be tempted to call it a "public school", but it is very different from an English school of that type, say, Eton or Harrow; it is distinct even from the Doon School which is evidently intended to be an Indian replica of an English Public School. We shall not enter into a controversy on the suitability of a school of the English Public School type in a country like India, but we cannot afford to forget the words of wisdom uttered as a warning at a recent function of the Doon School by His Excellency the Governor-General of the Indian Dominion, Mr. C. Rajagopalachari.

We want a healthy, happy and

he described in his characteristic lucid style, not only the inception and history of the Modern School, Delhi, but the genesis of the great idea in the mind of Mr. Raghubir Singh which subsequently found expression in the creation of the school in October, 1920. The educational enterprise has been successfully carried out

sound education for our children, which will bring out the best in them and make them fit citizens of free India; but not an expensive education which is likely to infect them with the germs of class distinction and pride of wealth.

Mr. Raghubir Singh's great educational 'idea' may briefly be explained as follows: The task of a true educationist is not only to provide for the pupil

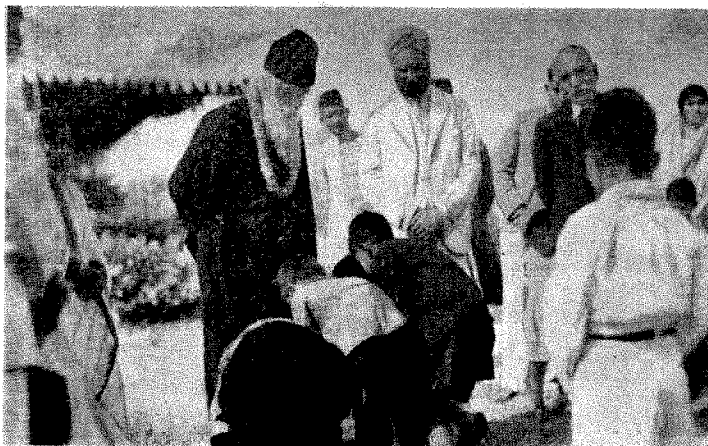
* "The Modern School, New Delhi" by C. F. Andrews, *The Modern Review* for February, 1935.

instruction or teaching in a variety of subjects through a band of suitable teachers, but to train his senses and instincts, to open out the human faculties, so that they may have their fruition in the fullness of life. The effectiveness of a sound education cannot be measured by any external tests, but by the extent to which it has succeeded in enlarging and enriching life itself. To reach this goal a wise teacher must not rely on any

atmosphere in the school, and an artistic setting, as far as possible.

(ii) The provision of a large variety of extra-curricular activities, so that the educational process instead of being confined to a few text-books may broaden out into as many channels of human interest as possible, and lastly,

(iii) the adoption of the method of "learning by doing."



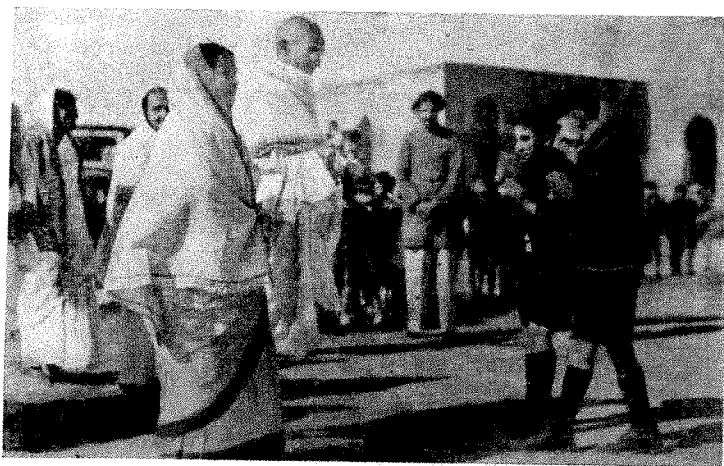
Boys paying homage to Rabindranath Tagore

a uniform or stereotyped method, but use his own discretion, enlightened by a proper understanding of the pupil's mind and guided at every step by a clear vision of the ideal or goal.

It will hardly be necessary, after what has been said previously that it is the Modern School (now housed in its own magnificent building in New Delhi) where Mr. Raghbir Singh's educational experiment has been successfully carried out. The type of education he envisaged about thirty years ago has now become an accomplished fact, and he and his colleague Miss Kamala Bose have deservedly earned the appreciation and gratitude of the people for whose children they both have devoted their lives, patiently working from day to day, without ever doing for a reward, except the satisfaction that they have done their part in the great task of building up the character of a succession of youthful pupils in the service of their country. They have our warmest congratulations on this splendid work of love and sacrifice.

Looking through the details of its everyday work we can discover certain fundamental principles on which this modern educational enterprise rests. These are briefly as follows:

(i) The creation of a congenial and happy

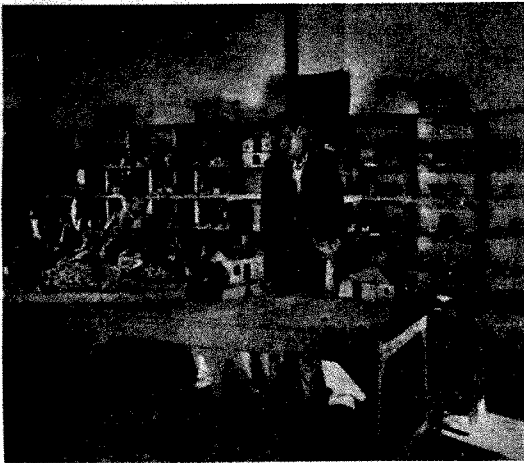


Boys paying homage to Mahatma Gandhi

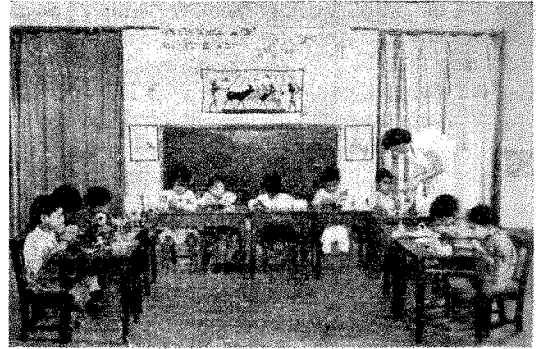
when the printing of the book had just been completed).

Both Mr. Singh and Miss Bose were inspired by the same ideal and both gave themselves unstintingly to the service of the school. In their lives the key-note has been a freedom and a revolt against orthodoxy, in society and education, as well as in religion, and this spirit of freedom and revolt has made the school they have founded and built up, truly modern in the best

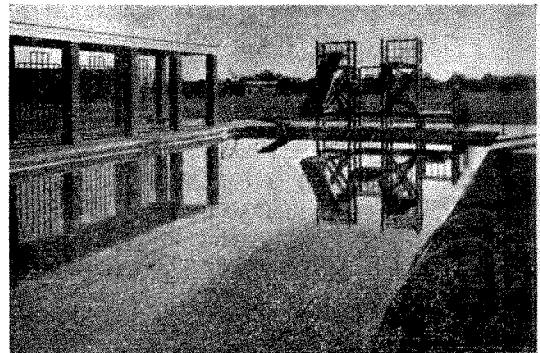
* *A Successful Experiment in Education* (1920-47) by Raghbir Singh and Kamala Bose. Published by Miss K. Bose, Delhi.



The handwork class room



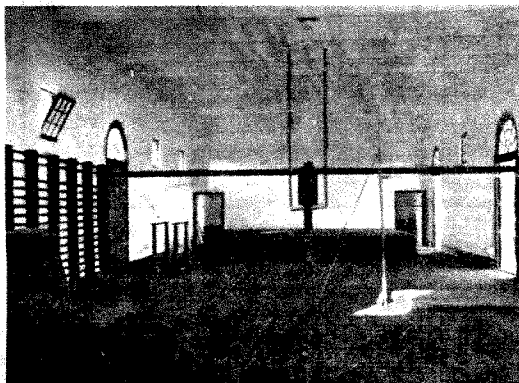
Montessori children at work



The swimming pool



Woodwork class



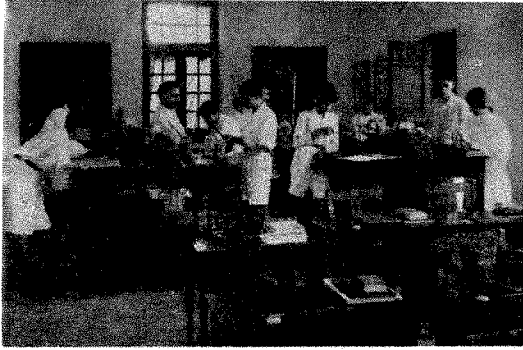
The gymnasium



Lala Raghbir Singh, the founder and builder of the school

sense of the word. We conclude with a significant quotation from Dinabandhu's above-mentioned article which also appears as the Preface of the book :

"The Modern School was founded in 1920. Its first home was at Daryaganj, Delhi, not far from the house



Science laboratory

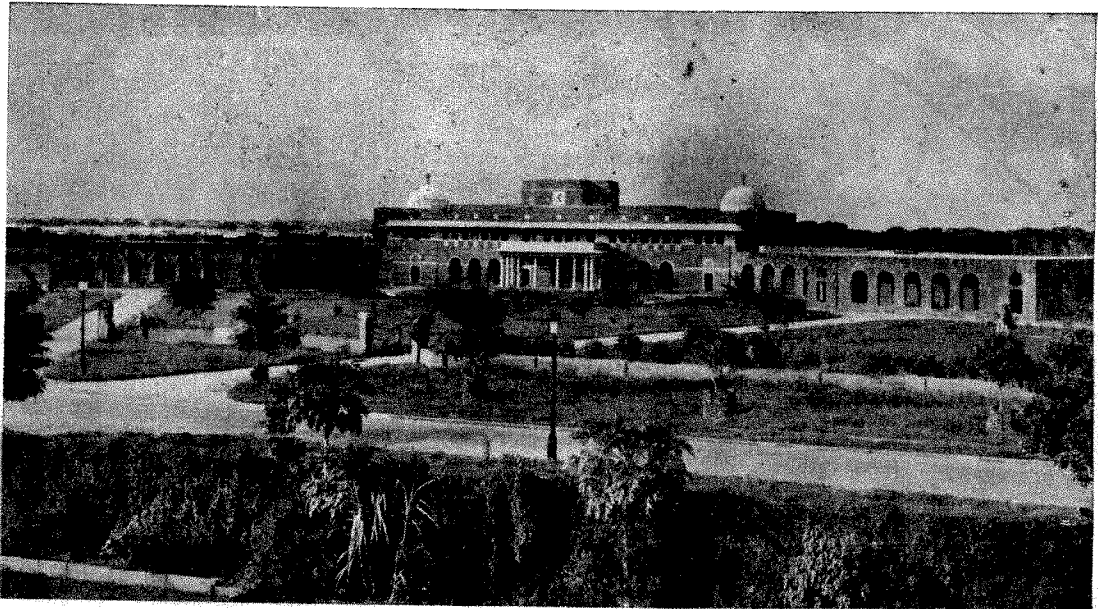
of Dr. Ansari. It aimed at creating a new type of education at the centre of Indian administration. . . . But in 1933 a glorious opportunity of expansion arose

and a new site was provided in Barakhamba Road, New Delhi, covering 25 acres of land for a completely new school with playing grounds and hostels attached.

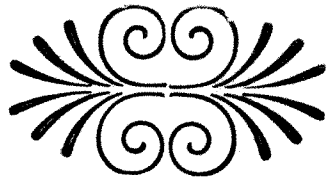
"The ideal represented in the school is similar to that known as the *Ecole Nouvelle* on the Continent of Europe, and the 'New Education Fellowship' in England. By far the larger proportion of the children are infants because the whole principle of education represented depends upon early training.

"From the very first the School was to be open to children of all religious denominations. It was to be entirely unsectarian in character. Hindus, Muslims, Parsees, Christians—all were welcome.

"It has been a great joy to me from the very first to see in this school the religious barriers entirely broken down among the children who are taught to respect and understand the faiths of other people. There is no attempt whatsoever to proselytise. At the same time there is a distinct religious atmosphere, with simple daily prayers addressed to the One Father of all mankind. During all these years, the religious difficulty has never been apparent. The children grow up without a trace of the old narrowness that used to keep them so much apart."



School building. Front view, 1937



RADIO'S ROLE IN U. S.

RADIO, the miracle of modern age, this year observes its 29th anniversary. In September, 1920, from the garage of his Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, home, Dr. Frank Conrad broadcast the first scheduled radio program at the request of a neighbourhood circle of fellow amateurs.

radio as a medium for advertising, initiated by chance, has mushroomed into a 300-million-dollar annual business.

PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

Financed by the American system

of the sale of time to advertisers, the radio broadcasting is privately owned and competitively operated; and its operation is regulated by the Federal Government. Private ownership of broadcasting stations allows a wide variety of organizations to enter the broadcasting field. Resulting competition for listener interest has benefited popular broadcasting. Thus the democratically controlled broadcaster gives the public programs which research and direct expression of opinion indicate to be most popular. As the listening majority would rather be entertained than edified, most of the programs offered by stations aim at listener enjoyment.

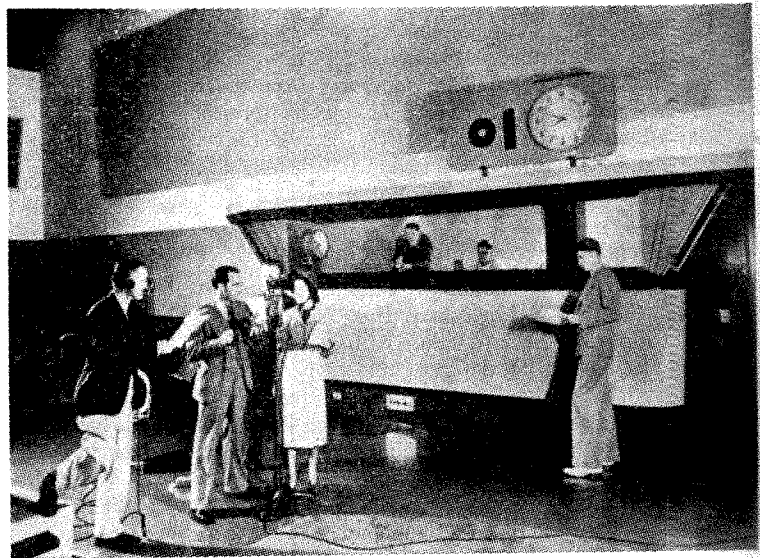
A survey of all night-time commercial programs on the four major networks during 1945, disclosed that about 50 per cent of the radio time was divided between variety and drama. News commentators and talks had about 16.3 per cent of the total time. Audience participation shows, such as quiz programs, used 12.2 per cent of the time and the remain-



Teleprinter room in a large U.S. broadcasting station. Here news from all parts of the world is received, sorted, edited and prepared for broadcasting

Dr. Conrad's twice-weekly broadcasts of music soon exhausted his supply of phonograph records. As he could not afford to purchase the number needed for continuing his venture, he borrowed records from a local phonograph dealer. This canny merchant in loaning the records requested that his store be mentioned as the source of supply, and so became the first commercial advertiser on the air.

Since that time, radio has become reporter, musician comedian, instructor, singer, actor and commentator in more than 34 million homes scattered throughout the United States. From that one amateur broadcasting station have developed 1,000 licensed standard broadcasting stations in addition to shortwave stations, and four national networks—the National Broadcasting Company (NBC) which was the first one established, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS), the Mutual Broadcasting Company (Mutual), and the American Broadcasting Company (ABC). The use of

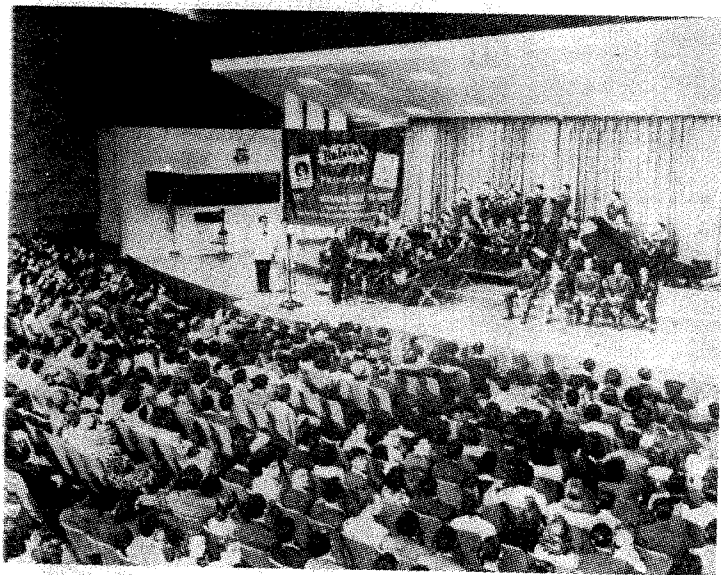


Actors in a radio drama play their parts while operators watch from the control-room in a large U.S. broadcasting studio

der was divided among programs of familiar, popular and classical music and children's programs.

Freedom of the air is zealously guarded. A Govern-

ment agency, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC), acts as a regulatory body to prevent radio stations from abusing the public interest. The Commission sees that available broadcasting facilities are distributed among the various sections of the country in proportion to the population so that all people receive adequate radio service. Stations exist by virtue of Government sanction through wavelength licenses granted by the FCC for a three-year period.



A capacity audience listens to Tommy Dorsey and his band in a commercially sponsored program

In renewing the licenses, the nature of a station's performance is taken into account on such points as public interest, convenience, necessity. Thus, while stations constantly point their programs to popular interest, they must also be aware of public service. Programs of entertainment, no matter how lucrative, must be balanced with those of an educational, religious, inspirational, informative and cultural nature.

IMPETUS TO CULTURAL ENDEAVOURS

In its ability to annihilate distance, radio has bridged the length and breadth of the United States. Over the national networks, the culture of metropolitan centers belongs to the most remote rural areas. Having stimulated a national taste for quality in entertainment, programs of music by the country's finest orchestras—the New York Philharmonic, the San Francisco Symphony, the Boston Symphony Orchestra and the NBC Orchestra, to mention a few—have given impetus to the development of symphony orchestras in smaller cities.

Other cultural endeavors, too, have been encouraged. Through national programs of book reviews, the American public is kept advised of the latest and best in literature. Even the best of the theater finds its way to the airwaves. Hollywood actors and actresses

have won a great radio public through broadcast dramatizations. The New York Theater Guild with its plays over the air, gives a widespread audience a theatrical treat otherwise available only to Broadway theatre-goers.

Probably the most important function of the United States radio is its dominant role in informing the American public, upon whose judgment democracy depends, about the affairs of the nation. The bulk of information is broadcast in regularly scheduled hourly news reports. When an event of great importance occurs, all scheduled broadcasts are interrupted so that it may be conveyed to the public. On-the-spot broadcasts transport listeners directly to the news-making activities ranging all the way from national political conventions, where presidents are nominated, to football games and boxing matches. And often news, itself, is made over the radio as when the President talks directly to the people he serves.

Subjects of national interest are taken up by radio broadcasts and presented in public-affairs forums, where both proponents and opponents of a given discussion voice their convictions. The oldest program of this kind is the "University of Chicago Round Table," which provides exchange and balance of opinions on fundamental questions affecting the United States people. It has an estimated audience of ten million listeners extending from Alaska to Mexico and the Caribbean countries.

Ninety per cent of American families own at least one radio set and the average man in the United States has come to take for granted the genii of his radio dial, who, upon the twist of a knob, awaits to serve him and produces miracles from thin air. In the early morning, the genii provides the latest news, weather forecasts, correct time reminders and the eye-opener jests of an announcer between musical interludes. His service continues throughout the day, when because most listeners are housewives, broadcasts cover such subjects as home economics, education, children's programs, public welfare work and the dramatic serials which have come to be known as "soap operas" because of the majority of them having been sponsored by big soap companies.

But it is at night time and during the hours of the week-end when the whole family is assembled that the genii performs at his best. For it is at these times that the big commercial sponsors vie with each other in presenting the best in American music, opinion and entertainment. And the program variety is so great, that the listener may, according to his taste, choose what he wishes.—USIS.

THOSE WHO SERVED US IN INDIA

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

In our freedom movement foreigners played no insignificant part. I have stressed this point in previous articles. Our struggle for independence derived much strength and sustenance also from the political activities of a few large-hearted Britishers in the Indian soil. In this noble band of selfless workers, the Reverend James Long occupies a high and honoured place. As a clergyman, Long was devoted more to humanitarian work than to political agitation. But his sufferings for humanitarian work were more responsible for rousing our political consciousness than anything else in the sixties of the nineteenth century. Hence no record of our freedom struggle will be complete without an account of Long. It was the Revd. Long who for the first time suffered imprisonment for pleading our cause. Allan Octavian Hume, originator of the Congress movement in India, and Henry James Stedman Cotton, once the Congress President, will also come in for treatment besides Long.

JAMES LONG (1814-1887)

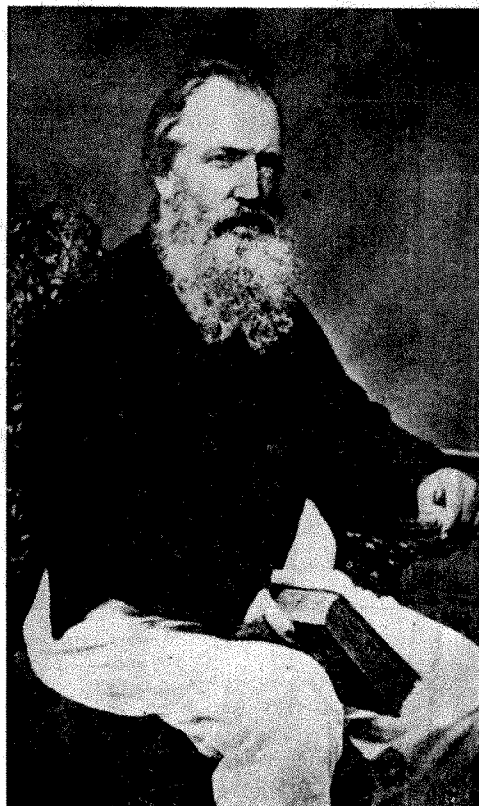
James Long came to India in 1840 as a missionary of the Church Missionary Society. He commenced work as a teacher in the Society's school at Mirzapore, Calcutta. His was a scholarly temperament. Like the missionaries of the earlier decades, such as Carey, Marshman, Yeates and Pearce, Long applied to the study of Bengali and Oriental classics. He also conducted research in the earlier activities of the Christian Missions, and as its first fruit appeared *Hand-Book of Bengal Missions* in 1848. Long must have picked up Bengali very quickly, because we find him in 1850 edit a monthly called *Satyarnab*. His work for Bengali literature deserves special mention. Long says :

"My peculiar position in Calcutta has brought me more in contact with the native press than other Missionaries, and this has led me as a member of the Christian School Book and Vernacular Literature Societies, to compile three volumes in Bengali of Selections which I made from the native press. I have also had to examine various Bengali manuscripts, and to edit works.*

For this and other literary pursuits Long was not paid a *cowrie* from the State or by any other party :

"Government, however, have encouraged me by publishing some of my Reports on the Native Press. In 1855, they published in the Selections of Bengal Government my 'Return of Authors and Translators of Vernacular Literature, etc. ;' of this 800 copies were printed by the direction of Sir F. Halliday, and of my 'Classified Catalogue of 1400 Bengali Books and Tracts' (which was also published in 1855) 300 copies were subscribed for by Government, so that the work paid its expenses. Of my returns relating to the Vernacular press in 1859, Government also published 500 copies."**

Long did not rest satisfied by publishing periodical reports on the Bengali press. He helped the authorities here and in England procure for them Bengali books in original. He set himself to this task because he sincerely believed that the ruling class must know



The Revd. James Long

the feelings of the ruled at every stage. Let us hear him again :

"I solemnly declare that I know nothing more important for the future security of Europeans in India and the welfare of the country, than that *all* classes of Europeans should watch the barometer of the Native mind. I feel strongly that peace founded on the contentment of the Native population is essential to the welfare of India, and that it is folly to shut our eyes to the warnings the Native Press may give."†

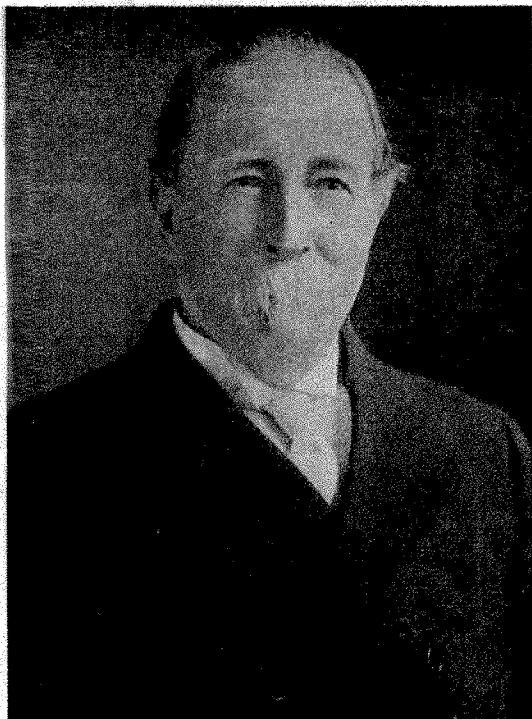
In this connection Long quoted in his support Lord William Bentinck's liberal views on the Indian press as "considering it was an index and safety valve for the public mind." Long further tells us that this folly of shutting out themselves from the native feeling led to the disasters of the Sepoy Mutiny. It was with

* *The Calcutta Christian Observer*, August, 1861, p. 347.

** *Ibid. Ibid.*

† *Ibid*, p. 350.

a view to avoiding a further disaster of far deeper variety that Long undertook the publication of a Bengali book in translation. This unexpectedly landed him into great troubles.



A. S. Sune)

The indigo system had spelt ruin on the ryots. Oppression and atrocities by the indigo-planters knew no bounds. There was a smouldering discontent among the people on this account. In some districts of middle-Bengal, the peasants rose in revolt against their oppressors in 1860. The Government could not overlook this distemper, and set up a commission to enquire into the Indigo affairs. The discomfiture of the planters both during and after the enquiry was great, their vanity was wounded, their prestige gone. Hitherto the views of the planters as well as their supporters were made known to the public, in season and out of season, through their memoranda, statements and pamphlets. But what the Bengalis actually felt on the subject had scarcely come to light. The drama *Nil Darpan* of Dinabandhu Mitra, published in 1860, depicted the real Bengali feeling in a direct, easy and unvarnished style. Long, as his wont, got a translation of it made by no less a renowned author and poet than Michael Madhusudan Dutt and had it published. As usual the Government subscribed to a few hundred copies and sent under its frank some copies to the well-meaning Britishers here and in England.

The English translation of *Nil Darpan* raised a hue and cry among the planters and their supporters here in Calcutta. They petitioned the Government for redress and questioned the validity of sending them, here, there and everywhere, under Government frank. The Landowners' and Commercial Association on their behalf sued the printer Manuel for this 'highly objectionable' piece. Under instructions of Long, Manuel's advocate divulged his name as the person responsible for this publication. Manuel was nominally fined Rs. 10 and let off.

There was no love lost between Long and the planters. The Landowners' and Commercial Association at their earliest opportunity indicted him for libel in the Supreme Court of Calcutta. Be it noted that some harsh words were spoken of the proprietors of the *Bengal Hurkaru* and the *Englishman* in the Preface which was also translated from the original. The Editor-proprietor of the latter paper, too, combined with the Association and brought a separate case against Long. Meanwhile, Long published a long statement dated June 20, 1861, in which he gave out the reasons for bringing out such a translation, from which a few extracts have been given above. The elite of our society, headed by Raja Radhakanta Deb, in a letter to Long, expressed their heartfelt gratitude for the translation of *Nil Darpan* which was 'an embodiment of native feeling' on the subject of indigo system in Bengal.

The notorious libel case against Long came up for hearing before Sir Mordaunt Wells in the Supreme Court on July 19, 1861, and continued for five subsequent days. The conduct of the Judge was questionable all throughout; on the day when the judgment was to be delivered sat along with Sir Mordaunt also Sir Barnes Peacock, the Chief Justice on the Bench. After the Jury had returned a verdict of guilty, Long was allowed to make a statement in the Court. In this historic statement Long again adverted to the reasons which led him to undertake the publication of this translation. He said that 'mere armies can no more secure the English in India than they established the Australians in Italy,' and then continued:

"Was it not my duty as a clergyman to help the good cause of peace, by showing that the great work of peace in India could be best secured by the contentment of the native population, obtainable only by listening to their complaints as made known by the native press and by other channels? I pass over French views in the East, but I say, forearmed is forewarned; and even at the expense of wounding their feelings in order to secure their safety, I wish to see the attention of my countrymen directed to this important subject."*

It may now appear strange that Long was punished by those whom he primarily meant to serve in this way. But at that time most of the Britishers were obsessed with a sense of race-superiority and

* *Ibid*, p. 357.

began to look down upon the people they ruled. The Judge Sir Mordaunt Wells accepting the verdict of the Jury convicted Long on these two counts, viz., (1) wilfully and maliciously libelling the proprietors of the *Englishman* and *Hurkaru* newspapers; and (2) libelling, with the same intent a class of persons designated as the Indigo Planters of Lower Bengal. Long was fined Rs. 1,000 and imprisoned in the Common Jail of Calcutta for the period of one calendar month. Most of the leaders of the Indian community were present in the Court in person to help and serve Long in any way they could. The famous Kaliprasanna Singha of Jorasanko at once deposited the fine to the Court.

The incarceration of the Revd. James Long was perhaps the first of its kind in India having great political repercussions on the public mind. Long has been immortalised in a Bengali verse the purport of which runs as follows :

"The monkey of a planter has laid waste golden Bengal,
Harish has died a premature death, Long has been gaoled,
This time it will be very difficult for us to survive and stand erect."

Long lived in Bengal for a decade more and carried on his literary pursuits unceasingly. Bengali literature is indebted to him in no small degree. He compiled three books of Bengali proverbs with the help of Nabin Chandra Banerjee and Rangalal Banerjee in 1868, 1869 and 1872. Long left the shores of India in 1872. He never forgot Bengal and Bengali literature, and, while in England, wrote for the Trubner Oriental Series. He died in 1887.

ALLAN OCTAVIAN HUME (1829-1912)

Born of a father, 'a radical of the deepest dye' and nurtured from boyhood in the midst of 'Anti-Corn Law' agitation, Allan Octavian Hume acquired a temperament not in tune with those of the commonalty. He came to India as a civilian officer in 1849 and freely mixed with the people wherever he was posted. During the Mutiny, Hume was in charge of Etawah, the only district in the North-West which escaped the ravages of the mutineers and the atrocities of the military. He rose to higher posts till he became Secretary to the Government of India. He served in this post from 1870 to 1879. It was due to his broad outlook and sturdy independence of character that he could not fit in with British Indian hierarchy, which then went by the name of the Simla clique. Instead of being given the prize-post of a governorship, he was relegated to the humbler post of Secretary to the Revenue Department, with its headquarters at Allahabad. From here he retired in 1882.

During his long official career Hume came in contact with all classes of the Indian people and made himself conversant with their feelings, aims and aspirations. Oftentimes Hume could not wholeheartedly support the British policy pursued in India.

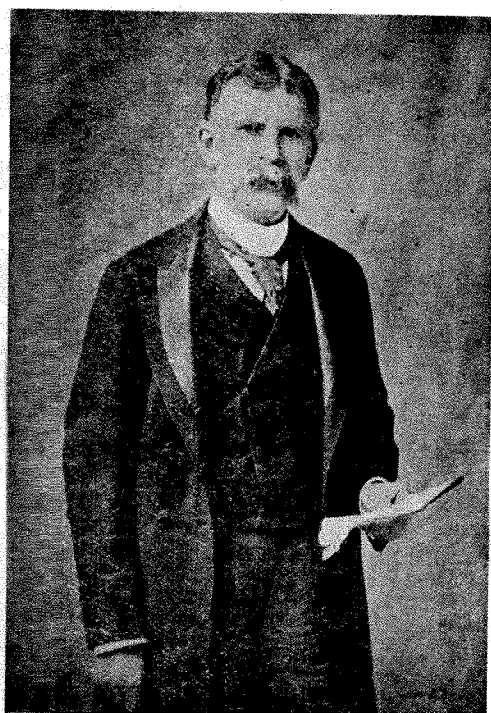
But he was a firm believer in Indo-British connection. The mishandling of the state of affairs by the British officers and the consequent unrest among the Indian people struck at the root of that connection. Hume wanted the Indians to progress politically, and he wanted no less the British rule in India set on a firm footing. But how these two seemingly contradictory objects were to be attained, was the all-absorbing thought with Hume. While Secretary to the Government, Hume scented a widespread revolution in the South which, if it had seen the light of day, would have been far wider and deeper than the Sepoy Mutiny, of which he had had considerable personal experience. What was the remedy? Lord William Bentinck considered the Indian press as the safety-valve of public feelings. Since then much water had flown under the Bridge of the Hugli. Some newer medium must be devised, whereby the public feelings should be systematically given vent to, and the vagaries of the bureaucratic officialdom curbed. In a memorable address to the graduates of the Calcutta University, which then covered the whole of Upper India, dated March 1, 1883, he urged them to stand united and be ready for any sacrifice in order to serve their motherland. The address begins with these memorable words :

"Constituting as you do, a large body of the most highly educated Indians, you should, in the natural order of things, constitute also the most important source of all mental, moral, social and political progress in India. Whether in the individual or the nation, all vital progress must spring from within, and it is to you, her most cultured and enlightened minds, her most favoured sons, that your country must look for the initiative. In vain may aliens, like myself, love India and her children, as well as the most loving of these; in vain may they, for her, and their good, give time and trouble, money and thought; in vain may they struggle and sacrifice; they may assist with advice and suggestions; they may place their experience, abilities, and knowledge at the disposal of the workers, but they lack the essential of nationality, and the real work must ever be done by the people of the country themselves."*

Noble sentiments, nobly couched! But it should not be forgotten that ever since the mid-seventies a noble band of Bengali nationalists, headed by Surendranath Banerjee, Ananda Mohan Bose and others, were striving hard to raise the political consciousness in the youths through the Indian Association. The exhortation on Indian unity and sacrifice, coming as it did from such a high authority as Mr. Hume attracted all-India notice, and leaders in different provincial cities assembled to devise ways and means for the establishment of effective political organisations. Hume toured the country, consulted the leaders and, being sure of their support, went to England to sound the friends of India there. He also made arrangements with the leading newspapers for the prompt insertion of the Indian news in their columns. He returned to India in late 1885. With

* Allan Octavian Hume. By Sir W. Wedderburn, 1912, pp. 40-1.

the above object in view Hume approached Lord Dufferin, then Viceroy of India. Consultation with him led to considerable changes in his programme. Hume had originally planned to institute different associations in the provincial chief towns with the highest official at the helm, emphasis being laid at the beginning more on social than on political matters. Dufferin asked him to start a single institution on an all-India basis with emphasis mainly on politics, and to make it look and act like a full-fledged opposition as in the British Parliament, and appoint a leading non-official as Chairman. Hume remodelled his plan accordingly, and the Indian National Congress came into being in December 1885. The Congress naturally became a link between the Government and the people and for a long time remained as such.



Henry John Stedman Cotton

But the hard-hearted officialdom could not brook even this little thing. Partly by creating divisions among our ranks and partly by misrepresenting the objects of the Congress, they tried to nip it in the bud. They resorted to foul propaganda. Here came Hume to his rescue. We find him at his best as a controversialist. He exposed the reasons behind their hostility to be that these crazy fellows feared, lest with the powers of the Congress increased, their prestige might be lowered and power curtailed. In his *The Old Man's Hope* in 1888, Hume exhorted the Indians to cultivate self-help, because it was by this alone that we could aspire to make ourselves great and powerful as a nation. His soul-stirring poem,

inserted in the introduction of the booklet, deserves to be read and re-read even today. The poem begins as follows :

"Sons of Ind, why sit ye idle,
Wait ye for some Deva's aid ?
Buckle to, be up and doing !
Nations by themselves are made !"

It concludes with the following exhortation :
Ask no help from Heaven or Hell !
In yourselves alone seek aid !
He that wills, and dares, has all ;
Nations by themselves are made !

Sons of Ind, be up and doing,
Let your course by none be stayed,
Lo ! the dawn is in the East ;
By themselves are nations made !

For about a decade Hume reared the Congress as a mother rears her child. He was its General Secretary till his departure for England in 1894. His hobby was ornithology and, while in England, Botany was added to it. But India was always uppermost in his mind. His services during the Morley-Minto Reforms were remarkable. A firm believer in the sanctity of Indo-British connection, Hume breathed his last on the 31st July, 1912 at the ripe old age of eighty-six.

HENRY JOHN STEDMAN COTTON (1845-1915)

Next to Hume, should be mentioned the name of Sir Henry John Stedman Cotton. His father and grandfather served India as civilian officers under the East India Company. Cotton competed for the I.C.S. examination successfully and joined the service here in 1867. He was quite alive to the older traditions of the Civil Service. After serving as district officer, he found a place in the Bengal Secretariat as Secretary to the Bengal Government, Revenue Department, in 1888. Next year he was transferred to the Finance. He was the Chief Secretary to the Bengal Government from 1891 to 1896. After serving a short term as Acting Home Secretary to the Government of India in the latter year, he was made Chief Commissioner in Assam and remained there as such till 1902 when he retired.

This is the long and short of Cotton's official career. But we are here concerned more with the valuable services he rendered to our countrymen even while in the Government employ. The I. C. S. had by 1880 become a close preserve for the whites. The aspirations of educated Indians received a rude set-back. It was an act of no little courage that an Englishman of the Service should now come forward to defend their cause as against the machinations of his own kith and kin. He it was, who wrote for his countrymen at home a book entitled *New India, or India in Transition* in 1885, giving out reasons for India's legitimate claims for a share in the government and the bureaucratic indifference to fulfil them. Education is the mighty leveller. Spread of a higher type of English education had removed the last

vestige of British superiority over the Indians. But unfortunately this was the ground of racial animosity between the two races. He laid great emphasis on the fact that not only the educated Indians were held in respect by the masses, but they took up the latter's leadership in right earnest. Cotton referred to Bengal's contributions to this countrywide resurgence in these glowing terms:

"The educated classes are the voice and brain of the country. The Bengali Baboos now rule public opinion from Peshawar to Chittagong; and although the natives of North-Western India are immeasurably behind those of Bengal in education and in their sense of political independence, they are gradually becoming amenable as their brethren of the lower provinces to intellectual control and guidance. A quarter of a century ago there was no trace of this, the idea of any Bengalee influence in the Punjab would have been a conception incredible to a Lord Lawrence, to a Montgomery, or a Macleod, yet it is the case that during the past year the tour of a Bengalee lecturer, lecturing in English in Upper India, assumed the character of a triumphal progress; and at the present moment the name of Surendra Nath Banerjee excites as much enthusiasm among the rising generation of Mooltan as in Dacca."*

Cotton's work in the districts as well as at the Secretariat was always tempered by the feeling that he was here to serve the people. While in Assam, he came into direct conflict with the European tea-planters. Their treatment of the tea-garden labourers was most inhumane. These labourers were reduced to serfdom. Cotton, as Chief Commissioner of Assam, sought to improve their lot. He thereby incurred the odium of the vested interests. But this could not deter him from his work. He expressed his sentiments, while addressing the Shillong Club on the 24th April, 1902, as follows:

"Not for the first time have I stood as the champion of the oppressed. I have always been the protector of the weak against the strong, and in the discharge of this duty have trod on the

* *New India or India in Transition*, 1885, pp. 15-6.

corns of many powerful interests. I am old enough to remember how the most illustrious of Indian officials—Sir Frederick Halliday and Sir John Peter Grant—were attacked with even greater virulence in their day for doing their duty. But time has triumphantly vindicated their reputation and I can afford to appeal to the same tribunal."

Cotton was opposed to the British policy pursued here by Lord Curzon. While in England, he carried on propaganda along with other friends of India against this policy. He wrote several letters to the *Times* in opposition to Lord Curzon's policy in Tibet. The question of the Partition of Bengal was then looming large, and Cotton expressed in strong terms his disapproval of the contemplated measure. The Indians could not but honour such a relentless fighter of their cause. They conferred on him the highest honour they had at their disposal by electing him President of the Indian National Congress in 1904. Cotton criticized in no uncertain terms in the Presidential address the retrograde measures of the government. He asked the governmental authorities both here and in England to give due consideration to the demand of reforms so that the educated Indians might have a real share in the governance of their motherland. He referred to the New Spirit that was manifesting itself in the Indian press and forewarned the powers-that-be to take immediate note of them. Cotton believed with Hume that the political salvation of India lay in her co-operation and collaboration with the better minds of England; unless sufficient notice was taken of the Time spirit, the tie of friendship between England and India might be loosened and cause unspeakable injury to both.

Cotton served us in more ways than one for the remaining years of his life. He was an active member of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress and wrote for its organ *India*. He also contributed papers on India to influential English journals. His unstinted and zealous services can never be said too much of.

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PLASTICS MANUFACTURE IN THE UNITED STATES

THE advancement of the manufacture of plastics in the United States from the novelty field to full industry stature was signalized in April, 1946, by the First National Plastics Exposition in New York City. The exposition marked a new milestone in the plastics industry's progress. Production of some 310 million pounds in plastics in 1940 has now risen to the present output of more than 1,000 million pounds.

Since 1932 investment in plants and equipment has increased ten-fold and, as present demand for plastics far exceeds supply, the industry is currently expanding its material-producing facilities by expending more than 100 million dollars for new plants.

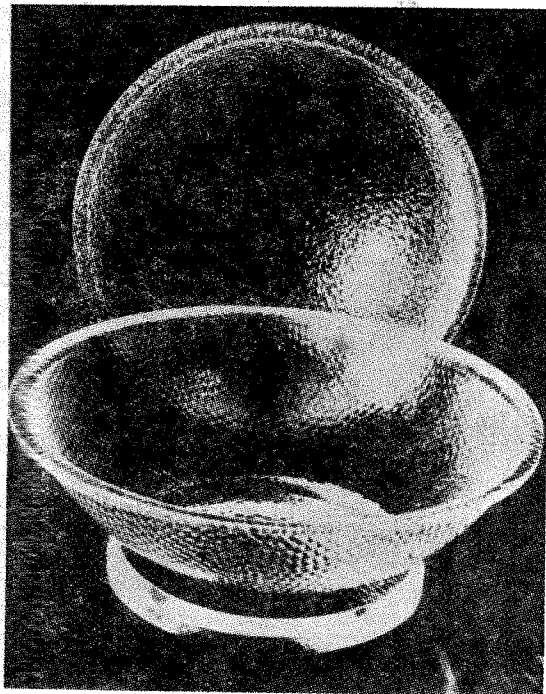
"Nothing can stop plastics," said Ronald Kinnear, chairman of the exposition committee, in an address announcing the opening of the exposition. "Large size moldings which heretofore were thought impossible are now commonplace. Who would have thought 12 months ago that it was possible to mold a motor-boat? Yet this is now a routine manufacturing procedure.

"One of the great unexplored markets for plastics is home construction. Developments are under way which, when they are completed, will make it possible to build a home with large wall sections of low-pressure molded panels.

"In the field of furniture, plastics have a great

potential in the manufacture of structural parts of furniture, and there is no foreseeable limit as to how they may be used for upholstery. The textile field has only begun to see and feel the impact of plastics."

More than 15,000 trade representatives attended the exposition during the trade sessions and viewed the exhibits of nearly 200 end-product and machinery manufacturers.



Plastic bowls and trays made from patterned *lucite* in shatter-resistant sheets

Pointing out that many of the industry's war-stimulated developments were being shown for the first time in their new peacetime roles, Mr. Kinnear opened the show by cutting through a coating of vinylite plastic applied by the United States Navy Laboratories to the front door of the exposition hall. This was a demonstration of the new use of plastics for sealing machinery and guns to prevent deterioration and rust, and is being currently used by the Navy in its decommissioning program involving more than 2,000 ships.

LARGE RANGE OF PRODUCTS

The products and processes on display ranged from window screens that need never be painted and come in all colors of the rainbow to plastic luggage light enough to lift with a finger but strong enough to support the weight of a man. Bugles and trumpets were shown which require no warming up. Apparel was on display that may be wiped clean with a moist cloth. Also shown were a plastic toy which makes other plastic toys, fishing lines lighter than twine and

stronger than steel, new transparent packaging materials, "Plexiglass" handcarved flowers and an artificial hand which looked and moved like a human hand.

One major Delaware company showed six new plastic developments for the first time. These comprised "teffon," a plastic that withstands all acids; nylon plastic sheeting for leather-like applications; cellular



One of the many new items shown at the First National Plastics Exposition in New York City, May, 1946, was this Plasticor toy which makes other plastic toys

cellulose acetate, known as CCA; a foamed plastic lighter than cork; BCM resin in structural panels reinforced with glass fabrics or other materials; patterned "lucite" in shatter-resistant sheets, and luminescent lucite sheets, which glow when exposed to ultra-violet or "black" light.

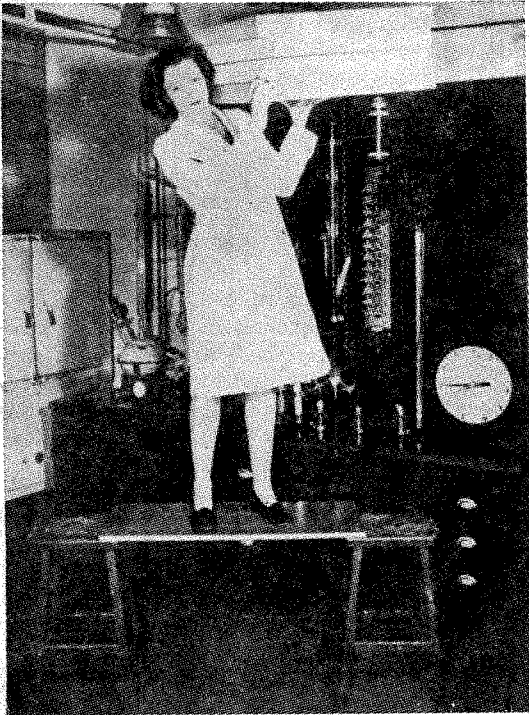
A new solution, known as "syton," which will aid in making women's stockings run-proof, was shown by another exhibitor.

A textile-treating resin which imparts a crispness to cotton fabrics, eliminating the necessity for starch in such garments as women's house dresses, children's play clothes and shirts, also was exhibited. Now commercially available to textile finishers, this new resin treatment is applied at the time of manufacture.

Also on exhibit by the same company was a new contact resin for laminating with glass or textile fabrics at low pressure and temperature, and a chip-proof permanent white enamel for refrigerators, washing machines and other kitchen appliances.

Silicone rubber, the new synthetic rubber used in wartime, also was shown in various peacetime applications of the product, particularly in gaskets for drying and baking ovens.

the eye as easily as ordinary spectacles. Based on the principle of a cone-shaped surface resting tangent to the eyeball, the tangent contact of the lens forestalls irritation.



This American laboratory worker holds blocks of a new foamed plastic which is lighter than cork and yet stronger than steel, while standing on a panel in which the same plastic is used as the core

Paint manufacturers, hard hit by an acute shortage of natural oils and resins, were interested in a new synthetic copolymer resin, pliolite-S-5m, which can be used as an effective substitute. A variety of pliolite compounds used as rubber reinforcing agents for paper and fabric coatings was shown.

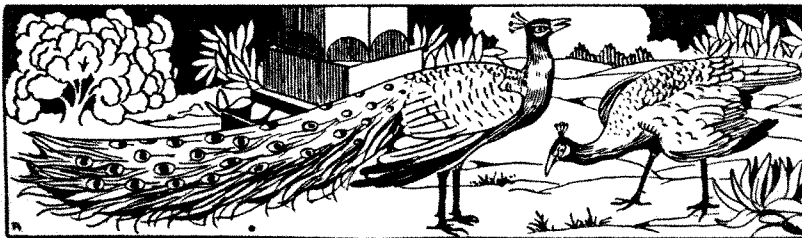
Another plastic product on exhibition was a contact lens, which can be mass-produced, fitted and worn over



A new hat fashion for women made from transparent *tumarith* plastic

One purpose of the exposition was to demonstrate how co-ordination between producers of plastic materials and fabricators of finished articles could successfully develop tailor-made plastics for each individual purpose.

Representatives of plastic machinery manufacturers, who were interviewed by the press at the exposition, warned, however, that there was such a heavy backlog of orders that in many instances deliveries of new machinery could not be made in time.—*USIA*.



INDIAN JOURNALISM Attributes of Great Editorship

By C. L. R. SASTRI

In my book on *Journalism* I had occasion to devote considerable space to thumb-nail sketches of many of the foremost editors of English newspapers dead as well as living. I was impelled to do so for several reasons. There was, in the first place, the personal equation. I knew a lot of those editors, having studied their writings with the care and the attention that they so richly merited. They bore names that were familiar not only throughout the English-speaking world, but throughout that part of the world which is reputed to be civilized; on the Continent, especially, they were held both in awe and in esteem. We, in India, perhaps, cannot quite bring ourselves to understand their unique position. That is because we are not privileged to have in our midst at the moment a single figure that can bear even the remotest resemblance to those unquestioned giants, whose every word was read by the public with the closest scrutiny and weighed in the most delicate of intellectual balances. C. P. Scott of the *Manchester Guardian* and H. W. Massingham of the *Nation* (and, earlier, of the *Daily Chronicle*) and J. A. Spender of the *Westminster Gazette* and A. G. Gardiner of the *Daily News* "magnoperated", to use a familiar phrase of the late Mr. James Agate, in their several papers at about the same time; and, though they have all passed away, their impact on the world of journalism can still be felt by sensitive souls and their contribution to it properly assessed. Scott and Massingham were each a host in himself. About Massingham's quality both as an editor and as a writer of English, "of purest ray serene," I have expressed my opinion in my book and have expressed it in no uncertain terms.

SPENDER ON MASSINGHAM

Here is Spender's tribute to him—a colleague and a contemporary—in the first volume of his magnificent reminiscences, *Life, Journalism and Politics* (Cassel, 1927):

"Most of the rewards which go with distinction in other professions are denied to the journalist. He may spend a life-time in the most honourable public service and his name be scarcely heard of outside Fleet Street, or, indeed, outside his newspaper office. He is the 'mere journalist'; the universities do not know him, the 'real literary' people have only a nodding acquaintance with him. I have been a guest at literary dinners and listened gratefully while popular writers have expressed a hope that I should one day 'get out of journalism' and 'write a book' which might be worth considering. This attitude is undoubtedly a little galling, and I do think that some of these literary and academic beings might consider a little what 'mere journalism' is to those who practise it skilfully and conscientiously, and cease to consider it as an inferior and rather disreputable branch of literature. It is, after all, far easier to write most kinds of books than to keep up a steady and effective flow of journalism for even a few months together. The literary accomplishment of Massingham, to mention only one man who has

lately passed from the scene—a man who never wrote a book—was a joy to the craftsman of letters, and I cannot believe that students of literature in future days will fail to note its rare qualities of delicacy and skill." (Pp. 138-9.)

"G. B. S." had, earlier, commended Massingham in much the same fashion:

"If he (Massingham) had left behind him a single book, it would have spoilt the integrity of his career and of his art. I could lay my hand more readily on ten contributors for his successor than on one successor for his contributors." (H. W. M.: Cape, 1925, p. 216.)

SOME INDIAN EDITORS

I have suggested that we, in India, cannot, perhaps, quite bring ourselves to understand the unique position that Massingham and others occupied, "while this machine was to them," because we are not privileged to have in our midst a single figure who can bear even the remotest resemblance to those unquestioned giants. In the past we had been just a little more fortunate. There was, for instance, G. Subramanya Iyer, the doyen of Indian journalists, who, by universal consent, was acclaimed as being not only in the first flight of editors, but as being the very first in that first flight. There was Kristo Das Pal who was the recipient of not much less glowing encomiums alike from his brethren of the craft and from those of other professions. There was Babu Ramananda Chatterjee who, though of a shy and retiring disposition, was known almost as widely in the Antipodes as in his own beloved Motherland through his famous periodical, *The Modern Review* of Calcutta. There was C. Y. Chintamani. (I am, of set purpose, omitting the accolade which, in a moment of uncharacteristic weakness, he accepted a few years before his sudden demise in 1941) who contrived to shed comparable lustre on the *Leader* of Allahabad. (He would turn in his grave if he were acquainted with the subsequent transformation of his "one and only beloved." It carried on as a ghost of itself until 1944 when, succumbing to the new wave of "syndicalism" that has, of late, been sweeping the country from end to end, it passed into Congress—and capitalistic—hands, to become a third, or fourth, carbon copy of the *Hindustan Times*, a paper whose name was unfamiliar when that of the *Leader* itself had been a household word in the entire north. I, for one, cannot help thinking that the gods should have decreed a more decent fate to it than this, and that a natural death would have been infinitely better than the inglorious conversion into the Allahabad edition of that Delhi organ).

THE CLAY AND THE POTTER

In the same category comes the venerable K. Natarajan of the *Indian Social Reformer*. No Indian journalist ever wielded a chaster, a more elegant, pen than Natarajan's, nor can I recall worthier illustrations

than his editorials of "moderation in action." He was one of the very few journalists who could be trusted to subordinate his emotion to his judgment, which, one instinctively guesses, was born "in full panoply", like Pallas Athene from the head of Zeus. I wonder whether he ever wrote, or (for that matter) ever *could* write, a 'fiery' or a 'swashbuckling' leader. His articles were a delight to read—alike on the score of their purity of diction and on that of their marvellous erudition. Though a "Liberal" in the grain his devotion to the Mahatma was boundless, and his services to the Congress, through his mouthpiece, in the 1930 Civil Disobedience Movement are past computation. His mind was at home not only in the practical realm of politics but also in the more abstruse regions of literature and of philosophy : consequently his eye for parallels was unerring.

He and Chintamani and Karunakara Menon (of the now long since defunct *Indian Patriot* of Madras) all learned the rudiments of their art at the feet of G. Subramanya Iyer ; and it is a lasting testimony to the inherent greatness of that common master that the pupils, without a single exception, blossomed forth, in their several ways, into top-rank journalists themselves, thus proving experimentally that, in the ultimate analysis, the clay is not everything,—the potter's hand having its appointed share in the building-up process. Subramanya Iyer could have consoled himself with the reflection :

"I am the teacher of athletes,
He that by me spreads a wider breast than my
own proves the width of my own.
He most honours my style who learns under
it to destroy the teacher."

JOURNALISTS AND HONOURS

I have observed, in parenthesis, that Chintamani, to whom, and to whose paper, the title "Thunderer," bestowed on the *London Times*, would have been equally appropriate, should never have condescended to accept the knighthood that was conferred upon him. Somehow these so-called "marks of honour" sit strangely on journalists as a class, and even more strangely on those journalists who are thoroughly independent-minded. They very rarely fail to dilute the wine of their former independence and integrity. What the late Mr. Spender, editor of that distinguished "sea-green incorruptible", the *Westminster Gazette*, says on this subject in his book aforementioned, *Life, Journalism and Politics*, is worth close study by his colleagues in the profession. After revealing that he had seen fit to refuse the "honour" that had been sought to be thrust on him by a grateful Liberal Government, on being returned to Parliament by an overwhelming majority in the 1906 elections, he proceeds :

"My view was (and is) that in the peculiar relations in which he stands to the Government, the working political journalist does better not to put himself in a position in which he seems either to be receiving a reward for past 'services' or to be placing himself under an obligation to render future

ones . . . Looking at all the conditions, and knowing the innumerable subtle influences—many of them most difficult to resist—which prevent the firm expression of opinion, I own I should like to see the working journalists generally make it a rule that, so long as they are working journalists, they will not accept this particular form of 'recognition'." (Vol. I, pp. 137-8).

I have mentioned the names of a few Indian journalists who could stand some sort of comparison with their English confreres. But they—one and all—belong to the irreclaimable past. At the present time we cannot boast of a single editor who deserves being mentioned in the same breath as those veterans of the English, or the Indian, variety. This is not necessarily to be a *laudator temporis acti*, to be a worshipper of the past simply because it is the past ; it is merely to express a pregnant truth, however unpleasant. "We are all mighty fine fellows," no doubt, as "R.L.S." said in another connection, but we cannot hold a candle either to the Scotts and Massinghams, or to the Subramanyams and Natarajans.

"OLD" AND "NEW" JOURNALISM

I started by saying that I took occasion, in my book on *Journalism*, to devote what many were constrained to regard as somewhat disproportionate space to the belauding of not a few of England's most famous editors. My chief purpose in so doing was to inbue in us, who are but their humble camp-followers, a due sense of reverence and emulation. The times, I am aware, are not propitious for the first : we are, evidently, not only as good as our fathers but are, if possible, considerably better than our fathers. But I do believe that, notwithstanding the strains and stresses of our hectic life, we are not past praying for as far as the second is concerned. As I had been at so much pains to expound elsewhere, I am a votary in the shrine of the "old" journalism, and am decidedly of the opinion that the "new" is not a patch upon it. If this view of mine is correct, it follows that we cannot have too much of emulation. Even then, of course, we may not all become the Scotts and Massinghams, the Spenders and Gardiners, of our generation. Our duty is to strive, to strive as none ever strove before, leaving the reward where it rests—on the knees of the gods.

Besides, the supremely great journalist, like the supremely great poet, is born, not made : nor (worse luck !) is the moment of his arrival heralded by any signs and portents. Even the acknowledged giants cannot boast of their nativity as Glendower boasted of his :

" at my nativity
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,
Of burning cressets ; and at my birth
The frame and huge foundation of the earth
Shaked like a coward."

There is more truth in what "H.W.M." says at the beginning of his review of Mr. H. M. Tomlinson's book, *London River*, in the *Nation* of March 12, 1921 (reprinted in *H. W. M.*, p. 191) :

"Artists appear at rare intervals; but there is one simple test of practice of their arrival. The moment they begin to handle their material, the world discovers what an extraordinarily rich and plastic thing it is. It does not matter very much what subject they choose; it matters not at all how often that subject has been treated. The last Madonna may be as good as the first, and there is always a fleet of fighting Temeraires to be towed to their berth."

JOURNALISTS' "ULTIMA THULE"

It has been said that every soldier on the battlefield carries the baton of a Field-Marshal in his knapsack. So does every working journalist aspire to be the full-blooded editor of a newspaper. That is his *Ultima Thule*, Nirvana, Journey's End, what you will. (A "free-lance" journalist, however, has his nomination automatically cancelled in these editorial stakes: once a "free-lance" always a "free-lance"). But we live in a fast-moving world, where "go-getting" is the supreme law, having any day more sanctity than the Ten Commandments, and I have known persons that had been practising lawyers till the other day suddenly abandoning the precincts of the various law courts in order to grace the editorial chair of an important paper or periodical; and making a good job of it, too, if circulation figures are any criterion. Nay, I have known persons that could not be said to have had even this redeeming qualification, or any qualification for that matter—least of all that of writing—pitchforked into the editorial *gadi*, and, what is more astounding still, contriving to remain there for years and years, with a steadily widening halo around their heads, a nimbus as large as life itself. But this is "Indian" journalism all over, a journalism that has its own standards—or, rather, to be candid, lack of standards.

In spite of these exceptions, however, journalists, even in India, have, in most cases, to work their way up to the editorship, beyond which there is nothing in the journalistic hierarchy. The road is long, and the journey tedious, and by far the majority of the aspirants fall by the way-side: all the more, it seems to me, should we hand out bouquets to the few—the miserably few—that do succeed in occupying the Big Chief's room *on their own merits* and not by virtue of that modern "rope-trick"—the upward pushing of their proteges to "the topless towers of Ilium" by benevolent godfathers, a kind of supercapillary action unknown to pure science.

WHO IS A GREAT EDITOR?

What is it that distinguishes the great editor from the ordinary one? There is such a thing as "editorial personality." A great editor imposes that personality upon the whole paper—from the first page to the last. Henceforward it bears his unmistakable stamp. Nobody cares to enquire about the common run of newspapers as to who their editors are: one is as good, or as bad, as another. But there are a few which compel one to ask that question. The fact of their

possessing a distinguished editor sticks out a mile. For this purpose the editor should be an exceptionally gifted journalist himself. He must be fully conversant with the tricks of his trade: then only can he employ other gifted journalists under him. Here, as elsewhere, team-work counts, and the man responsible for the assembling of the team is none else but the editor. This does not fail to impress the public before long. The articles are generally written round a particular point of view, and if there is any "damnable iteration" it is eminently excusable.

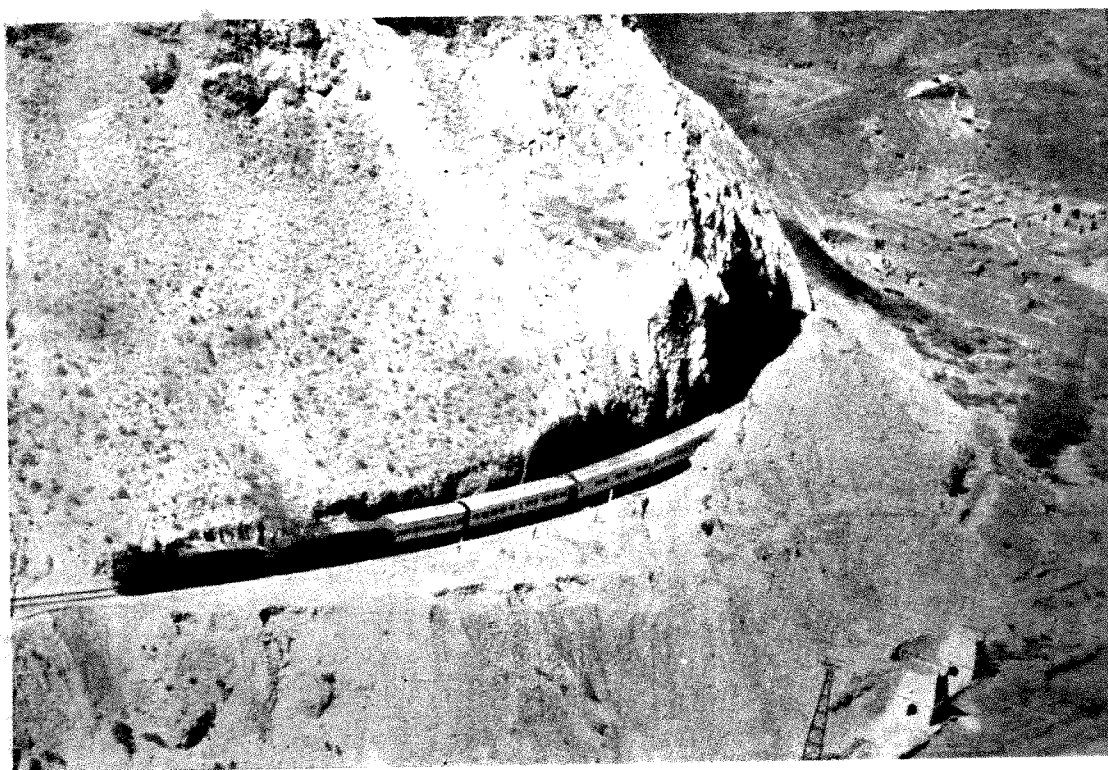
Then there is the question of thorough independence and integrity. Your great editor has certain unalterable principles and he will sooner let the paper perish than abandon them. The word "equivocation" does not find a place in his dictionary. He does not trim his sails to the prevailing political wind. Nor is he an undue respecter of persons. He writes articles that breathe this indomitable spirit in every line. The craze for compromise, for appeasement at any cost, is alien to him, his *forte* being, rather, to hammer away, for what he is worth, at certain fundamentals of political action that he has contrived, after laborious study, to make his own. He curries no one's favours, nor does he blench from anyone's frowns. He never takes the line of least resistance. He is a "live wire" among his contemporaries, and he turns his paper into a "live wire" among its contemporaries. In other words, he stands four square to all the winds that blow. Such an editor was C. P. Scott and such an editor was H. W. Massingham; such an editor is Mr. Gerald Barry of the *News Chronicle*; such an editor was C. Y. Chintamani.

But look around Indian papers now and you will rarely come across such an editor—least of all in Congress papers, which have *practically no politics but only personalities*, and whose one hobby is to dance to the tune of the Congress, irrespective of what the tune is. *It is the papers that must give a lead to the politicians, not vice versa.* And by "papers," of course, is meant their editors. Thus it has happened, not once, but any number of times, that one cannot pin these editors down to a fixed view for even a few days on end: they have no firm conviction of their own, depending entirely, as they do, on the Congress to lend them one provisionally. Reading Congress papers, with their adroit performances on the political trapeze, gives one not relief or relaxation but a sort of "morning-after" sensation. The drawback of Indian newspapers generally is this preternatural dependence upon the whims and caprices of those politicians who happen to occupy the centre of the stage at a given moment; and it is humiliating to observe how they have trained themselves to faun on certain prominent figures, belauding them to the skies for their heinous offences no less than for their glorious achievements.

The whole spirit of Indian politics today is antagonistic to the growth of a virile journalism. "No birds are flying over-head: there are no birds to fly."



Pahlgam, the last village on the way to the caves of Amarnath



The Khyber Pass



Major General Atma Singh inspecting the ceremonial parade of the Mahratta Light Infantry on the Jhangar Day celebration at Jhangar



General Shrinagesh inspecting a ceremonial parade of troops at Jammu

PROSPECTS OF THE TITO REGIME

By SUBRATA ROY CHOWDHURY, M.A. (Cal.), B.A. (Cantab.), Barrister-at-Law

MARSHAL Tito ranks foremost among the men of outstanding abilities of the present time. A loyal and seasoned Communist, for the past twenty years he has, as an agent of the Comintern, done excellent work in various parts of Europe. He returned to Yugoslavia a short while before the last war, and ever since has shown great qualities of leadership in organizing the Communist Party. The most magnificent performance; however, he displayed in his guerrilla warfare and resistance movement. He created, as *The New Statesman and Nation* pointed out, a highly trained and efficient army out of peasant boys which had held twenty-five divisions of the enemy, and outfought Germans, Hungarians, Italians, Ustashi, and Chetniks. He became the unchallenged leader of the Yugoslav people.

The economic reforms that Tito had introduced since the liberation brought more support from the masses. Industry, transport and wholesale distribution were fully socialized. Retail distributing centres, all shops including one-man concerns, were gradually closed down and transformed into State shops. Different factories competed to speed up production. There has been a good deal of levelling down of inequalities, and the high officials receive the same extra rations as the manual workers, so that in this respect a miner and a cabinet minister are both treated the same. The Church lands have been confiscated. The maximum holding permitted is fifty acres per family. There is a chain of co-operative agricultural societies run by the unpaid voluntary labour of the peasants. The co-operative system controls the agrarian economy, as well as the social and cultural life of the people. Peasants who do not take part in it would not be able to procure seed and fertilizer or implements, nor could they sell their produce. As in some other Communist countries in Eastern Europe, every adult Yugoslav is expected to put in, on top of his ordinary day's work, a few hours of unpaid labour each week to help the State in its reconstruction programme. Bread, meat, sugar and oil are rationed, and everyone has just sufficient. Yet, there exists to a limited extent, a free market where one can obtain almost anything he wants if he is prepared to pay an exorbitant price.

Viewed in this light, Cominform's ex-communication of the Yugoslav Party came as the biggest surprise in recent years. Several reasons that could explain this apparently esoteric rift are discernible from the confusing array of charges and counter-charges. What seems most important is the Russian design to use the Yugoslav army as an auxiliary to the Red Army. It was the object of the Soviet Military Mission in Belgrade to hasten the integration. This, Tito refused to accept. He insisted on preserving the separate identity of his strong and disciplined army which is his own creation, a development of his fine partisan group,

and staffed almost entirely by his wartime colleagues and lieutenants. Conflicts soon arose and it became impossible for the Russian military advisers to function, and so they had to withdraw. In this connexion, the Jovanovic episode seems very significant. General Arso Jovanovic, an intimate friend of Tito and his Chief of Staff for four years, was reported to have strong Russian sympathies. He was the leader of a section of the Yugoslav Army that believed in its virtual integration with the Red Army. It is not improbable that he was inspired by the Russians to organize a revolt against the Tito regime; at least, that suspicion must have been there in Tito's mind, when, therefore, the General was trying to escape to Rumania, presumably for further instructions from Moscow, he was shot down by Tito's frontier guards.

In the second place, it was an important charge against Tito that he was drifting towards nationalism, and developing an imperialist outlook, both being alien to the Marxist-Leninist way of thinking. The way he approached the problem of Trieste made the Russian position very difficult among the Italian Communists. Tito's demand for the incorporation of Karinthia betrays an aggressively nationalist spirit, making the Russian position once again very delicate which has led to an unfortunate deadlock in negotiations for an Austrian Peace Treaty. His desire for an independent Macedonia increased the difficulties of the Greek situation, and has put fresh obstacles for the Russians, in their policy towards South-Eastern Europe. Moscow does not approve of Tito's design for a Balkan federation. The Yugoslav Communist Party has denied all charges of nationalism. They point out instead, that they have given considerable economic help to Albania, and have given up their claim for £25 million worth of reparations due from Bulgaria. They have also supplied grain to Rumania and Czechoslovakia in their years of crop failure, and have sent supplies to General Markos in Greece. With a tinge of satire they further observe that during the war the Russians have derived more help from them than they gave in return.

Finally, Tito has been discredited as a pseudo-Communist who is deliberately delaying the plan for collectivization of land, and under whose leadership the Yugoslav Party is making unholy compromises with the small bourgeois circles of the Popular Front, as described in a Rumanian statement quoted by the *Times*. Mr. Rakosi, Deputy Premier of Hungary, in his speech reported in the *Manchester Guardian* of August 23 observed:

"Tito and his followers torture, imprison and persecute those comrades who support the Soviet Union, the Cominform and the unity of the workers. This present gangster leadership is going to drag our southern neighbour to catastrophe."

Tito, however, retorts that four-fifths of the members of the present Parliament are Communists and

that the Peoples' Front and Peoples' Committees are all dominated by Party members. He thinks that rapid collectivization of agricultural areas would be unsuitable and impracticable at the present moment in Yugoslavia. He wants to go slow with the peasants who form 85 per cent of the total population. Russia alone wants to hasten collectivization, while the Poles, Hungarians and the Yugoslavs wish to attain this ultimate goal by peaceful means and the willing co-operation of the peasants. It is strange that Yugoslavs alone should be singled out for bitter Cominform condemnation.

Russia has cut off supplies of capital goods and military equipment. Albania is not sending any petrol, although she promised to send 120 thousand tons in 1948. Rumania has stopped oil deliveries. As Czechoslovakia and Hungary depend upon Yugoslavia for many things, it is unlikely that they would impose full scale economic sanctions. Doubtless, however, this tightening up of supplies from the East, if carried any further, would seriously impede the smooth execution of Yugoslavia's Five Year Plan. Meanwhile, the Western countries are looking ahead with cautious optimism. It is their hope that economic pressure from the East will drive Tito into closer relations with the West; perhaps at first, better trade connections will be set up with the innocent bourgeois countries like Sweden and Switzerland, eventually to be linked up with the avowedly imperialist powers. The *Economist* has advised the Western democracies to snap up this opportunity at once, on a strict basis of *quid pro quo*. Already two trade agreements have been concluded with Western countries, and many more are expected to follow.

Each side has taken recourse to polemics and vituperation. The Cominform propaganda apparently is directed not against the Yugoslav people, but what they call the misguided leadership of the present regime. They would like to see Tito overthrown by his own people. Tito's reaction has been more violent. Hundreds of alleged supporters of the Cominform were swiftly removed from the important positions that they held in the militia, army, navy, airforce and the various Government departments. This sudden and effective purge displays Tito's remarkable courage and efficiency. His secret police known as "Ozna" is built up on Russian style, and when it strikes, it is ruthless. It has been spying with great success over Russian espionage. Mr. Rankovitch, the Minister of Interior, and Tito's right-hand man, is responsible for the liquidation of all renegade elements.

The July Congress of the Yugoslav Communist Party, which decided to take up the challenge of the Cominform, has been described by the loyal members of the Russian bloc as a terrorized convention that does not represent the will of the people. *Uj Huck*, the organ of the Hungarian Communist Party, is of the opinion that Tito could not have taken the Congress with him but for his increased personal

glorification, mass expulsions from the Party, arrests and purges among army officers and University students. The newspaper of the Yugoslav Party, *Borba*, observed that

"Those who deserted Tito did so because they were weak, and not out of any serious political conviction; and if any strong pressure had come from the West and not from the East, they would have just as readily deserted; which proves that such desertion does not mean that the Cominform is right."

Whatever the Cominform countries might say under Russian dictation, it seems almost certain that they are fully aware of the great risks involved in such a hazardous experiment. The revival of the quarrel between the Slavs for Macedonia will seriously jeopardize common action against Greece. Albania is left isolated, and she naturally feels helpless without Yugoslavia's friendship. The territorial readjustments that the Bulgarians and the Yugoslavs agreed to work out will no more be possible. The Czechs with their strong democratic tradition would not really appreciate such rough treatment meted out to a friendly nation. The expulsion of M. Gomulka, Vice-Premier and the Polish Communist leader, is immensely significant as it shows that there are many Communists whose full sympathies are with Tito, and who feel most unhappy about this unfortunate incident. The Western Communists, Togliatti and Duclos are not unaware that their task is made much harder in their own countries, by this one outstanding example of Russian totalitarianism.

The expulsion of the Yugoslav Party has a message for Communists everywhere in the world. It has shown how fatal it is to dare challenge the wishes of Kremlin. The precedent that has been set up in the Bucharest meeting may be used any moment against any of the signatories that have endowed it. Marshal Tito like his comrades in Eastern and Central Europe, can surely boast of great constructive achievements, particularly in the field of economic reforms, and yet he had to quit the Cominform, as he found too much subservience to a foreign power progressively demoralizing and dangerously depressing.

The Western Powers have no reason to feel much elated either. It has been suggested that their efforts should be directed towards 'widening every crack in the Eastern monolith.' But what seems to have been forgotten is that neither Tito, nor any of his erstwhile colleagues, are easy nuts to crack. This would explain why at the last conference on the River Danube, Yugoslavia joined the Cominform nations in resisting the Western exploitation of the river's navigable course. Again, sometime ago, the Yugoslavs came forward with outright condemnation of Western Imperialism in Asian countries. The *Times* seems to have taken saner view when it observed that "the solid front in South-Eastern Europe may have weakened but it stays intact."

THE POLITICO-ECONOMIC BASIS OF INDO-AFGHAN UNDERSTANDING

By PROF. MANORANJAN CHAUDHURI, M.A.

WITH an illuminating past of great traditions and bright history, Afghanistan has been a meeting-ground of Indian and Hellenic cultures. It is this glorious land that served to create a fusion of these two great cultures. From time immemorial down to the present day Afghanistan has ever remained a true friend and neighbour of India and the relics of the ancient Indian culture on her soil gives evidence of her great intimacy with the continent. And the day has dawned when once again these two countries will have to be united, not only for the cause of Asia but for the oppressed millions of the world.

The drama of post-war reconstruction enacted on the Asian stage has thwarted the high hopes of all freedom-lovers of the world. In spite of the U.N.O., in spite of all peace-efforts, it is almost apparent that a conspiracy is afoot to keep the Asians in perpetual bondage. The unabated Dutch oppression in Indonesia bears testimony to this. India, rightly, with her Asian neighbours, took up the Indonesian cause, when no redress was forthcoming from any quarter. The united voice of Asia has been raised against the imperialistic aggression in Indonesia. Twentieth century civilisation is menaced by a dirty game of power-politics. Hence, for the sake of world-peace and liberty, a united front in Asia is a vital necessity. It is through one another's acquaintance and the knowledge gained therefrom that such a unity can be effected, and it is through the mutual exchange of commodities as well as of ideas that this feeling of unity may be strengthened and based upon a surer foundation and better understanding. It is with this aim in view that the writer, in the present article, would try to throw light on the geo-political and geo-economic bases of Indo-Afghan relationship.

GEO-POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Hardly has the boundary of any other country of Asia so much fluctuated during the last few decades as that of Afghanistan. It is obviously due to the country being situated as a buffer state between the Soviet and the British territories. Anyway the Afghan territory, administered by the Amir, comprises an area of 246,000 sq. miles between latitude 29 deg. 23 min. N. and 38 deg. 31 min. and longitude 60 deg. 45 min. and 74 deg. 55 min.

The Soviet territory on the north marks the boundary of Afghanistan. This northern boundary runs from Zulfikar on the west to Lake Victoria on the east. Afghanistan is mostly a rugged mountainous country. Save and except the deserts to the south and south-east of Afghanistan, and the lower part of the courses of the river Helmond and Hari Rud, it has an average elevation of over 4,000 feet above sea-level, considerable tracts lying over even 7,000 feet. On the north and east, the massive ranges of mountains form

a natural boundary and they often rise to 15,000 to 20,000 feet above sea-level. The Hindukush ranks first among these mountains, and is considered to be the real strategic frontier of India, an idea which bespeaks of a landscape-homogeneity between the Indus and the Hindukush. The richest Afghan province, Afghan Turkestan, is isolated by the Hindukush from Kabul, the political centre of the country. South of the Hindukush, the country is mainly pastoral and many of the tribes therefore are nomads; many of these nomads move down to India for trade or for grazing their cattle in winter.

The next in importance is the Koh-i-Baba range. Starting from the western peaks of the Hindukush, it divides into three branches to the south of Yak W. ang, viz., Band-i-Turkestan, the Siah Bubak or Band-i-Baba and the Band-i-Baian. The Band-i-Baian, also known as Safed Koh at its western end, forms the dividing line between the Hari Rud and the Helmond basins. The Koh-i-Baba has an average elevation of about 10,000 feet above sea-level.

There is another Safed Koh in eastern Afghanistan also. This chain divides the valley of Jalalabad from the Kurram river and Afridi Tirah. It is here, between Jalalabad and Peshawar that the famous Khyber Pass is situated.

Afghanistan comprises the three great river basins of the Oxus, the Helmond and the Kabul. The Hari Rud and Murghab basins may be included in the Oxus basin, though neither of them retains its individual characteristic, the former losing itself in the desert lying to the north-west of Afghanistan and the latter in the Tejed Oasis.

The entire northern Afghanistan fall into the Oxus basin whose southern watershed is defined by the Hindukush, the Koh-i-Baba and the Band-i-Baian, separating it from the basins of the Kabul and the Helmond. The Helmond with its tributaries drains all the south-western portion of Afghanistan. It has its source in the western slope of the Paghman range between Kabul and Bamian and runs at the outset in a south-westerly direction. It is joined by three tributaries, the Arghan, the Tarnak, and the Arghastan. It covers the next 75 miles of its journey in the same direction till it is finally lost in the Seistan Hamun. The Paghman range divides the basin of the Kabul river from that of the Helmond. This river rises about 40 miles west of Kabul. It passes in an easterly direction up to Dakka, till it takes a northward direction and then turns east and finally south to meet the Indus at Attock. Its main northern tributaries are the Panjshir, the Tagao, the Alishang, the Alinagar and the Kunar. They rise in the valleys north and north-east of Kabul and their valleys form passes communicating with Badakshan, Kafiristan, Chitral and Panirs.

The south-eastern corner of Afghanistan is drained by the river Gomul which rises in the hills about 60

miles south-east of Ghazni. It debouches into the valley of the Indus at Kajuri Kach.

Excluding Victoria in eastern Wakhan, there is strictly speaking one lake in Afghanistan, namely, the Ab-i-Istada, lying about 65 miles south-west of Ghazni. The water is extremely salty and bitter and does not support any fish. The surrounding area is sparsely populated.

Much of the wealth of Afghanistan lies in the Oxus area. Besides long-staple cotton,—sugar-beet, soya bean, tobacco and other cash crops are grown here. During the last Great War, sugar-beet factories were set up and textile factories driven by hydro-electric power were constructed. Coal deposits are found in the foot-hills. Moreover, Afghanistan grows abundant fruits, nuts and vegetables. The numerous cascades on the north of the Hindukush offer great possibilities for the development of cheap electric power. When the last World War broke out there were about a hundred German experts in Afghan employ setting up factories and hydro-electric plants and building roads and bridges. A very great portion of the plants and machinery was supplied by Germany at uneconomic prices. Berlin and Kabul were linked together, there was a bi-weekly air service between these two cities via Tehran. There was also a wireless link between the two cities. "There were German schools in Kabul, and Afghan students were educated in Germany at the expense of the German Government." Germany aimed at political hegemony over the Middle-Eastern countries through cultural means. But Afghanistan, which maintained an independent status despite her frontier conflicts with Russia and Britain, never fell an easy prey to German designs and retained her integrity utilising German help for her best interest.* Afghanistan, like India, thus underwent many Indo-Afghan trials and tribulations in her political life, an experience which makes Indo-Afghan friendship stabler and sure.

The creation in 1895 of the Durand line between the Afghan and the British territories, separated about 55 lakhs of Pathans from their kith and kin. Herein lies the genesis of the movement aiming at the creation of a Pathanistan in the North-Western Frontier.

RECENT TRENDS IN INDO-AFGHAN TRADE

Unfortunately no regular statistics of the foreign trade of Afghanistan are published by the Afghan Government. Certain statements by experts representing different trading bodies are contained in the latest issue of *Almanach de Kabul*. An account of trade in 1316 and 1317 Shamsi (corresponding to the years 1937-38 and 1938-39) included here can be obtained from these statements.

The account, as gathered by the Indian Trade

Agent at Kabul from these sources, is given below for the reader's information. The following details will enlighten us as to how much Afghanistan depends on foreign countries and especially on India.

The Afghan Sugar Syndicate holds monopoly in the import of sugar and petrol from all sources—from Russia, India, and other countries.

According to the report of the Indian Trade Agent in Kabul for the quarter October-December, 1939, the Afghan Sugar Syndicate gave to Russia opium, goat and sheep skin in return of the import of sugar and petrol. Individual traders, it is reported, have purchased cotton piecegoods, velveteen, etc., from Russia in exchange of goat and sheep skin, wool and baghria skin (i.e., the skin of young lambs born of ordinary sheep other than Karakul).

The trade with Russia is transacted on the border line areas and is not however expected to affect the balance of trade.

Previously Persian lamb-skins were exported to U.K. and Germany from Afghanistan. During 1940 they fetched good prices from the United States. With the outbreak of the War exports increased by leaps and bounds but this time the U.S.A. occupied the place of U.K. and Germany.

"Fruits, nuts and vegetables" form the next important item of exports from Afghanistan. They are mostly sent to India. According to the report of the Indian Trade Agent in Kabul, Persian lamb-skins, fruits, nuts and vegetables, altogether accounted for 84 per cent of the entire exports from Afghanistan in 1939-40. These commodities form the bulk of Afghanistan's exports. Of late, Afghanistan's exports of raw cotton and raw wool have considerably increased.

Up to 1939-40 Afghanistan imported chemicals, drugs, medicines, perfumery, instruments, machinery, factory products, hardware and cutlery from Germany. The U.S.A. also took share in this and Afghanistan considerably depends for these goods on this country at present. The import from Java is entirely sugar and that from Iran consists of kerosene and oil.

Among the less important countries that supply goods to Afghanistan are China (green tea, cotton piece goods, cotton and silk manufactures), Czechoslovakia (machinery formerly) and Italy (machinery formerly).

India supplies Afghanistan with boots and shoes, chemicals, drugs, dyeing materials, glass and glassware, hardware, cutlery, leather, machinery, paper, provisions, salt (though now locally obtained from sources in Herat), sugar, tea, cotton, textile, silk-manufacture, wool, tobacco and other thousand and one things.

This mutual economic dependence augurs well for a still closer relation between India and Afghanistan and it is expected that the policies of the two governments would place Indo-Afghan relationship on a stabler footing and a better understanding.

* For a critical appreciation of foreign intrigues in Afghanistan please consult author's article "Power-Politics in Afghanistan" in *The Modern Review*, February, 1949.

POETRY OF T. S. ELIOT

By S. M. H. BURNEY

T. S. ELIOT, who has been awarded the Nobel Prize for Literature this year, is the greatest living poet of English language to-day. His poetry marks a complete break, if not a violent revulsion, from the nineteenth century's poetic traditions. He is the most thoroughly representative poet of the age and something of a prophet.

The first reaction to Eliot's poetry was one of bewilderment and irritation. The reasons for this bewilderment are not far to seek. The first is the absence of any intellectual appearance in his poems, although there is a subtler and deeper coherence, emotional rather than logical. Besides, his poetry is over-intellectualised; like Wordsworth and Arnold he writes primarily for a small group of saddened intellectuals for whom the world is a waste land. His audience is, no doubt, few but fit. One reason for this is his excessive use of allusion. A poem which is full of learned and inexplicable allusions to *The Aspen Papers*, *Othello*, *A Toccata of Galuppi*, *Marston*, *The Phoenix and the Turtle*, *Antony and Cleopatra*, Donne's *Extasie*, *Macbeth*, *The Merchant of Venice*, etc., is more of a jigsaw puzzle than a poem. He uses allusion as a device for compression. *The Waste Land*, equivalent in content to an epic, is a miracle of compression. It is rich in far-fetched and learned allusions—allusions to the *Upanishads*, Miss J. L. Weston's *From Ritual to Romance*, Buddha's *Fire Sermon*, St. Augustine's *Confessions*, Froude's *Elizabeth*, Dante's *Purgatorio*, *The Golden Bough*, *The Tempest*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, etc. etc.

Obscurity is another common charge brought against Eliot's poetry. Middleton Murry, writing about *The Waste Land*, says:

"The work offends against the most elementary canon of good writing that the immediate effect should be unambiguous."

I. A. Richards, commenting upon this observation, rightly remarked:

"The truth is that very much of the best poem is necessarily ambiguous in its immediate effect. An original poem, as much as a new branch of Mathematics, compels the mind which receives it, to grow and this takes time."

According to Charles Williams, Eliot achieves intensity at the expense of clarity.

Yet another charge most readily brought against him is that he repeats himself. The nightingale, the rats, the smoky end of candle and Cleopatra's barge recur in his poems. This does not indicate any poverty of inspiration. On the other hand, he employs these images too often, because they "fix a point of stability in the drift of experience." These images are what he calls objective correlatives. In the Urdu Ghazal a few set images are employed again and again—for they bring

an emotional aura with them and spare the poet the trouble of inventing new ones. Ghalib¹ says:

"*Har chand ho mushahi-dayae-haq ki gustagu,*
Banti nahin hai bada-o-saghar kahay baghur;
Mallab hai naz-o-ghamza, walay gustagu mer kam.
Chalta nahin hai dashna-o-khanjar kahay laghai."

[Even if one talks of manifestation of God,
One cannot do away with (the words) Wine and Cup;

Although one means blandishment and coquetry,
One cannot help using (the words) lance and dagger.]

These set images are stock-in-trade of the poet.

So far the objections and doubts expressed about Eliot's poetry. Now before discussing his technique, it may be noticed in passing that Eliot felt a deep affinity with the modes of thought and feeling of the seventeenth century poets, especially the Metaphysicals. He has revived in his poetry some of the technical devices of the Metaphysicals, particularly of Donne—the conversational tone, the irregular sentence structure, the alternation of the colloquial and the grand, the combination of wit and passion, the medley of images, the riot of mixed metaphors, the rapid, almost kaleidoscopic association of ideas, the liberal use of paradoxes, etc. Thus he has evolved a medium of expression, that corresponds to the complexity and intricacy of modern life.

The most outstanding feature of his technique is, what I. A. Richards aptly calls "Music of Ideas." Ideas of all kinds, like the musical phrases, are arranged not "that they may tell us something but their effects may combine into a coherent whole of feeling." His poems have an air of a monologue. They are a kind of jujutsu trick. They are a series of unrelated images; the coherence therein being, not logical or intellectual but more real, emotional.

Eyes I need not meet in dreams
In death's dream kingdom,
These do not appear
There, the eyes are
Sunlight on a broken column,
There is a tree swinging
And voices are
In the wind's singing
More distant and more solemn
Than a fading star.

The Hollow Men and *The Waste Land* are the most notable examples of this device.

Another characteristic of Eliot's technique is the incessant use of objective correlatives. He knows that the appeal of all great poetry lies in the power, not to speak, but to suggest the truth.

"The evocation of emotion by means of complete concrete objectification is the only right way of expressing emotion in art.....Reliance on a set of objects enables him to thread together the wide range of association."

1. A famous Urdu poet of the nineteenth century.

I have measured out my life with a coffee-spoon.
His wit is learned and caustic :
He laughed like an irresponsible foetus.

* * * * *
One of the low on whom assurance sit
As a silk hat on a Bradford Millionaire.

The chief appeal of Eliot's poetry lies in its criticism of modern life. The disillusionment and disenchantment which the World War I brought in its wake, the emptiness of life, the meaninglessness of the universe, the decay of modern civilization and the western way of life, the social disintegration and economic crises—all these find their beautiful and effective expression in his poetry.

Cecil Day Lewis says that it is very much to Mr. Eliot's credit that he detected the death-will in the western civilization. At the close of *The Waste Land* occur the prophetic words :

London bridge is falling down, falling down,
* * * * * falling down

Datta, Dayadhavam, Damayata
Shantih, Shantih, Shantih.
Again in *The Hollow Men*

This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
This is the way the world ends
Not with a bang but a whimper.

His vision of the modern civilization is characteristically sombre :

Unreal city
Under the brown fog of a winter dawn,
A crowd flowed over London bridge, so many
I had not thought death has undone so many.
Again,

We are in rats' alley
Where the dead men lost their bones.
Like his own Sweeney he realized "disillusionment of a generation and their own illusion of being disillusioned."

He sees the 'skull beneath the skin', 'the anguish of the marrow', 'the ague of the skeleton.' This is a true picture of modern life :

This is the dead land
This is cactus land,
Here the stone images
Are raised, here they receive
The supplication of a dead man's hand
Under the twinkle of a fading star.

—*The Hollow Men*

Boredom and ennui haunt modern life. 'Birth, copulation and death' is the sickening burden of the Psalm of Life today. We are "shape without form, shade without colour, paralysed force, gesture without motion."

We are hollow men
We are stuffed men
Leaning together
Head-piece filled with straw.

The modern women dread children, they have "only thirty one teeth and no children." We have "lost life in living," "wisdom in knowledge" and "knowledge

in information." Our greatest monuments are "the asphalt road and thousand lost golf balls." The modern civilization with its gross materialism, its obsession with sex, its loss of faith in religion, its hypocrisy, its "sick hurry and divided aims," its maddening boredom, comes in for scathing criticism at his hands.

The basic cause of this social disintegration is to be sought in the gradual and now complete loss of faith in religion. God has been banished out of this sorry scheme of things. The Godless universe is drifting aimlessly towards the rock :

There is no water but the rock !

Eliot's own belated, yet sincere and enthusiastic conversion to Roman Catholicism shows what paramount importance he attaches to religion in life

Where there is no temple, there is no home.

Man without God is seed upon the wind driven this way and that and finds no place of lodgment and germination.

We are more anxious about the citizenship of the world than about the citizenship of Heaven. Eliot's ideal is :

A chapel for all

And a job for each

The cycle of Heaven in twenty centuries

Brings us farther from God and nearer to Dust.

His is a social creed :

There is no life that is not in community

And no community not lived in praise of God.

His conception of peace is Dantesque :

Our peace in His will.

In the end his attitude to war may be noted in *Little Gidding* published recently. He knows the Hitler dies hard in man. The law of the jungle is resorted to every now and then. Man is perfecting deadlier weapons for self-destruction every day, a bomb being the latest and the most diabolic of all. There is no escape, no way out of this 'death's dream kingdom,' 'this cactus land.'

We only live, only suspire,
Consumed by either fire or fire.

Any critique of Eliot's poetry would be incomplete without a few words about *The Waste Land*. The *Waste Land* is a tremendously startling experiment. It has been differently evaluated. One critic says it is a work swinging perilously on the balance of madness and sanity, the product of a mind ready to snap under the tension of extreme pain. On the other hand, T. A. Richards calls it a 'social document.' What Eliot says of James Joyce's experiment in fiction may, with equal truth, be applied to his own technique in *The Waste Land* :

"It is simply a way of controlling, of ordering, of giving a shape and significance to the immense panorama of futility and anarchy which is contemporary history."

Eliot's achievement in the domain of the poetic drama is by no means inconsiderable. His verse dramas, *The Rock*, *Murder in the Cathedral* and *Sweeney Agonistes*, hold out hopes of a bright future for the poetic drama which has long been out of vogue.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL POSSIBILITIES IN THE MERGUI ISLES

By PARESH CHANDRA DAS GUPTA, M.A.

THE Mergui isles in the Bay of Bengal off the coast of Tenasserim Division of South Burma possibly had great importance in the ancient and in the mediaeval days like the islands of the Aegean Sea of the Mediterranean. We have reasons to believe that these islands were used as Marine Stations by the Hindu-Buddhistic sailors of ancient India, who maintained a brisk trade with the golden realms of the Far-East and kept an intimacy with China, Japan, the Philippines and Hawaii by braving the hurricanes of the 'Taiping' i.e., the Pacific Ocean.¹

The above presumption is based on the following grounds: (1) Le May has pointed out with justifications that once there existed a trade-route between Moulmein and Sawankhalok (North Siam).² If this presumption goes true, then the possibility of the existence of a Bilaukaung route does not look entirely objectionable. The supposed Tenasserim passage might have been utilised by the merchants anchoring their vessels in the harbours of the Mergui Archipelago.

(2) The inscription of Mahanavika Budha Gupta³ testifies to the regular sea-borne trade which existed between India and the Western Coast of the Trans-Gangetic Peninsula in the 5th century A.D. In that case the Mergui isles along with the islands of the Andaman, Nicobar and the Coco groups must have been used by the ancient sailors of India as Mooring Stations not only in cases of dire need, but also for maintaining a barter-trade with the aborigines living in them.

(3) I Tsing and Hiuen Tsang refer to a Hindu country named Lang-kia-Su or Kama-Lanka which

was situated between Sri Kshetra (Prome) and Dvaravati (South Siam).⁴ This country has been identified by Huber, with reasonable justifications, with Tenasserim.⁵ Now, if really ancient Tenasserim was inhabited by a group of Hindu colonists, who formed the kingdom of Lang-Kia-Su or Kama-Lanka, we will have to admit without doubt that the Mergui Archipelago in the coastal sea of the country was not at all uninhabited by them.

(4) The early Hindu colonies of P'an P'an, Caiya, Nakhon Sithammarat, etc., developed in the narrow strip of peninsular Siam and Malay.⁶ These colonies appear to have been founded and later on populated by the Indian emigrants disembarking at the ports of Mergui, Kra⁷ and Takua-Pa.

For the above grounds, possibly, we may reasonably attach an archaeological importance to the island-group of Mergui. In these scattered islands traces of old Hindu-Buddhistic civilisation may be found out. The immense political importance of the Mergui Archipelago was even appreciated by the French militarists like Bussy and Suffrein during their relentless colonial rivalry with England in the 18th century. Their activities⁸ seem perfectly in tune with the earlier imperialistic traditions of the Sumatran Sailendras, whose insular empire extended up to the Nicobors.⁹

4. R. C. Mazumdar, *Suvarnavdipa*, pp. 70 ff.

5. *Bulletin de l'Ecole Francaise d'Extreme Orient* (Vol. IV, Hanoi), p. 475. Pelliot also prefers to locate it in Tenasserim (*Ibid*, pp. 496-8). The name "Lanka," which was originally the island-dominion of demon king Ravana of the Ramayana, may suggest an insular topography of the region. In that case Lang-kia-Su should be better searched in the island of the Andaman Sea.

6. R. C. Mazumdar, *Ibid*. Le May, *Buddhist Art of Siam*, Salmony, *The Sculptures of Siam*.

7. It has been identified with Ptolemy's (2nd century A.D.). Takkola. See McCrindle, *Ptolemy*.

8. Le May, *Ibid*: he thinks that, once there was a maritime traffic between Kanchi and Mergui in the days of the Pallavas particularly during the reign of Narasimhavarman.

9. D. G. E. Hall, *Europe and Burma*, pp. 73, 81.

9. N. K. Shastri, *Cholas*, pp. 254-5. The Tanjore Inscription of Rajendra Chola dated in his 19th regnal year (A.D. 1030-31), *South-Indian Inscriptions*, Vol. II, pp. 105 ff. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. IX, pp. 231-32.

1. This was an early designation of the Pacific as found in the Chinese Classics. See Yiu Jen Yu's article "South China Peninsula and Taiping Sea: A Study in Geographical Nomenclature," *Journal of the Geographical Society of China*, April, 1947.

2. *The Buddhist Art of Siam*, W. B. Honey, "The Ceramic Art of China and Japan and the Other Countries of the Far East."

3. H. Kern, *Verspreide Geschriften*, III, pp. 255, ff.

J. W. Laidlay, *Note on the Inscriptions from Singapur and province Wellesley*, J. A. S. B. XVII, 2, p. 247.

N. P. Chakravarti, *India and Java*, Part II.

Mahanavika (Great Sea-Captain) Budhagupta went to Malay from a place called "Raktamritika" which has been identified with present Rangamati in the Murshidabad district of Bengal. Some scholars are even inclined to take Hiuen Tsang's (7th century A.D.) "Lo-to-mo-chie" near Karnasuvarna, the capital of Sasanka, as a Chinese abbreviation of the place-name.



STATE LANGUAGE

By RAJSHEKHAR BOSE

THERE is now no more any doubt that either Hindi or Hindusthani will become the State language of India. Bengali is the richest among Indian languages and is therefore eminently fit to be made the State language—this argument has left everybody except Bengalis cold. The proposal that several principal Indian languages should become the State language, Bengali having a place among them, has not found any better reception either. Advocates of Bengali have now grown indifferent. This is not a wise attitude. Whatever may become the State language we cannot refuse to learn it except at grave risk to ourselves and to our future generations. It should be everybody's earnest endeavour to see that the State language comes to be such as to be suitable, as far as possible, for the whole of India.

Some say: What is the harm in retention of English? We have long cultivated this language, it is through this language that we have carried on administrative work and if we are to maintain contact with the world, we cannot do without it. We must learn two languages—our mother-tongue and English. Why add further to the burden? If Hindi or Hindusthani is made the State language, it will be showing partiality to the Hindi-speaking people who will gain an undue advantage in every sphere.

Lovers of Hindi say: Those who have to maintain contact with the world will surely learn English, but the majority of the people are under no such necessity. English is an entirely foreign language. The people of the country have no natural connexion with it. Why should the public be forced to learn a difficult foreign language merely for administrative purposes? Hindi or some form of it is the language spoken in a very large part of Northern and Central India, it is the language which is understood by the majority of Indians. Democracy therefore requires that in spite of some disadvantages, Indians speaking other languages should adopt Hindi as the State language.

Hindi has a rival in Urdu. Fundamentally both Hindi and Urdu are but different forms of one and the same language. They have both a closely similar syntax. But Hindi contains a large proportion of Sanskrit words and is written in Devanagari script, while in Urdu, Persian-Arabic words predominate and the script is Persian. The majority of Muslims in India are accustomed to Urdu, it is also the mother-tongue of some Hindus in the United Province and East Punjab. Many Brahmans even read their *gayatri* in Persian character. As a sort of a compromise between Hindi in which Sanskrit words predominate and Urdu which has a large admixture of Persian-Arabic words, Mahatma Gandhi had proposed to make Hindusthani the State language of India. This Hindusthani should be simple and easily understandable

and might be written in both Devanagari and Persian script and should contain current Sanskrit and Persian-Arabic words, without being partial to any of them. Pandit Nehru and many of the leaders of the Congress have accepted Gandhiji's suggestions, but all of them could not see eye to eye with the Mahatma in this matter. Even while Gandhiji was alive, Hindi was adopted as the State language in the United Province where it is being pushed through with enthusiasm.

For some years past many Hindi writers have been trying to avoid as far as possible Persian-Arabic words in their writings. As a result Hindi literature is getting richer in Sanskrit words and becoming somewhat unintelligible to Urdu-speaking people. Perhaps it is this sort of Hindi containing a very large percentage of Sanskrit terms which has been recently denounced by Pandit Nehru as unnecessarily ornamental and artificial. He has stated that a State language cannot be built up by artificial means, it forms itself in a process of natural evolution. This opinion is not proof against argument. If things be left to natural evolution, an absurd language like pidgin English may come to develop itself after a long time. Such a language will not be capable of expressing all shades of thought and meaning. It will not be at all suitable as a State language. The development of a State language requires careful planning, just like industrial development. Then alone it would be possible to displace English language from the field gradually. The reins of administration have come into our hands even before a State language was developed. We want a State language urgently. A well-thought-out plan which will lead our State language along the proper channel is therefore necessary. Of course, this language will in time follow its natural course of development, but at the very start it will not do simply to say that the State language will be built up with Hindusthani or Hindi as its foundation. Definite direction will have to be given as to what sort of Hind. or Hindusthani it should be.

It is a matter of regret that those who are carrying on propaganda in favour of Hindusthani appear to take a narrow view of things. They only think of the Hindi-Urdu-speaking people of Northern and Central India. They do not take into consideration how it will affect people speaking other languages. People of South India find it difficult to understand even the little Hindi and Urdu which is intelligible to people of Bengal, Assam and Orissa. It will not therefore do to say that the State language should be simple and understandable. Means must at the very beginning be found so that the State language might offer the least possible difficulty to the people all over India.

Perhaps Pandit Nehru has realised that some sort

of plan is necessary. In a recent speech he has acknowledged the predominant position of Sanskrit words. He has suggested that in the initial stage a vocabulary should be built up for the State language. The compilation of such a vocabulary may be undertaken under the aegis of the Central Government. It will not however do to compile words which may be understandable to the people of Northern and Central India only. What is wanted is the greatest common measure of all important Indian languages. Many English words have a currency all over India. If however English ceases to be the State language it will not be possible to retain all the English words now current. Only some of them may be retained. What about other words? It can undoubtedly be said that barring English words, most of the terms common all over India are Sanskrit and only a small proportion are Arabic, Persian, etc. It is probably on the basis of such a supposition that our farsighted Governor, Dr. Kailash Nath Katju, has repeatedly emphasized that Sanskrit should be a predominant element in our State language.

A State language should be the vehicle of all sorts of political thoughts and views. It is wrong to expect that ordinary people would be able to master such a language without effort. Hindi and Hindusthani of the market-place cannot be impressed into the service of the State with any prospect of success and satisfaction. We have to toil hard for learning the English language. With far less labour we shall be able to pick up a State language in which Sanskrit words predominate. If no favour whatever is shown to the Dravidian languages like Tamil, Telugu, etc., why should Urdu have any special concession? Urdu will remain the language of certain communities and their culture just as Bengali will remain the language of the people of Bengal. In the interest of the whole of India everybody should make some sacrifice and accept a State language which offers the minimum of obstacle to the maximum number of people. By whatever name the State language may be called, if it is based on Hindi and contains a large number of Sanskrit and some Persian-Arabic and English words, then alone will it be acceptable to the whole of India. If the grammatical complexities of Hindi (e.g., gender of verbs) gradually disappear in course of time, our State language will become even easier.

There was a time when Sanskrit was the literary language of the whole of India and it was through the medium of this language that exchange of thought took place everywhere. It is not practicable to re-instate Sanskrit in its former position. If, however, the new State language contains a large proportion of Sanskrit terms, it will constitute an easy and natural link between the different provinces. Some of my Madras, Marathi, Punjabi and U.P. friends read Bengali books and newspapers. They all say that the more a Bengali writing contains Sanskrit terms, the easier they find it to understand.

Recently some translations of the Draft Consti-

tution of India have been published. Below I give the Preamble of the original English draft and two samples of translations.

DRAFT CONSTITUTION OF INDIA

Preamble

We, the people of India, having solemnly resolved to constitute India into a Sovereign Democratic Republic and to secure to all its citizens:

Justice, social, economic and political;

Liberty of thought, expression, belief, faith and worship;

Equality of status and of opportunity; and to promote among them all

Fraternity assuring the dignity of the individual and the unity of the Nation;

In our Constituent Assembly this . . . day of May, 1948 A.D., do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution.

The following is the Hindusthani translation of the Preamble made by Dr. Yadu Vanshi and Dr. Suryakant under Sri Sundar Lal's directions:—

हिन्दके विधानका मसौदा

आमुख

हम हिन्दके लोग, गम्भीरताके साथ फैसला करके, कि हिन्दको सर्वोपर प्रजातन्त्री लोकगज बनाया जाय और उसके सब नागरिकों :—

सामाजी, आर्थिक और राजकाजी इनसाफ मिले ;

विचार रखने, उनको जाहिर करने, मानता, धर्म और पूजाबंदगी को आज़ादी हो ;

बराबरका दरजा और बराबरके अवसर मिलें ;

और उन सबमें भाईचारा बढ़ाया जाय, जिससे हर आदमी का मान और राष्ट्रकी एकता बने रहें, अपनी विधान सभामें आजको कारवाईसे...तारोखको इस विधानको मंजूर करते हैं, इसे कानून ठहराते और इसे अपना विधान मानते ।

The following is the Hindi translation made by Dr. Raghu Vira and some others under the direction of Sri G. S. Gupta, Speaker of the Legislative Assembly, C.P. and Berar.

भारतीय संविधानका प्रारूप

प्रस्तावना

हम, भारतके लोग, भारतको एक सम्पूर्ण सत्ताधारी प्रजातन्त्रात्मक गणराज्य निर्माण करने तथा उसके समस्त जनपदोंको :—

न्याय, सामाजिक, आर्थिक और राजनतिक ; स्वतन्त्रता, विचारकी, अभिव्यक्तिकी, विश्वासकी, धर्मकी और उपासनाकी ;

समता, परिस्थिति की और अवसरकी, प्राप्त कराने,

तथा उन सबमें

बंधुता, जिससे व्यक्तिको गरिमा और राष्ट्रकी एकता सुनिश्चित हो,

वर्धन करने,

के हेतु, कृतदृढसंकल्प, अपनी इस संविधान-सभामें आज तारीख.....मई १९४८ ई०, को इसके द्वारा इस संविधानको अंगीकार करते हैं, अधिनियम (एक्ट) का रूप देते हैं, और अपने आपको अर्पण करते हैं।

I leave it to the reader to judge which of these two translations is comparatively easier for Bengalis and other non-Hindi speaking people to understand. The selection of Hindi or Hindusthani words may not be above criticism, the translators have admitted it, but from these two samples one is able to form a fairly correct impression of what our State language will be like, should Hindusthani or Hindi get the position of honour in the contest now raging.

—:O:—

INDIA AND (BRITISH) "COMMONWEALTH"

By SURESH CHANDRA DEB

A conference of "Commonwealth" Prime Ministers has been holding its sittings at London since the 21st April, 1949. The Indian Union's Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, has been invited to it, and he has joined it. Since this news was broadcast there have been speculations with regard to the purposes of this conference; it has been said that the question of India's relation with this Commonwealth will be occupying a most prominent place in the discussion; the British Prime Minister in announcing the date of the conference to the House of Commons, said that "constitutional" consultations that were left over from the last October conference of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers will be taken up for a move towards a final decision.

Mr. Attlee did not use the word "final." But the British Government must have been moved to anticipate the prospect of an "independent sovereign Republic" which India's Constituent Assembly has declared to be the form of the State structure of India, true to the "Objective Resolution" passed on the 21st January, 1949. As and when India implements this resolution some time during the next few months at the conclusion of the Constituent Assembly's work, the British Government will be faced with the problem of forging a new relationship with India more confusing and complex than what Eire has confronted them with.

PANDIT NEHRU'S VAGUENESS

Since October, 1948, the Prime Minister, of the Indian Union has been subjected to intensive cross-examination in the Central Assembly to declare the mind of his Government as it has been moving towards the fateful decision envisaged in the "Objectives Resolution." But Pandit Nehru has refused to satisfy this curiosity and has been holding forth in vague and general terms. At the Jaipur session of the Indian

National Congress he seemed to get into the realm of ultimate realities, broadly suggesting that there was really no freedom in human relations, that all of us were bound together by a natural piety of interdependence; he spoke of the impossibility under modern world conditions of living in "isolation" that even the two greatest world Powers of mid-20th century—the United States and the Soviet Union—are not really "independent"; they have been forming Blocs of their own with other kindred States thus limiting their own "uncharted freedom."

Pandit Nehru's speeches in the Central Assembly in elaborating the "foreign policy" followed by him, specially in relation to Britain, has always been "general." Even as late as March 23 last in addressing the annual dinner meeting of the Indian Council of World Affairs, he felt himself unable to be more "precise." India was "an ancient country," nevertheless "in the present context of foreign policies she was a young country." Therefore, she has been "gradually developing" her foreign policy, and there was "no reason why we should rush in and define and limit it all over the place."

SWARAJ—ITS CONTENTS

The reticence is understandable. I think, however, that it is to be traceable to the refusal of Congress leadership to clearly define the contents of *Swaraj* during its whole career of political struggle and strife against British imperialism. The generations that had preceded the founders of the Indian National Congress also spoke of freedom and independence without caring to define these words in terms of State and its functions. The outburst of 1857 held the mirror to the innermost feelings and sentiments of the people. The repression that followed appeared to have advised a certain amount of effusive "loyalty" on the part of our leaders. And it was not until 1905 coincident with

the anti-Partition and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal that the people picked up courage again to give expression to their natural feeling for *Swaraj*.

FREE FROM BRITISH CONTROL

I still recall the shock of surprise with which the people received the declaration made in *Bande Mataram*, the English language daily of those glorious days, that India wanted "absolute autonomy free from British control." The article from which these words are quoted appeared as the "first article" of September 6, 1906, written by the editor Bepin Chandra Pal.

SELF-GOVERNMENT AS IN UNITED KINGDOM OR COLONIES

In December 27-29, 1906, Dadabhai Naoraji as President of the Calcutta Congress gave us the more definite ideal of "*Swaraj*—self-government as in the United Kingdom or the Colonies." This word symbolized the highest ideal of self-rule in India, individual and national. Since then it has become the current coin in our political country's ideas; Lokamanya Balwant Gangadhar Tilak gave the battle-cry when he declared in 1917, "*Swaraj* is my birth-right and we must have it."

These declarations, did not, however, indicate in concrete terms the relation that should subsist between India and Britain. The bureaucracy challenged in a court of law the use of the word *Swaraj* to describe the objective of India's political strivings. In the Calcutta High Court, Mr. Justice Sarada Charan Mitter gave judgment in favour of the accused by saying that '*Swaraj*' did not mean dissociation from Britain; Mr. Justice Fletcher concurring.

COMPLETE SELF-GOVERNMENT

When the *Bande Mataram* came under Aurobindo Ghosh's control, in his inspired writings he maintained the same attitude of unyielding pursuit of the *Swaraj* ideal. In a series of articles entitled "Passive Resistance," he declared that the New School of Indian politics as contrasted with the Old School represented by Pherozeshah Mehta, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Surendra Nath Banerjee, Krishnaswami Iyer—the "Moderates" as they were popularly known, the new school could "not pitch" their ideal "one inch lower than absolute *Swaraj*—Self-government as it exists in the United Kingdom." In his last "political testament" written in July, 1909, on the eve of his retirement to Pondicherry, Aurobindo Ghose suggested the substitution of the words "self-government on colonial lines" as in the Congress resolution by the words—"full and complete self-government."

"SUBSTANCE"

When Gandhiji emerged into the leadership of the Indian National Congress on the crest of the all-India awakening (1919-21) he was called upon to define the word *Swaraj*; he spoke of "the

substance of independence" in which was implicit his socio-economic ideals of human relationship; latterly he spoke of "Panchayat Raj," of "Kisan-Majdoor Raj." During the hey-day of the Non-co-operation Movement, the topic became a subject of wide controversy. Congress leadership was not explicit. It was an Englishman, Charles Andrews, who among all English sympathisers with India's political aspirations, plumped for complete dissociation from Britain. And Ramananda Chatterjee in his Notes of February, 1921, in *The Modern Review* clearly reflected the mind of the people when he said:

"An Indo-British Commonwealth in which India is to be only an equal partner with England or New Zealand must mean injustice to India. . . . India can hope to wield her just influence in the world only by being independent."

FEDERATION VS. ISOLATED INDEPENDENCE

Deshbandhu C. R. Das in his speech as President of the Bengal Provincial conference held at Faridpur, (1925), the last he made, declared that he regarded "Federation" as "a higher synthesis than isolated independence" almost echoing the words of Bepin Chandra Pal who since 1910 had been upholding the ideal of an "Indo-British Federation" wherein India in course of time will come to be the dominant partner by reason of her resources and her traditions in the world of thought. The 1929 Congress held at Lahore with Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru as President passed the *Swaraj* resolution repudiating the "Dominion Status" idea, but leaving the problem of Indo-British State relation undefined.

NETAJI'S "REAL SELF-DETERMINATION"

Of all the leaders of the Indian National Congress, Subhas Chandra Bose has been known as the most out-spoken in upholding the ideal of "absolute autonomy free from British control"; he often declared that India should follow the example of Eire. Mr. Kali Charan Ghosh, an intimate friend of his, has in an article in the "Netaji" number of the *Nation*, quoted the following to indicate Netaji's ideas on the problem:

"We are fighting Great Britain and want the fullest liberty to determine our future relations with her. But once we have real self-determination, there is no reason why we should not enter into the most cordial relations with the British people . . . through a treaty of alliance voluntarily entered into by both parties."

INDIA AND NEUTRALITY

The story related above of the evolution of India's ideas with regard to Indo-British relations reached a certain stage on August 15, 1947. The time has come to lay these out in unequivocal terms, keeping in view the resolution of January 21, 1947. We are being required to weigh considerations other than those dictated by sentiment. And in weighing these we

have to take note of the conflicting ideologies and practices that divide the world today represented by the Atlantic Pact countries and the Soviet Union. The United States of America is the leader of the one Power Bloc, the Soviet Union of the other. And late or soon we will have to make a choice between these two. We know that India's Prime Minister has been thinking aloud of a position of neutrality. That can depend on two factors. One, that India will be able to organize her forces and resources independent of the help and co-operation of both these Power Blocs; the other is that both these Power-Blocs will, for reasons of their own allow India to stay neutral as they have been doing in the case of Sweden and Switzerland. But this is a possibility that does not depend only on us to stabilize.

POWER BLOCS AND INDIA

We have to take the world as it is where competing Power Blocs expect that India will align herself with either of them. The reasons why of this expectation have been explained by publicists in the Anglo-Saxon world with a frankness in elaboration that is admirable, while those of the Soviet Union have been content to direct attacks on India on her supposed intentions working out the logic of her capitalist economy and drawing material sustenance from the Anglo-Saxon Bloc. Therefore, have we been left no choice but to discuss what the Anglo-Saxon world expect of us.

THE REAL ISSUES

The real issue or issues that will engage the attention of the forth-coming conference will be problems precipitated by the failure of the United Nations Organization to build up world peace. India's position in the (British) Commonwealth will be a side issue to the main discussion. And I cannot do better than indicate its nature, as it is envisaged by the Anglo-American publicists on what are called geo-political considerations. The *Bombay Chronicle* published an appreciation of these as cabled by its London correspondent on March 15, 1949 Here it is:

"Mr. Walter Lippmann, America's well-known columnist, writing in the *Herald Tribune* today says that United States and Britain should not proceed to establish a military policy in the Middle East without consulting India. India's man-power and material resources, her interests and influence must be recognised. According to him without Indian support, the British position might have been untenable in the last war. In another war the American-British position, because of their weak man-power strength, would be even worse.

Lippmann quotes Pandit Nehru as saying last week that India is centrally located and nothing can happen in this part of the world without India in it, and says that it is not a boast but underlines the policy of the largest and most influential State in Asia, which though it suppresses communists yet declares that it will not join any power or group.

Mr. Lippmann suggests that America should make sure that the British policy in the Middle

East is properly renovated and adjusted to the new conditions, as eventually she will have to carry out the policy in partnership with India."

"POWER VACUUM" IN ASIA

This is not, however, the end of the story, the end of the chapter of responsibilities that India is expected to take up now that she is free. Her position at the apex of the perimeter of the Indian Ocean has made these inescapable. I have read what non-Indian students of affairs have been anticipating from India's new status in the comity of modern nations. One of them, Major-General J. R. Hartwell, writing in the *Double Number* (August-September, 1948) of the *Eastern World* (London) speaks of the "land mass of India" the use of which had enabled Britain to exercise "control" over the Middle East and the Far East for about a century and a half. This British strategist is of opinion that the withdrawal of British power from India has created a "power-vacuum" thus precipitating conditions of "Balkanization" that has made "the intervention of a major Power absolutely certain." And as India cannot in the near future be expected to develop into a major Power, she may be "eliminated" as an "active factor" in the attempt to re-establish a balance of power in this region of Asia.

This interpretation of events and Walter Lippmann's exhortation indicate for us the line of responsibility that mid-20th century developments have put on our country. And as India is a "young country" in the context of post-world-war alignment of forces, of power politics, it is but natural that the Government of the Indian Union should be wary in their steps, should try to keep step with "the devil" that they knew and not venture on the yet uncharted sea. Things might have been different if China had fulfilled the hopes of a great Power role, if India had been one whole, and if "Pakistan" had not maintained her congenial malice and jealousy.

EIRE'S EXAMPLE

As it is, the Nehru Government appear to be confused, they appear to be following the policy indicated by De Valera when in 1945 he quoted De Maistre that "in all systems there are relationships which it is wiser to leave undefined." Two years later De Valera is found to be more explicit: "We are associates of the States of the Commonwealth . . . if they regard the existence of the King as a necessary link, if they think that it is the bond they have, we have not got that bond." In this attitude towards this link, Eire and India have a common mind. So far as one can understand matters now that Eire has abolished the obligations of the External Relations Act (1936) that had been authorising the King of Great Britain to accredit diplomatic representatives and sign agreements on behalf of the Irish Government when so advised by the "Executive Council" at Dublin, the question raised by the *London Economist*: "If the Crown and the

common citizenship go, exactly what is left of the Commonwealth?"—has yet to be answered. An "Empire" statesman, Field-Marshal Jan Smuts, has pressed forward the same objection. Perhaps, the answer will be framed by the forthcoming conference.

INDIA AND THE DEMOCRACIES

Eut behind all this loom the larger problem: the division of the world into Blocs inside the United Nations Organizations, from which Germany and Japan are absent today, keeps the chances of stable world peace hanging. The United States is acknowledged the leader of the one Bloc; the Soviet Union of the other. This reproduces the conditions that prevailed in 1939. There is no neutral Power which by the weight of its organized power can stand between these two potentially warring groups. And in the conflict of ideologies and practices "India cannot be neutral if she is to be true to herself," whatever these words may mean. These words are quoted from "the first Mary Keatinge Das Memorial Lecture" delivered on November 11, 1948, at the Columbia University in the City of New York. The lecture has been provided for a by a fund established by Dr. Tarak Nath Das. The lecturer was Robert Livingston Schuyler, Gouverneur Morris Professor of History in the Columbia University. He has laid it down: "She (India) must take her stand with the democracies—the British Commonwealth and the United States." And, "those who are not for democracy are against it."

COMMONWEALTH COMMITMENTS

When leaders of thought start to talk in bellicose terms, is it any wonder that the talk of a "World War III" should be flaunted before a disorganised world with such crudity! Is the conference of Dominion Prime Ministers of the (British) Commonwealth a preparation for this catastrophe? For, Commonwealth relation postulates "a willingness to undertake defensive commitments in accordance with a policy worked out by and for the whole Commonwealth," to quote the *London Economist*. Today, is the line between defence and offence distinct? These considerations must be discussed in all their bearings. Are our leaders doing it, and in the process educating their people in the duties and responsibilities of a free State?

I have tried to bring out the various factors that have been influencing India in her international relations. The anxiety of the British Dominions in the Indian

and the Pacific Oceans areas to have India underwrite their white race policy makes no appeal to us. For this alone India should be out of their picture. The commitments at which the *London Economist* hinted ties our hands in a world that is divided into two Blocs of potential war-makers. Indian statesmanship should be able to exploit the advantage that Nature has endowed her with. She should assert her right to neutrality; and if she could speak the language in the right timber, with the needed emphasis, the two Power Blocs will understand. The world will recognize that India is serious and earnest, even the U.S.A. professor, who reflects the short-sighted section of the Anglo-Saxon world. The demand to be free from "entanglements"—a word familiar to American ears—will be respected, we have no doubt with as much grace as the "Holy Alliance" had been during the post-Napoleon era. The will of the Indian people should be organizationally brought to bear on the choice to be made in this behalf. As it is, they appear to be listless, taking hardly any interest in the matter which may mortgage their future to a course of action which is fraught with danger to their particular interests.

WHEN THE MONROE DOCTRINE WAS DECLARED

What we are being pressed to do by the protagonists of British Commonwealth is a definite undertaking with its explicit and implied commitments. And from a survey of the possibilities of the situation, we are emboldened to say that a declaration on the part of India to stay neutral without any mental or ideological reservation will have the same effect as the Monroe Doctrine (1823). The United States was a weak State when her President made the declaration. Britain's then Foreign Secretary, George Canning, might have blessed it. Today, the declaration of India's neutrality might lack any such patronage. But the justice of the step taken, the courage shown in making it in face of pressure from the two Blocs, will enlist on its side, we have no doubt, the majority feeling of the world. It will put India at the head of the peace-loving peoples, a position which her traditions of *maitreyi*, love for all created things, entitle her to and which Gandhiji lived and worked to recreate amongst us. We have a certain feeling that such a declaration will break the spell that grips the world today in two Power Blocs competition, enlist the support of all lovers of peace in every part of the civilized world and recall to sanity the backers of crude power-politics.



LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE IN INDIA

By DR. SONYA RUTH DAS

LANGUAGE and literature are still among important factors of reviving social life. They not only bring about social unity and solidarity, but are also helpful to social regeneration. The Mahabharata and the Ramayana, India's greatest epics, contributed more than any other single factor to the integration of the Hindu population into one cultural unit from the Cape Comorin to the Himalaya Mountains. It was the literature of the *Navaratnas* (nine jewels) which brought about the "Golden Age" in ancient India. Likewise it was the writings of Rammohun Roy which paved the way to the Renaissance movement by the middle of the 19th Century, and those of Rabindranath Tagore which made the greatest contribution to the rise of Indian nationalism during the first quarter of the 20th Century.

Not less important is the function of a language in social evolution. Language and literature go hand in hand; and Sanskrit was both the producer and the product of Hindu thought. Like Greek and Latin, Sanskrit is no longer a living language, but it still serves, and will continue to serve, as the source of India's new literature and languages. Over three-fourths of Indian population even today speak languages which are the offspring of Sanskrit, and the remaining one-fourth speak a variety of languages mostly of Dravidian origins. An important problem of independent India is the choice of national and international languages.

PROVINCIAL LANGUAGES

Since the Middle Ages, there have grown in India a number of modern languages,* of which the most important are Hindi, Bengali, Bihari, Punjabi, and Marathi, arising from Sanskrit in the north; and Telugu, Tamil and Kanarese arising from Dravidian languages in the south. All these modern languages have made considerable progress since the beginning of the 19th Century under the influence of the Renaissance and other social movements and they have already established their claims upon their literary values. The choice of these languages as media of higher education and for the transaction of the functions of the State and other public and private affairs will certainly help in their further development.

In choosing a provincial language, India must take several points into consideration, such as the number of persons speaking it, its literary quality and basic connection with Sanskrit in the north and a Dravidian language in the south. Such connection will be helpful not only to maintaining the continuity of old cultural heritage, also to supplying suitable vocabulary and literary quality. Nothing can hinder the moral and intellectual growth of a people so much as a language

deficient in vocabulary and literature. In dividing India into different provincial governments on linguistic basis, the quality of a language should also be taken into consideration.

NATIONAL LANGUAGE

In addition to the vernacular or provincial language in each State, or group of States, there should also be a national language for the whole of India. During the past two centuries English used to be the medium of higher education and for official business. But a language which had no root in the national culture and no affinity with any of the Indian languages, could not become a national language, and even after two centuries of British rule, only about 3.6 million, i.e., less than one per cent, can read and write English today. A national language must be understood, spoken, and written by the majority of the people.

An essential condition of a national language in India would be its basic relationship with Sanskrit, which was the language of the early Aryans and in which were written most of the famous works of Hindu cultural achievement. Like Greek and Latin, Sanskrit was the classical language of the Indo-European family and was the earliest and perhaps richest language. Panini, the Sanskrit grammarian, is regarded as the greatest genius in his field. Both from the literary and linguistic points of view Sanskrit should be regarded as the basic source of India's new national language.

Of India's modern languages the most important are Hindi and Bengali, which were spoken respectively by 78 million and 53 million persons in 1931. From the literary point of view, Bengali is the richest modern language in India, because of the contributions made to it by Rabindranath Tagore, one of the greatest literary geniuses of modern times, but since Hindi is spoken by the largest number of the population and is understood by a still larger number, it should be the national language of India. Moreover Hindi is much more closely related to Sanskrit than Bengali and is also written in the same script as Sanskrit. By adopting it as the national language, the Indian Constituent Assembly has done the only logical thing to do.

The importance of a common language to the development and consolidation of national life cannot be minimized in India: First of all, it would facilitate the exchange of thoughts and ideas among different individuals and groups and bring them closer together into one national whole. In the second place, it would economize both time and money by avoiding the translation of all the transactions of the Central Government as well as of private affairs of national importance into a dozen or more provincial languages. But under the actual conditions of India, provincial languages must remain for all provincial and local purposes and the work of the national language would

* Important modern languages and the number of persons speaking them (in millions and in brackets, as reported in 1931) were as follows: Hindi (78), Bengali (53), Telugu (26), Bihari (26), Punjabi (23), Marathi (20), Tamil (20), Rajasthani (13), Kanarese (11), Oriya (11), Gujarati (10), Malayalam (9), and Sindhi (4).

be to take over as many functions of the provincial government as possible. The learning of two languages would scarcely be a difficult task if they are taught together from childhood.

INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE

In addition to provincial and national languages, India should also have an international language, for which English would be the logical and appropriate choice. English has become an international language and has also served in India as a common language for about two centuries. As in some European countries, such as Switzerland and Holland, Indian students would not find it difficult to learn two or three languages, especially as they may not be expected to begin the study of the English language until they enter high school, when they might have already completed the mastery of the provincial and even the national language.

As an international language, English would be helpful to India in several respects: First, it would facilitate the active participation by India in all international organizations which had been increasing both in variety and volume since World War I. Secondly, it would be of extreme help to India in her intellectual pursuit, such as research and experiment, text and reference books for higher studies, and education of Indian students in the United States and the United Kingdom. And thirdly, it would also facilitate industrial and commercial relations between India and the English-speaking nations, including the employment of American technologists and experts in India. Finally, it would be helpful to studies and travels by Indians in different countries, especially in the United States, Canada and British Empire.

LINGUA FRANCA

What would be the *lingua franca* of India is also an important question. During Moghul rule, Persian was the State language and also *lingua franca* of India, and with the establishment of British rule, English became likewise both the State language and *lingua franca* in India. The Government of the Indian Union has already accepted Hindi as its national language, which will eventually also be *lingua franca* of India. In the meantime, English will serve as a *lingua franca* and if it is retained as an international language, as proposed in these pages, English will also become a *lingua franca* for Indians in India and also for the outside world.

The need of a *lingua franca* for the use by the people still remains a problem and two languages, i.e., Urdu and Hindustani, have established their claims and count about 150 million people as speaking them. Urdu, a mixture of Hindi with Arabic and Persian languages, has already become an important language in India and the national language in Pakistan. A more popular *lingua franca* in India today is, however, Hindustani, which itself is a mixture of Hindi and Urdu, and has become a favourite language in India since 1930. During World War II, the necessity of teaching a common language to 2.5 million Indian soldiers led the British Government to use Latin

script for Hindustani and this romanized Hindustani may play an important role in India's *lingua franca*.

RISE OF NEW LITERATURE*

While language is the form, literature is the spirit of the expression of human thoughts and emotions. Literature deals especially with those attributes of human nature which transcend time and space and which are universal and eternal. Unlike science, which makes objective and analytical studies of social phenomena and draws general laws and principles, literature makes subjective and psychological studies of human nature and often creates new characters, in which are delineated, scattered and obscure but nevertheless permanent human traits and in which men and women often recognise themselves as in *Hamlet*, *Faust*, *Macbeth*, and *Sakuntala*. Literature makes an important contribution to the cultural development of a people.

India has already achieved her fame in her classical literature. While the Vedas, compiled about 1000 B.C. still remains the earliest literary work in the Indo-European languages, other works in Sanskrit such as Epics of the Mahabharata and the Ramayana and the drama of Sakuntala are also in the highest rank of world literature. Modern languages of India have already achieved literary equality, especially in Bengal where Madhusudan Dutt and Bankim Chandra Chatterjee laid the foundation of modern literature, and Rabindranath Tagore, the Nobel Prize winner, built the architecture of modern Indian literature.

With the attainment of national independence and the advent of a new epoch, India is in urgent need of developing a new type of literature with a view to creating ideals for the development of new types of men and women in modern India. Of these objectives the most important may be the following:

First, the evaluation and description of India's greatest men and women in modern times of whom Rammohun Roy, Tagore, and Gandhi were most conspicuous as well as of other men and women who have devoted themselves to the reconstruction of India's social, political, and economic institutions as well as to the creation of new social values and ideals.

Secondly, the development of rising generations of men and women, strong in body and mind and highly educated in art, philosophy, science and technology, who would be willing to devote their services to the development of India's new civilization.

Thirdly, the adjustment of India's rising womanhood with the highest moral and spiritual achievements of Indian women as well as those of Western women so that they can combine their rising individuality with the duties and responsibilities of a wife and mother.

Finally, the reconstruction of the Indian family in which the old virtues of love and reverence may be combined with the democratic spirit of a modern family which is specially found in the United States.

* Author's *Le Mariage Moderne dans la Littérature Américaine*, (Chapter VI), *La Femme Américaine dans le Mariage Moderne*, Marcel Giard, Paris, 1934.



Book Reviews



Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But, reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

CASTE IN INDIA (Its Nature, Function and Origins) : By J. H. Hutton, C.I.E., M.A., D.Sc., Cambridge, at the University Press. 1946. Pp. viii + 279. Price 18 sh.

Caste is a subject on which many have written from one point of view or another. Dr. Hutton, who was the Census Commissioner of India in 1931 and is William Wyse Professor of Social Anthropology in the University of Cambridge at the present moment, writes in the present book about the origin of the system as well as about such other elements in the system which he considers to be necessary for an understanding of the system as a whole. Dr. Hutton is eminently fitted for this task, with his singularly wide experience of Indian ethnology.

He has first of all gathered together a large mass of facts, and, from their analysis, he proceeds to describe the crucial features of the system itself. He then describes and tries to show the shortcomings of the various theories regarding caste which have already been proposed by previous workers in the field, before finally proposing his alternative theory in their place.

According to Dr. Hutton, the food and marriage restrictions associated with caste, which he considers to be two of the most important elements of the system, have been contributed by certain pre-Aryan civilizations, remnants of which are even now observable among some of the remote hill-tribes in the east of India. A number of other features have taken their rise from the clash of culture between the patriarchal Aryan-speaking conquerors and the defeated party professing a matriarchal system, and speaking a non-Aryan language, and having numerous Mediterranean cultural, historical affinities.

The book is undoubtedly very carefully written, and relevant facts regarding the origin of the System have been gathered together with admirable care. But the reviewer feels that two points have been underestimated in Dr. Hutton's description of caste as a social phenomenon. Theoretically, he has been led into a position which is like this : Some crucial elements of caste were contributed by a matriarchal, as well as by another culture professed by tribes having proto-australoid or even 'negrito' racial affinities ; and these elements have been retained in course of the last many centuries. But the question is, how is it that so many elements, and particularly the critical ones, have succeeded in continuing, practically unaffected by subsequent history ? What is the cause of this persistence, which is almost unique in human history ? Or is it that there has also been some change in the 'function' of different elements, and, if so, what was their nature ? If Dr. Hutton had entered into these questions, which the reviewer feels he has done in sufficient measure, then he might have landed upon

some other aspects of caste which would have helped to answer questions which very few students of the system care to take up for study.

By way of illustration of such questions one might suggest the following : "Is it not strange that Muslims in the rural areas should practically succumb to the System even when the Central authority was in Muslim hands ? How is it also that reformers, beginning from Buddha down to Rammohun were all practically defeated, and the casteless societies which they proposed to build up were themselves turned into groups analogous to endogamous castes ; and thus served to swell the number of castes instead of serving to act as their solvent ?"

Dr. Hutton's analysis of Caste and his description of its essential features does not throw any light on these very crucial problems which have got to be answered before we can really understand caste. Secondly, he seems to have underrated the various deliberate movements initiated from time to time for the purpose of giving a particular turn to the System itself. The role of history has been underestimated ; the role of economic and social co-operation between the different castes has been given less than its due.

In his study of caste, Dr. Hutton has taken more pains to show how each bead in the garland of the caste system came into being, how the beads were ground down into a, more or less, common form ; but he has hardly done justice to the thread which holds together the separate beads. He has even less to say upon how the thread itself has careered in course of its own history ; why and how it was replaced, from time to time, by new ones, and so on.

In spite of this feature, the book will undoubtedly remain a useful addition to the literature on the caste system of India. This is true not only on account of the very valuable suggestions regarding the origin of food or marital taboos ; but also because the reader will find gathered together here numerous references, as well as a summary of what many others have already said about the caste system in the past.

ARCHITECT AND ARCHITECTURE, THEN AND NOW : By Sris Chandra Chatterjee, C.E. University of Calcutta. 1948. Pp. viii + 37.

The point which the author of this booklet has tried to emphasize is that Architecture and Life being intensely co-related, the present technical overspecialization of the architect has tended to create a division between his art and the life which he tries to represent. This is painfully true in India, where modern architects have lost their roots in either current life or in past artistic tradition, and have proceeded to imitate forms which are true in their own time and place, but not true here. Such art kills instead of adding to life.

From this the author proceeds to the natural con-

clusion that the training of the future architect in India should not only be rooted in the soil, even while it should be enriched by what is assimilable from elsewhere. His general education should be, at the same time, broad-based. All this is said in justification of the proposed school of Architecture which the author has been trying to build up under the auspices of the University.

While agreeing with the fundamentals, one often feels that Mr. Chatterjee's case would have gained in clarity and strength if the essay had been compressed in parts.

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

ANCIENT INDIAN HISTORY AND CULTURE :
By S. R. Sharma. Published by Hind Kitabs Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. 178. Price Rs. 3.

Written primarily as a text-book for the recently introduced history syllabus for the Under-Graduate course in Bombay University, this little work condenses into a small compass a large amount of useful information conveyed in simple style. Of the five chapters of which it consists no less than three are devoted to political organisations, cultural history and Greater India, while only one is reserved for political history properly so-called. This cannot fail to make the work interesting to the general reader as well as the University student. The author's survey of the cultural aspects of ancient India and her offshoots fairly covers all important aspects of the subject, while his quotations from standard authors are frequently well chosen. A classified bibliography and a set of three maps, given as Appendices, add to the usefulness of this volume.

We have noticed a few inaccuracies. On page 20, the authority of Patanjali's Mahabhashya is quoted for the expulsion of Yavanas from Madhyamika (erroneously identified with Chitor). On pp. 44-45 and 53, the author exaggerates the importance of Harsha's death as marking the end of political unity of northern India. On page 52, Gopala II of the Pala dynasty is credited with having reigned for nearly 63 years and reviving the glory of his dynasty. On page 65, Kadaram is identified with Srivijaya, which again is made to correspond with Sumatra. On pp. 81-82, the reference is made to the Damodarpur inscription of Harshavardhana. On page 127, Kadambari is mentioned as a branch of literature along with Kavya and Nataka. On page 155, the kings of Srivijaya and Sumatra are said to have had the Sailendras as their competitors. The author's statements that the Maurya administration, though centralised, gave the largest degree of freedom to the outlying provinces (p. 72) and that the village headman was chosen by and responsible to the people under the Gupta administration (p. 78) are not warranted by facts.

U. N. GHOSHAL

THE POET OF HINDUSTAN : By Anthony Elenzmittam. Orient Book Company, Calcutta 12. 1948. Pp. 1-119. Rs. 5.

This is an attempt at interpreting Rabindranath Tagore's philosophy in a novel but interesting way. The author had been to Oxford and spent some time in the company of the late Dr. W. M. Drummond, who had been the host to the Poet of Hindustan during his visit to Oxford in 1930 in connection with his Hibbert Lectures. Dr. Drummond's anecdotes and reminiscences of the Poet fell on fruitful soil and inspired the young seeker after truth to a life and thoughts of which the volume under notice is an expression. It must be understood, however, that some of the views put in the Poet's mouth are not his, but our author's. It is not open to everybody to "believe

and proclaim" that "I have understood the spirit of Rabindranath." But our author makes bold to proclaim it, and it is made in all sincerity. Of the four chapters in which the book has been divided, the second and the third dealing with Buddhism and Christianity are more concerned with the exposition of these religious doctrines, while the fourth and last is more an outpouring in verse, than anything else, on harmony in life, which the author names "Cambridge Melody." The many reproductions of the Poet in different settings increase the value of the book.

P. R. SEN

MALAVIYAJI : By B. J. Akkad. Vora & Co., Publishers Ltd., 3 Round Building, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay. Price Re. 1-4.

In a short compass of sixty pages it is not possible to do full justice to the eventful life of Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. Still the author has touched almost all the phases, and for a publicist this will be undoubtedly helpful. We expect a bigger and more complete treatise on such a prominent nation-builder as Pandit Malaviya.

THE ANNIE BESANT CENTENARY BOOK (1847-1947) : The Besant Centenary Committee, Adyar, Madras. Illustrated. Price Rs. 15.

Mrs. Annie Besant's life (1847-1933) covered long eighty-six years. It is therefore meet that the Besant Centenary Committee have published this volume, touching the various phases of Mrs. Besant's life and activities. The volume is interspersed with appreciations and articles on Mrs. Besant from the pen of such world-renowned figures as Bernard Shaw, George Lansbury and Mahatma Gandhi. An article on Mrs. Besant by W. T. Stead has been reprinted in it. Besides these, many prominent Indians and Europeans have also contributed to this volume. A perusal of this treatise acquaints the reader with Besant as an associate of Charles Bradlaugh, as a trade unionist, as a member of the Fabian Society, as a Theosophist, and last but not the least, as a worker in the cause of Indian freedom. She made India her home for the last forty years of her life. And her services to India continued unabated till her last breath. Such a life deserves to be commemorated, and our congratulations at once go to the Centenary Committee on the production of such a brilliant volume. Illustrations, twenty-three in number, touching different ages of Mrs. Besant, have enhanced its interest a great deal. The get-up and printing is good. This should be a handbook to all lovers of India as well as to the Indian publicists.

JOGESHI C. BAGAL

I LIVED WITH GANDHI : By Louis Fischer. Pp. 9. Price Rs. 1-8.

It is a delightfully written booklet on Gandhiji and has amply succeeded in portraying the man. Fischer had already won the appreciation of the Indian readers in his book *One Week with Gandhiji*, This is equally commendable.

GANDHI SAMHITA : By Bhairab Chandra Chaudhury. Published by Narendra Nath Pramanik, 6-A, Baranasi Ghosh Lane, Calcutta. Pp. 44. Price Rs. 1-12.

The author has threaded together in a general way the sermons uttered in the prayer meetings of Gandhiji. The poetical rendering in Sanskrit which is printed in the Devanagari script, is so simple as to be easily appreciated by the general readers. The Bengali version has also been equally interesting. We would unhesitatingly recommend it for wider circulation.

KANAN GOPAL BAGCHI

EDUCATION FOR INTERNATIONAL UNDERSTANDING : By K. G. Saiyidain, B.A., M.Ed. Hind Kitabs Limited, Bombay. First edition. 1948. Pp. 208. Price Rs. 3-12.

Janab K. G. Saiyidain, at present the Educational Adviser to the Government of Bombay, represented India in the UNESCO in the company of distinguished educationists headed by Dr. S. Radhakrishnan. The present volume contains the speeches delivered by the author at the International Educational Conference in Australia in 1945 and a few of those talks given at the UNESCO Preparatory Conference in London in 1945 and its first General Conference in Paris in 1946. Himself an educationist of repute, the author is a protagonist of international peace and an upholder of great human values to be inculcated through a well-planned educational process. He has truly said : "For good or evil, education is a powerful force and there is no reason why we should not use it resolutely in the service of man."

The present age is the age of science, of Atom Bombs, and never in the history of man did the world stand in greater need of peace than now. Time and space has almost been annihilated by the mastery of man over some of the elemental forces of nature. Thanks to the progress of science man is now in possession of weapons deadly enough to destroy the whole of humanity. But there are nobler souls who can dream of a *One World*. To make this dream a reality, to foster sympathy and goodwill, love and unity among different nationalities, education all over the world has a great part to play. Mr. Saiyidain very ably and eloquently demonstrated the urgency of international peace and mutual understanding of human races in the interest of man's culture and existence.

With fine literary flourishes the orations make a pleasant study and deserve careful perusal of the educated public. Readers will have much food for thought ; they will form some idea of the ideals and objectives of the UNESCO and develop interest in its activities.

NARAYAN CHANDRA CHANDA

SANSKRIT

THE VIKRAMORVASIYA OF KALIDASA :

Edited by Kavyatirtha R. N. Gaidhani, M.A., Dip. G., Chancellor's Gold Medalist, Sir Parasurambhau College, Poona. The Royal Book Stall, Budhwar Peth, Poona 2. Price Rs. 4-8.

We have here a popular edition of a famous drama of Kalidasa planned to fulfil the needs of college students. The learned editor has given besides the text a long introduction which *inter alia* refers to the probable sources of the plot of the drama and the improvement made by Kalidasa on the skeleton story borrowed by him, a running English translation which is occasionally not quite literal but somewhat free, and detailed notes, exegetical and critical. An attempt has been made in the notes to draw attention to the poetic and dramatic beauties of different portions of the work. In fact, more stress needs be given on this rather neglected aspect in teaching old Sanskrit texts in a style free from verbosity and expressions smacking of blind admiration.

CHINTAHARAN CHAKRAVARTI

BENGALI

BIPLAVI BHARAT (Revolutionary India) : By Tarini Sankar Chakravarty. Agraddut Grantha-Bihar, 55 Jay Mitter Street, Calcutta. Pp. 153. Price Rs. 2-4.

The author of *India in Revolt* (1942) and the *Azad Hind Fauz* has in this book attempted a history of the revolutionary-terrorist movement in India tracing it to the days when the Wahhabis represented one of the rebel elements in India, thus covering a period of about 120 years of Britain's destructive and constructive activities in our country. This book is marked by the defects of writing a history of this period mainly based on the experiences of a single region of our continental country. Therefore the author has skipped over the surface of things as these were bursting over the banks set up by native society and external authority ; he has been forced to confine attention to a single phase of the awakening of the human spirit to a sense of national dignity. He has done it well, though the story told is only a bird's-eye view. We expect that his specialized knowledge gathered during the last few years as a journalist and author will be put to better use, and we will have occasion to welcome a fuller history of the revolutionary movement from his pen.

In his reference to the Wahhabi movement he is wrong in saying that Arab Wahhabis created it in India. Its real founders in this country were Shariatullah of Faridpur (Bengal) and Syed Ahmed of Rae Bareilly.

SURESH CHANDRA DEB

HINDI

ASHOK KE PHUL : By Hazari Prasad Dvivedi. Sasta Sahitya Mandal, New Delhi. Pp. 224. Price Rs. 2-8.

This is a collection of twenty-one essays on varied subjects, mostly cultural and literary, written at different times, by the author, who, because of his uncanny insight into the significance of things, fine sensitiveness to the hidden nuances of thought and a style which is a happy blend of restraint and rhythmic readability, has come to occupy a place of honour among the present-day writers in Hindi. Dwivedi, indeed, flings open windows into the soul of our ancient ideals and ideologies, while, indirectly, side by side, he also introduces us to the impacts of modernism on our consciousness. And so, to reach him is to re-strengthen oneself in the roots of human culture.

AMAR ASHA : By Shriman Narayana Agrawal. Kitabistan, Allahabad. Pp. 69. Price Rs. 3-12.

In a number of poems and couplets in which melody takes precedence over profundity of meaning, the author has recorded his own reactions to "the sad music of humanity" and tried to lift not a little of the midnight darkness which hangs over the people today. He has usually to deal with statistics—human beings in skeletons, but here he has opened the ears of his heart to the sighs and sobs of the downhearted and reminded them of the morning star.

G. M.

GUJARATI

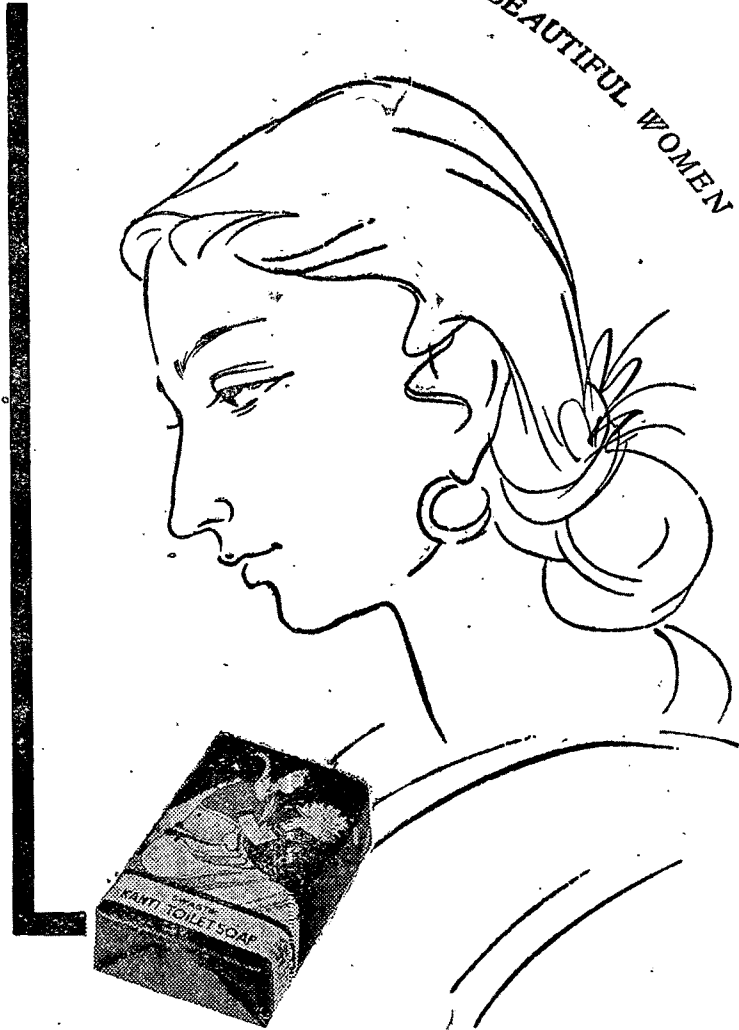
KAILASPATI HANS MAHARAJ : By Ramnik A. Mehta. The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1948. Pages 287. Price Ec. 2-8.

This collection of the addresses of the well-known holy man Hans Maharaj is based on that compiled by Shrimati Hemalata Roy and gives in simple language the insistence of Hans Maharaj on the acquisition of Brahma Jnan, which alone is likely to lead to salvation.

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INDIAN PERIODICALS



The Place of Occidental Culture in Free India

In an article in *The Aryan Path* Lila Ray offers us an inspiring hope of a Free World inspired by the new world tradition of humanism, born in India and incarnate in Gandhiji. She brings out the human quest for values :

Diversity is always more obvious than unity, for values crystallise into general traditional codes and such codes show regional variations that become the distinguishing characteristics of social groups and societies.

In general, Europeans acquired their values from Greece, Rome and the Bible. India acquired hers from Dravidian, Aryan and Islamic sources.

Free India is not the product of an exclusively Oriental culture. Occidental culture has made a permanent and ineradicable contribution to the achievement of that freedom ; it is an integral part of it. Aryan, Islamic and Western thought have combined like atoms of Hydrogen and Oxygen to form the waters of her liberation. Each has made its just contribution, none dominates, and a new element has emerged, an element which reflect the essential unity of the human mind and gives rise to a broader humanism than the world has ever before sought to practise. It restores us to a sense of the uniting bond of man's estate and compasses within its scope the best of all regional cultures..

Modern India, by reason of her geographical and historical circumstances, has been the theatre for a mighty confluence of cultures that has made of her a world in miniature.

All these diverse and often warring influences have played their part in the formation of India's present character and the characters of her great leaders. Only in such a world and in such a country could a man of Gandhiji's stature have been born. In him, integrated into a harmonious personality, we see a perfect and complete synthesis of all the composite factors and in him and through him has come into being this humanism of which we have spoken, as a new and unpredictable element in world affairs.

Free India faces a world divided against itself as never before. Her new humanism is threatened with disruption within and without. It is her misfortune that at this perilous juncture she should be without the guidance of her great liberator ; his disciples, few as they in fact are despite the multitudes which pay him lip homage, are fighting against heavy odds. Enough of Islam has broken away to form a new and exclusive State ; Aryanism is in peril of degenerating into a fanatic and narrow Hinduism. Certain attempts are being made to efface or deface evidences of Western influence. *India is once more in danger of spoiling her salvation for a fierce miscreed, as Keats so beautifully put it.*

Outside India also the world has been split

into two armed and hostile camps, each living under the fear of an annihilating war.

There is a tendency to identify these camps with the Eastern and Western hemispheres ; Eastern Communism is a phrase that is appearing in the press with increasing frequency.

What matters to the common man all the world over is the presence or absence of honesty and kindness, justice and order and honour in his daily life, not ideological arguments with hair-splitting niceties. These have no practical importance. Whether a man is kind from an agnostic pity that sees all of us as inmates of a planetary concentration camp with the gas-chambers of death our certain destination or the vision of the yogi who beholds the living god incarnate in every sentient thing, is, in humdrum everyday living, immaterial. A cruel act is a sacrilege and remains a sacrilege whatever the label or interpretation affixed to it. *Our problem of problems is to resolve our conflicts in a manner that imports our dreams of kindness and order and justice into the world of actuality and establishes them as realities.*

There are two very practical test questions which, because of their universal applicability, can guide us as plummets, sounding out a channel for a judgement that must of necessity pioneer.

The first concerns the individual. Does Free India offer manhood and personality to the individuals lost among her dumb millions ? If so, to what extent and how ? Is it being done as Europe sought to do it by destructive, hate-motivated political movements ? It does not matter whether the protagonists in these movements are Hindus and Muslims, Fascists and Anti-Fascists or Communists and Capitalists. The question is : Is this strife what we want, what we aim to accomplish ? Does it speed us on our way to our ultimate objective or does it lead us through horror and suffering down blind alleys to get out of which we shall have to retrace our bloody steps ? Free India must not be Europe in defeat, in its completest failure. She must not reject the individualism that Europe has rejected, the individualism of free growth and the discipline of free labour.

The other test question is : Is the country being governed with or without violence ? A government, of all the people, by all the people and for all the people will show the nearest approach to non-violence. Each individual citizen will feel the maintenance of peace and order to be his personal responsibility and only a small specialised police force will be required to assist him and control the dangerously abnormal few. Jails will be, as Gandhi perceived they should be, therapeutic institutions. A nucleus of skilled staff will be the only standing army and conscription unnecessary. The people of the country will constitute a vast voluntary militia, ready to rise to a man at a moment's notice in defence of a State which is their own. It is improbable that the police of a Nero or an Aurangzeb were less feared than the police of a Hitler or a Stalin. Police States are neither Oriental nor Occidental.

A country which offers manhood and personality

to each of its citizens in a satisfactory way will not lack defenders; and men of all colours, creeds and nationalities will be among them. Thus our two questions become complementary. The new world tradition of humanism, born in India and incarnate in Gandhiji, in achieving which India emancipated herself from a galling bondage, holds out the hope to us of such a country.

Assimilating the States

The New Democrat observes:

Yet another step forward has been taken by the States Ministry in the process of integrating the States or States Unions with the rest of free India. By the proposed amendment to the Covenants that now govern their relations with the Centre, it is expected that the Centre will have adequate say in the administration of these States Unions in order to ensure the necessary degree of uniformity of legislation and administration.

It is only logical that the accession of the States into the Union, and their merger or integration with a view to viability, be followed by measures to expand the benefits of democracy into what were, generally speaking, politically backward areas. The Princes, who it was once feared, may not prove themselves amenable to the democratic trend, have ceased to be obstacles in the way of democratisation and integration. Even the last-ditchers among them have bowed before the storm.

The governments and legislatures as well as the Constituent Assemblies that were formed in the States Unions, experience showed, could not serve as more than temporary expedients to make the evolution smooth. Their working confirmed the general impression, that in a few cases, and there too partly, separate constituent assemblies and even responsible government were only essays in redundancy when they were not just faction fights.

Thus there will be no tears shed on the proposed abolition of separate constituent assemblies for the states. In fact there is apparently no need to frame separate constitutions, even in the Central Constituent Assembly, as these States Units must ultimately conform, in all essentials, to the general pattern of the Provincial Units. It is perhaps only on the question of providing for the institution of Rajapramukhs, and the lesser Rajas, on the pension list that a difference has to be permitted.

The guidance from the Centre, now provided for, may however create some fresh problems. It is expected that that guidance will take the form of advisers appointed, both to the ministries and to the Rajapramukhs,

in order to co-ordinate and harmonise the relations between the units and the Union as also between the Rulers and their popular Ministers.

In the great majority of states unions, Central advisers will be a relief to the people at large from the petty factions which would come to power in the name of responsible government. But, in some of the more advanced states like the South Indian States, where responsible government has attained a respectable scope, the people may not easily put up with what may look like direct rule from Delhi.

And who can find fault with them, if they insist that the benefits of democratic rule must not be the monopoly of the province?

There can, however, be no valid objection to a general widening of control powers beyond the three subjects agreed to at the time of the accession. The Centre's powers in relation to the States must again approximate to those in relation to the provinces, but never more. Immediately there can be advance in the matter of taking up all matters pertaining to defence, foreign affairs, currency, communications without allowing local influences to meddle with the all-India pattern.

Let the assimilation process be quick, but not hurried. Let the available forces of progress and democracy in the States Union be encouraged, not stifled. Let us avoid costly follies like the inefficient administrative machinery in many of the States; but let us also help such machinery to improved efficiency at reduced cost to the tax-payer. For, in all these cases, it is higher and better democracy we are after, not just bureaucratic efficiency.

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Pakistan Constitution

The New Review observes:

At long last Pakistan has taken up the fundamental task of writing its constitution. The most distinctive feature of the Preamble is its Islamic tone:

"In the name of Allah whereas sovereignty over the entire universe belongs to God the Almighty alone and the authority which He has delegated to the State of Pakistan through its people for being exercised within the limits prescribed by Him is, a sacred trust, this Constituent Assembly... resolves to frame a Constitution for the sovereign independent State of Pakistan... wherein the principles of democracy, freedom, equality, tolerance and social justice as enunciated by Islam shall be fully observed; wherein the Muslims shall be enabled to order their lives in the individual and collective spheres in accordance with the teachings and requirements of Islam as set out in the Holy Quran and the Sunna; wherein adequate provision shall be made for the minorities to profess and practise their religions and develop their cultures, etc."

The Prime Minister, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, did not in his introductory speech explain how and when Al mighty God had assigned definite territories to the State of Pakistan, nor did he philosophize much about the passing on of authority down to the State authorities, but in a bold challenge to modern trends, he denounced the Machiavellian materialism of to-day:

"All authority is a sacred trust, entrusted to us by God for the purpose of being exercised in the service of man and so that it does not become an agency of selfishness. I would, however, point out that this is not a resuscitation of the dead theory of the divine right of kings or rulers because in accordance with the spirit of Islam the Preamble fully recognizes the truth that authority has been delegated to the people to decide who will exercise that authority... I have just said that the people are the true recipients of power."

The Prime Minister took most trouble in explaining that Pakistan would not be a theocracy:

"In its literal sense theocracy means the government of God. In this sense, however, it is patent that the universe is a theocracy. For is there a corner in the entire creation where His authority does not exist? But in the technical sense theocracy has come to mean a government by ordained priests who wield authority as being specially appointed or by those who claim to derive their right from the sacerdotal positions... Such an idea is totally foreign to Islam. Islam does not recognize either priesthood or any sacerdotal authority... If there are any who still use the word theocracy in the same breath as the polity of Pakistan, they are labouring under grave misapprehension or indulging in mischievous propaganda."

One may be permitted to note, without misapprehension or propaganda spirit, that the priesthood is not necessary to a theocracy. Israel was once upon a time a theocracy with kings who were not ordained priests; for a theocracy it is sufficient that the temporal rule be in the hands of God's delegates whether they be sacrificers (priests) or prophets or direct mandataries. If the Prophet imposed civil law as revealed and willed by Allah the State he founded was certainly a theocracy, and it is a matter of history that the Muslim people always considered 'church' and state as inseparable. Pakistan's Prime Minister wants a state where divines are replaced by popular representatives to interpret and enforce Islamic law. Not a few Muslims will doubt if this modern view is fully in accordance with Muslim orthodoxy.

MINORITIES IN PAKISTAN

The Preamble to Pakistan's constitution contains many phrases which are meant to reassure and comfort

minorities, and Liaquat Ali Khan was at pains to emphasize the point:

"The State will seek to create an Islamic society free from dissensions... All sects will be given the fullest possible latitude and freedom... It will be necessary to the State to direct and guide the activities of Muslim in such a manner as to bring about a new social order based on the essential principles of Islam, including the principles of democracy, freedom, tolerance and social justice."

Parallel to this positive intervention to help Muslim, to understand and practise Islam, there will be an Islamic policy of respecting minorities and protecting their religions and cultures. "We want to build up a truly liberal government where the greatest amount of freedom will be given to all its members. Everyone will be equal before the law. But this does not mean that his personal law will not be protected. We believe in the equality of status and justice."

These noble words were well received by the opposition which went so far as to conclude that "there could be no objection from any quarter on the ground that the State would not be a fully democratic and secular one." What had been explained as Islamic state was so common to all religions that any reference to Islamic principles was superfluous and should have been better omitted.

Few made reserves in their heart of hearts. Ulema may have remembered that from the beginning there has been a difference in status between the faithful, 'the people of the Book,' and the infidels. Historians possibly searched for traces of parliamentary regime in ancient Islamic states. Sceptics may find it hard to reconcile freedom and equality before the law with an explicit mention of two sections of citizens in the Constitution or with the different treatment of cultures, one being positively fostered by the State, the others being allowed to develop. But nobody in the Karachi Assembly raised any strong protest, and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan congratulated himself on having cleverly steered a difficult course between tradition and modernity.

The man-in-the-street cares little for theoretical views. He keeps to the old saying that the proof of the pudding is in the eating, and he knows that recipe-writing, cooking and digesting are vastly different undertakings. A decisive test of Pakistan's Constitution will be had in education. The first reports on new school regulations are little encouraging for the cultural schools of minorities. On the other hand, the desire of mutual understanding and help between India and Pakistan which increased in recent times will foster broad-mindedness and tolerance in Pakistan's majority party. Deeds alone can reassure minorities.

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The Romantic Movement in Perspective

Individual impressions are presented by romantic art in place of objective representations of more or less universal types. D. Jeffrey Williams writes in *The Theosophist* :

*Bliss was it in that dawn to be alive,
But to be young was very heaven.*

—WORDSWORTH

Near the end of the eighteenth century life stirred anew in men's hearts. A new world dawned upon or was revealed to men's imagination. A new capacity to appreciate and assess by means of feeling seemed to have been engendered. The heightened sensibility and quickened imagination—a new power of intuitive awareness, in fact—gave birth to what has been called the Romantic Movement in European literature. That Movement was in some ways a complete break with the then dominant intellectual and "classical" art and literary standards. It has been said that evidently the rules evolved from classical tradition were not suited to romantic ideals; the former aimed at symmetry of outline and perfection of form, whilst the latter aimed at the expression of individuality. The Romantic Movement therefore tended to discard formal beauty in favour of emotional intensity. Heine, the German poet, thought that "classical art had to express only the finite, and its forms could be identical with the artist's idea; romantic art had to represent, or rather to typify, the infinite and the spiritual, and had therefore to be expressed symbolically."

A line by a nineteenth century English poet seems to sum up the emphasis of the Romantic Movement: "Only what we feel we know."

The *Cambridge Modern History* refers to the fresh current that swept through the literature of Europe during the latter half of the eighteenth century. "Everywhere the stream set violently against the ideals of the last generation... New ideas thronged in from every side; new imaginative ideas began to shape themselves." There was a return to and a renewal of a love of external Nature in the thought and feeling of the period. Goethe's oft-quoted lines:

*Thus at the roaring loom of Time, I ply,
And weave for God the Garment thou see'st Him by,*

is indicative. The tendency had already made itself evident in the English poet Gray, and especially in his famous Elegy. "But it is in Rousseau," says the *Cambridge Modern History*, "that it takes its purest and most universal shape; and it is from him that it radiated through the whole literature of Europe.... Much of what is most characteristic in the work of Wordsworth, Byron and Shelley, much of what is best in the romantic movement of France—all trace their origin to this source."

Along with the rediscovery of external Nature and of man's kinship with it, Rousseau helped in the rediscovery of the inner nature of man.

The great German philosopher, Kant, compared the moral revolution wrought by Rousseau—in his "discovery of the deep-hidden nature of man"—to the intellectual revolution inaugurated by the discoveries of Newton. (With Kant, of course, we stand at the fountain-head of modern European philosophy.)

Perhaps no other writer directly exerted as wide and as profound an influence upon succeeding generations in Europe as did Rousseau. On politics, religion, aesthetics, literature and education, the marks of his impact are clear and unmistakable. In all these spheres as well as in the wide sphere of what we may roughly call "humanitarianism," he contributed new ideas and powerful tendencies, the significance of which for subsequent generations can

hardly be overestimated. Bursts of intuitive revelation as it were, came from Rousseau, and truth for him was almost a mystical apprehension, a rushing forth from the heart rather than by the discursive processes associated with the head. He averred that man was made for happiness, goodness and freedom. It was but a step from the fundamental theme of the natural goodness of man to that of natural equality, and to the cry of "hands off" to all who would stand in the way of man's natural freedom and equality. While the infant Romanticism thus received its letters of credit, as has been aptly said, at the hands of Rousseau, the nascent democratic movement, with its conception of the sovereignty of the people, obtained its sign manual. That democratic movement provided the etheric mould, as it were, of the major political constitutions and freedoms of the nineteenth century, and gave an irresistible impetus to the growth of self-governing communities all over the world.

Considered apart from its excesses, the French Revolution gave further inspiration and form to the ferment of new ideas engendered by Rousseau and others.

We today would perhaps think more in terms of "a common humanity" than that of pure and undiluted equality. Be that as it may, the conception of a common citizenship, which was a practical expression of the new ideas, made it impossible to maintain the disabilities of the Jews in France, and it was equally impossible to tolerate slavery. The men who founded the *Societe des Amis des Noirs* saw the problem of slavery from the standpoint of human equality. The Constitutional Assembly chivalrously declared the slaves in French colonial possession to be citizens of France; and, if the abolition of slavery was retarded owing to the fear of Jacobinism, its ultimate triumph owed much to the world-wide currency of French ideas.

A significant estimate of the French Revolution is given in the following words of G. P. Gooch in his *Studies in Modern History*:

"The French Revolution is the most important event in the life of modern Europe. Herder compared it to the Reformation and the rise of Christianity; and it deserves to be ranked with those two movements in history, because, like them, it destroyed the landmarks of the world in which generations of men had passed their lives, because it was a movement towards a completer humanity, and because it too was a religion, with its doctrines, apostles and martyrs. It brought on the stage of human affairs forces which have moulded the actions of men ever since, and have taken a permanent place among the formative influences of civilization. As Christianity taught that man was a spiritual being, and as the Reformation

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proclaimed that no barrier should stand between the soul and God, so the Revolution asserted the equality of men, and declared each one of them, regardless of birth, colour, or creed, to be possessed of inalienable rights..." (pp. 117-118).

A new reverence for childhood and children was heralded by the *Songs of Innocence* by Blake which he published in 1789, and which has been called the first evangel of youth.

"Blake did not merely sing childhood: rather childhood sang in him as it has never sung before or since." The freedom of women also found its first champion at this time in Mary Wollstonecraft. "It is vain to expect virtue from women till they are in some degree independent of men," was a statement that required much courage to express at the time, especially when women were regarded as "auxiliary beings" to minister and contribute to the comfort and to flatter the self-esteem of men. Penal reform, and humanity to animals, and vegetarianism also came to the fore for the first time in England.

In his *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*, Professor R. H. Tawney, discussing the end of serfdom says: "The disappearance of serfdom—and after all, it did not disappear from France till late in the eighteenth century, and from Germany till the nineteenth—was part of a general economic movement, with which the Church had little to do, and which churchmen, as property-owners, had sometimes resisted. It owed less to Christianity than to the humanitarian liberalism of the French Revolution." Did not Dr. Annie Besant also list the French Revolution among the major influences in the awakening of India and Asia in our day?

Television

Science and Culture observes :

Of the many remarkable devices produced during the last few decades by the art of electronic control or "Electronics," few can equal the universal interest aroused by television. Man now possesses the power of looking round the corner—power attributed to mythological gods alone in ancient time. To the success of this seemingly impossible feat many scientists, inventors and engineers have contributed. But it should be put on record that the first practical solution of the problem—however crude a solution it might have been—was due to the zeal and untiring perseverance of Baird. The labours of Baird also showed the direction in which radical improvement was necessary to make television a practical proposition. This radical change was introduced by Zworykin when he substituted the mechanical method of scanning by electronic scanning in his iconoscope or the "electronic eye" (1936). Improvements quickly followed which made the commercialisation of television service possible like broadcasting service. And, even before the outbreak of World War II one saw television service established in England, U. S. A., France,

U.S.S.R., Italy, Germany and Japan. The war naturally checked the progress. But on the other hand, the war researches provided many new ultra-high frequency techniques immediately utilizable in television. Television service thus received an unprecedented impetus. Further, as described by our contributor, applications of television technique have resulted in the invention of new ultra-rapid systems of tele-communication, new defence apparatus and new safety devices for aerial navigation. It is therefore no wonder that the victorious countries are rapidly developing commercial television service and their expanding radio industries are spending lavishly on researches on new applications of television technique.

It is strange that these phenomenal developments in the western countries are not generally known in India outside a very limited circle.

Even amongst people who ought to know better, the prevalent idea is that television is still in an experimental stage, that its service is uncertain and unsatisfactory and that, at best, it is far behind broadcasting in its usefulness and technical perfection. There has thus been no comments either in the press or from the platform to impress upon the Government the necessity of taking steps for encouraging television research and for introducing television service in this country—at least as an experimental measure, as had been done by the B.B.C. as early as 1936.

Let us review the many uses of television besides the most popular one, namely, entertainment and dissemination of "live" news. Television has immense possibilities as a means of spreading knowledge and stimulating thirst for the same in the young and the old. Indeed, a more versatile and interesting system of instruction, in which the voice and the figure of the expert lecturer, in perfect unison with the actual demonstrations, are conveyed over hundreds of miles, can hardly be imagined. In the hand of a Government, particularly of a large country like ours, television will be a powerful means—more powerful than simple sound-broadcasting—of keeping people close together in times of stress. A popular leader's speech of appeal to the country will undoubtedly have a greater and more immediate effect if the audience not only hears the leader's convincing voice but also at the same time sees him delivering the speech with his characteristic pose and gestures of emphasis.

A properly planned network of television service would enable the Government in times of emergency to arrive at quicker decisions on administrative and political matters through inter-city television conferences. To the business people it would provide an exceptionally effective means of commercial advertisement.

We have no hesitation in urging upon the Central Government to take immediate steps for introducing television in this country by instituting enquiry and sponsoring research for determining the best and the most suitable "system" to be adopted for India.



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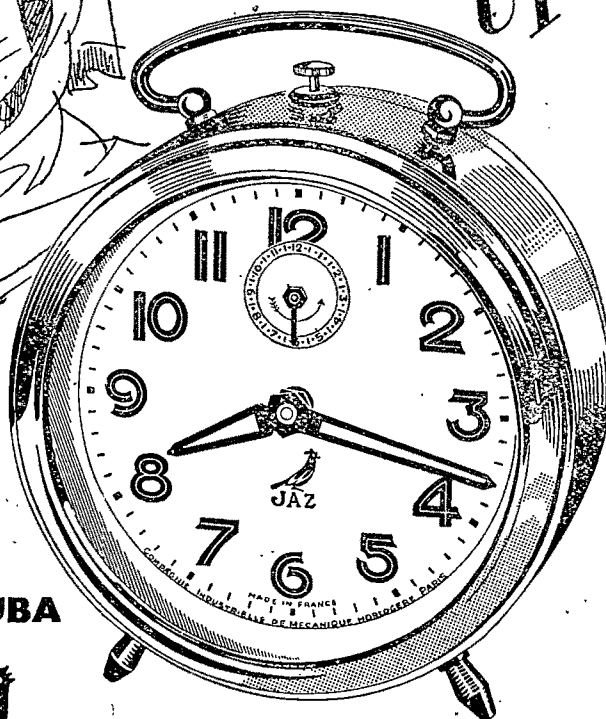
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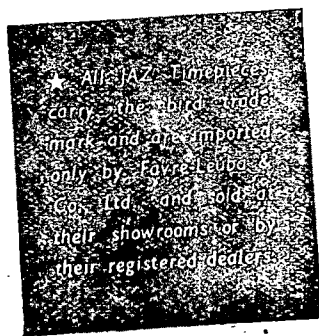
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Ireland

The statement on External Policy by Mr. Sean MacBride, T.D., Minister for External Affairs at the *Dail Eireann*, July 20th, 1948, is partly reproduced as follows :

A start has been made in the direction of a United States of Europe in the economic sphere by the creation of the Organisation for European Economic Co-operation. This organisation has undertaken its work in a business-like and constructive manner. If it continues to progress in the same direction, it may well form a nucleus around which economic co-operation throughout the whole of Europe can be planned.

If the countries of Europe are all prepared to surrender a certain small fraction of their sovereignty, then a United States of Europe could become a practical possibility, in the political as well as in the economic sphere.

This movement for a United States of Europe is the result of the realisation that, unless something tangible is done to remove the causes of war, the world will again drift towards self-destruction. I feel, however, that what is really more important than the creation of international machinery is the creation of an ideal of peace, based on the recognition of certain fundamental democratic rights. Materialism and expediency, coupled with fear and intolerance, have been the dominating influences in European politics. It is essential that the people of Europe should be given some hope, based on faith and idealism. For us, this is relatively easy, because our attachment to Christian principles gives us that faith and idealism.

Because of our desire for peace, because of our belief that man has a higher function to fulfil than to act as a cog in a flywheel, and because of our close relationship with the Western Hemisphere, we should be able to play an important role in Europe.

Our usefulness in this respect is largely nullified by the fact that we ourselves suffer from an injustice, in that our country is artificially divided against the wishes of the overwhelming majority of its people.

I do not propose to deal with Partition at any length in this debate, but I think that I should take this occasion to emphasise the importance of this issue. The continuance of Partition precludes us from taking our rightful place in the affairs of Europe. I believe that the British Government and people are approaching the realisation that the statesmanlike policy lies in the direction of securing the complete friendship and co-operation of this island; the realisation that a united and a free Ireland is as essential to Britain's welfare as it is to Ireland's. We, on our part, want to hold out the hand of friendship to Britain, but so long as Partition remains, it will inevitably mar the relationship between our two islands. We want, and are quite prepared, to bury the past provided that the present holds out a realisation of our right to national self-determination. The wise and statesmanlike approach on Britain's part is to assist in the removal of this sore and of all other reminders of the unhappy history of our past relationships.

One of the difficulties that we have to contend with

in relation to Partition is that, to Britain, it is only one of many problems; it is always easier to shelve a problem—especially an uncomfortable one. I should like to urge upon the statesmen of Great Britain the very real urgency and importance of this problem from our point of view. It has often been said, and I think it is commonplace even in English political circles that the tragedy of Anglo-Irish relationship lies in the fact that the British realisation of the realities of our problems always came too late. Nothing can be gained by delaying the adoption of a statesmanlike approach to this very serious problem.

Two points emerge now possibly more clearly than ever before; firstly, the artificial division of our national territory is something that no generation of Irishmen and that no Irish Government will ever acquiesce in or accept. Secondly, that so long as it continues, Partition will constitute a definite obstacle to the kind of relationship between Ireland and Britain, which it is in the interest, not merely of the two countries, but of the world as a whole, to bring about.

In earlier debates in this House I have already referred to the economic disadvantages that result from the continued division of our country—economic disadvantages that affect the welfare of our people on both sides of the Border. If we, in the Twenty-Six Counties have, in the present situation, to be a drain on the resources of the United States or on the dollar resources of the sterling area reserve, it is due, practically entirely, to the fact that the industrial arm of our country has been amputated. On the other hand, our people in the Six North-Eastern Counties have to undergo very heavy taxation and shortages, because they are cut off from the agricultural arm of their own country. A very large proportion of their exports remain unrequited, while they are deprived of substantial markets for their own goods in the rest of Ireland.

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The Atlantic Pact

Washington, March 10—The draft North Atlantic pact, U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson reports, clearly states the determination of the participating nations to exercise their right of collective self-defense.

The Secretary opened his press conference by saying that a review of the general background of the negotiations seemed appropriate before publication and discussion of the pact's specific terms. The intent is to preserve peace, he emphasized and the draft drawn up by the negotiators conforms to both the terms and spirit of the United Nations Charter.

FIVEFOLD PURPOSE OF THE ALLIANCE

Acheson said the negotiators had the following five-fold purpose:

1. To give recognition to the association which has existed for some 300 years between the United States and Western Europe. The treaty does not create something artificial, Acheson stressed, but rather recognizes an association based primarily on common ideas and common institutions of freedom.
2. To make it clear that the treaty both in word and thought is within the U.N. Charter.
3. To state clearly the determination of the United States and its associates to exercise their rights against aggression. Two world wars demonstrated the need for such a prior and clear statement of determination to resist aggression, Acheson said.
4. To contribute to economic recovery and stability in Europe through reducing the sense of insecurity brought on by the fear of aggression.
5. To establish machinery to make the security alliance effective.

BACKGROUND FOR NEGOTIATIONS

Reviewing the background for the negotiations, Acheson recalled the pre-1947 hope that economic recovery and the settlement of postwar problems underlying permanent peace could be achieved through universal

cooperation. In 1947, however, Acheson said, it became apparent that this cooperation was not being achieved and that the Soviet Union and its satellites were not only unwilling to cooperate but were also trying to obstruct peace settlements and recovery.

The Council of Foreign Ministers' meeting in early 1947 was unsuccessful in meeting world problems and the CFM meeting later that year was even more unfruitful, Acheson noted.

Also in 1947, Acheson pointed out the United States responded to the appeal made by Greece and Turkey for assistance in resisting outside pressures. It seemed, the secretary said, that recovery and security could not be achieved through U.N. collaboration, much as this was desired.

In this situation, alternatives had to be considered since economic recovery and security could not wait, Acheson went on.

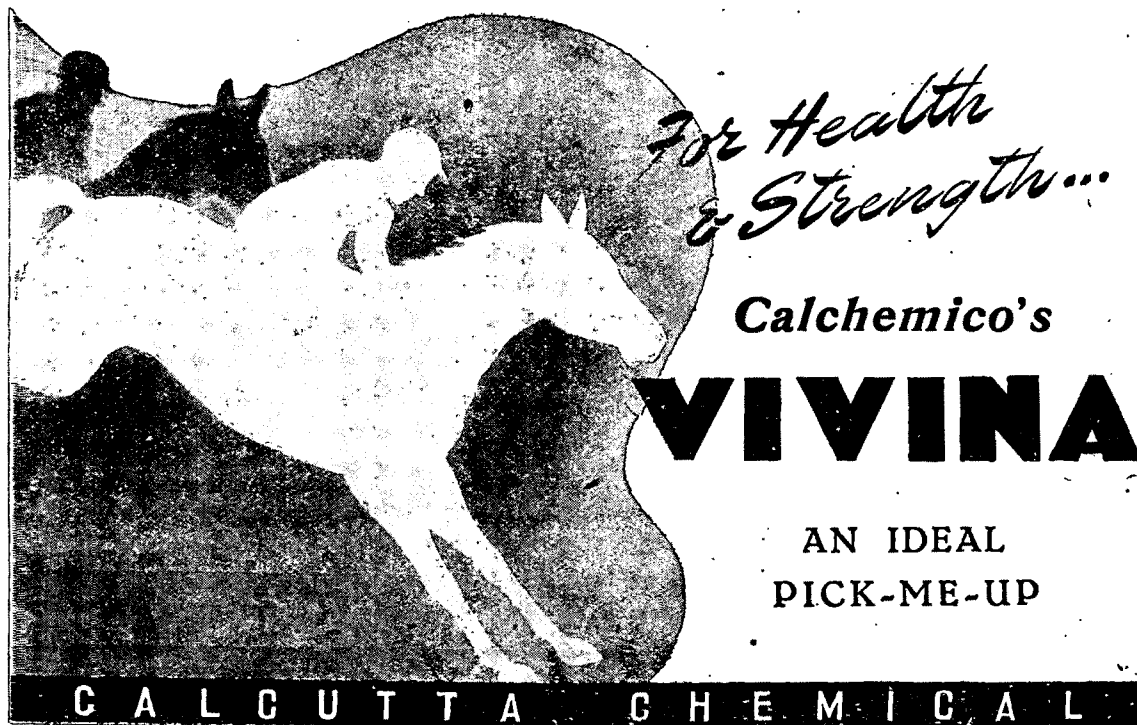
Acheson then reviewed the steps leading to the European Recovery Program, suggested by Secretary of State George C. Marshall in his address at Harvard University in June 1947.

BRUSSELS PACT A PRECEDENT

The following year saw the signing of the Brussels Pact among Britain, France and the Benelux countries. This marked a new departure in defense arrangements in Europe, Acheson said. This collective arrangement within the provisions of the U.N. Charter was lauded by President Truman as a notable step toward peace.

Consideration was then given, Acheson said, as to how the United States could best cooperate in this peace effort. The result was the so-called Vandenberg Resolution overwhelmingly adopted in 1948 by the Senate and a similar statement adopted by the House Foreign Affairs Committee.

Using these guides, consultations began with the Brussels Pact signatories and Canada, the outgrowth being the projected North Atlantic security arrangement. —USIS.



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The "Internationalization" of Jerusalem

Eliezer Liebenstein discusses the question in the *Jewish Frontier* :

The idea of placing Jerusalem under an international regime was never suggested in connection with Jewish interests. Neither does it have any connection with Arab interests. The major basis for it is the problem of the "holy places"—that is, the Christian holy places.

It is essential, therefore, to examine this idea and to see whether it is true that the safety of shrines and the holy places requires "internationalization," or whether the opposite is true—that a strong "native" government would be more concerned and better equipped to defend the honor and safety of these places than any international combination of powers.

What does history teach us in this respect?

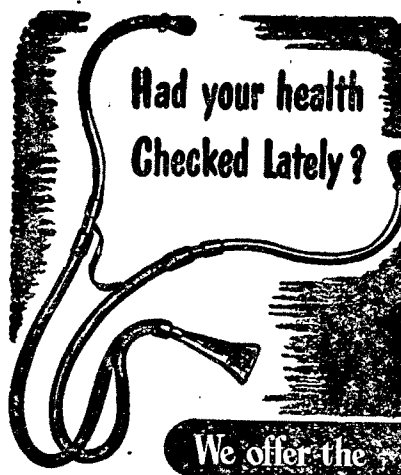
The historic period which concerns us most in this respect is that of the last four hundred years. It begins in the year 1517, when Jerusalem was conquered by the Turks, and ends in 1948, with the termination of the British mandate. As far as the political regime in Jerusalem is concerned, it is possible to divide this period into three stages: from the beginning of the Turkish conquest until the decline of the Ottoman Empire, that is, from 1517 to the beginning of the nineteenth century; the period of the decline of the Ottoman Empire up until the expulsion of the Turks from Palestine in 1917; the British mandate, from 1917 to 1948.

Whatever else may be said concerning the rule of the Ottoman Turks in Palestine, it cannot be denied that they watched over the holy Christian places with great care.

The situation began to change as the Ottoman empire became weaker and its authority in Palestine diminished. Jerusalem became a target of international intervention on the part of the great powers. The European powers acquired specific political rights within the Holy City—some of them shared in common and some of them held separately. Each power felt it necessary to "defend" the holy places held sacred by the majority of its citizens (even in cases when the government itself was anti-clerical, as, for example, in the case of France, 1848 to 1851), and one power began to quarrel with another concerning its rights.

"Christian Jerusalem" became a recognized center of international intrigue.

More than one international dispute was caused (or rendered acute) as a result of this "international supervision" of the Holy City, and at least one major war—that of 1853-1856—resulted in no small extent from the disputes of the different churches in Jerusalem. This was undoubtedly the most unnecessary and most absurd war of the nineteenth century. As far as the dignity and integrity of the Christian holy places were concerned, this was one of the most shameful periods in their history. Each sect interfered—by means of the power-politics employed by the particular government it leaned upon—with the worship needs of its rival, and in this way some shocking damage was caused to the places held sacred by all of them. A striking example of this is the fact that the dome of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was not completed over a period of many years (during the middle of the



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19th century) owing to the conflicting claims of Christian sects and the power-politics played by the governments supporting them.

And end came to this situation with the conquest of the country by the British in 1917. Whatever may be said in criticism of British rule in Palestine in other respects—and a great deal might be said as is well-known—there is no denying that, as long as it was strong and stable it watched over the Christian holy places faithfully and freed them from the shame of the period of "capitulations" and "consular commissions" just referred to. The various Christian countries realized that the government in question was powerful and unequivocal, and that it would not tolerate any exploitation of inflated religious grievances for political or diplomatic purposes. In general, the British attitude toward the various Christian churches was quite fair and impartial, and complaints against it in this respect were few. As a result, the various rival churches realized that it would be best for them to center their efforts on constructive enterprises and avoid political entanglements as much as possible.

This was the case as long as the British Administration in Jerusalem was more or less sure of its ground. No sooner, however, had talk begun concerning an "internationalized Jerusalem," in 1947, than anarchy took over again, in more extreme forms than ever. The decision of the United Nations to make Jerusalem an "international" city turned everything upside down. The holy places of all denominations—among them the Christian holy places—were the first victims of these chaotic conditions and the game of political intrigue in the guise of religious "interests" came to the fore again. Our old acquaintances of the period of "capitulations" appeared again on the scene.

Cynical atheists began a diplomatic crusade in defense of the holy places.

This is no accident. So long as Jerusalem is in the hands of a strong and uncompromising "native" government, the various powers have little hope of exploiting the matter of the holy places for their political or diplomatic aims. A separation between secular and religious matters is desirable in the interest of both. A local government will always be interested in a fair and impartial policy with regard to the various religious communities of the Jerusalem area and its holy places, inasmuch as any grievance or controversy in this respect might lead to a general conflagration and turn Jerusalem into an international problem.

There is no doubt that the most reliable authority over the Holy City—with all its shrines and holy places—is a strong local government, both civilized and stable, concerned with the safety of the sacred places but interested in avoiding exploitation of these places for political purposes, in other words—a government which has an attitude of respect toward the shrines of the Christian world, but being non-Christian itself, cannot be suspected of taking sides in any of their sectarian disputes.

In the present conditions it is the state of Israel which comes closest to fulfilling these terms—as an impartial guardian of the Holy City of Jerusalem with its Christian shrines and sacred places.

From the Christian point of view then, as well as from the Jewish, no better solution could be found for Jerusalem than its integration within the state of Israel.

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United Nations Planning World-wide Radio

William Bross Lloyd, Jr. writes in the *Worldover Press*, March, 1949:

Lake Success, N.Y.—Plans for a United Nations world-wide broadcasting system, hurdling nationalistic iron curtains and enjoying direct access to radio listeners throughout the globe, are now being perfected by the Secretariat under the direction of Secretary-General Trygve Lie.

Approved in principle by the General Assembly on November 18, 1948, the project is reported on excellent authority to be delayed only by the meagerness of the U.N. budget, which is said not to be able to stand the estimated cost of \$8,000,000. An interesting footnote to this figure is the fact that Congressman Karl E. Mundt on December 29 suggested that the State Department be authorized to lay out \$50,000,000 every year on the "Voice of America" program of international broadcasting.

Specialists desirous of maintaining and strengthening the United Nations are remembering the declaration of the U.N. Advisory Committee of Information Experts on this project, as reported in the United Nations Bulletin for June 15, 1948: "The United Nations must have facilities under its own control for adequate telecommunications. Without such facilities there can be no assurance that existing United Nations radio operations can be continued. Further, in times of emergency the only channels in which the U.N. can address itself directly to the peoples of the world may be its own telecommunications system...."

A detailed engineering plan for the U.N. world broadcasting system was included in the report of the Advisory Committee on U.N. Telecommunications in the Second Assembly in 1947. The program, worked out by a sub-committee headed by Brigadier General Frank E. Stoner, formerly of the U.S. Army, called for a headquarters station; a European station, originating and relay; and a Pacific area relay station. A Latin American originating and relay station would be added as the organization expands and requirements are more precisely known.

These short-wave broadcasting centers will be at locations chosen on a geographical and technical basis in territories of Member Nations. Each center is to have transmitters, receivers, directional antennae for transmission and reception, and terminal broadcasting equipment. Each U.N. radio center will be connected by wire lines, low powered radio or micro-wave channels to permit rebroadcasting listening audience by use of a governmental or private chains in the areas served.

Though friends of civil liberties may boggle at any official radio control or official news service, it is important to note that in nearly all the rest of the world outside America, the radio is already under official national control, and therefore cannot escape the influence of the various—and often conflicting—national foreign policies. There is no suggestion that the U.N. will exercise any sort of control or restraint over national or private radio operations. The U.N. broadcasts, therefore, however undemocratic the control of their policies might be, would nevertheless represent a broadening rather than a narrowing of listeners' choices throughout the world.

In an imperfect world where absolute truth is indefinable, U.N. officials feel it is important at least to make the United Nations version of world affairs available to those who care to listen. The plan provides a chance for liberals and internationalists, fond of cursing the darkness of nationalistic propaganda, to help light a candle.

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Literature and Art in the United States

Publishing surveys for 1948 show a drop in the output of fiction and a rise in the production of nonfiction books in the United States. Of the total 9,897 new books and new editions published by American firms last year, 1,643 were fiction, a drop of 16 percent from the 1947 figures. On the other hand, the trade journal, *Publishers' Weekly*, notes several nonfiction categories show very large percentage increases over 1947: for example, agriculture and gardening, up 67 percent; fine arts up 35 percent; medicine, hygiene and science, each up 34 percent.

The 1948 total publication figures represented an increase of 8 percent over 1947, which showed an increase of 19 percent over 1946. Of the total, fiction accounted for 17 percent; juveniles, 9 percent; religion, 7 percent; poetry, drama and science, 6 percent each. The remainder was made up of books covering such subjects as history, biography, sociology, music, philology, agriculture, and education.

Last year 929 books for juveniles were published. For the major nonfiction categories the totals were: religion, 677; science, 592; poetry and drama, 563; biography, 513; history, 503; general literature, 473; technical and military books, 466; sociology and economics, 461, and medicine and hygiene, 433.

Although published late in the year (November), General Dwight D. Eisenhower's *Crusade in Europe* led best-seller lists in bookstore nonfiction sales for 1948. Runners-up were Dale Carnegie's *How To Stop Worrying and Start Living* and the late Joshua Liebman's *Peace of Mind*, first published in 1946. *The Big Fisherman* by Lloyd C. Douglas headed fiction sales with Norman Mailor's *The Naked and the Dead* and Frances Keyes' *Dinner at Antoine's* in section and third place.

Publishers of inexpensive paper-bound editions reported a total sale of 135,000,000 copies in 1948. These "pocket" books have become popular with American readers. Their titles include many classic works, as well as mysteries, "how-to-do-it" books and romantic novels.—USIS.

Goethe Anniversary

Plans are being made in the United States for a Goethe Bicentennial celebration to be held at Aspen, Colorado, June 27-July 17. Chancellor Robert Hutchins of the University of Chicago reveals. Describing the 18th century poet-philosopher, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe as "a universal man," Hutchins says that the celebration commemorating the 200th anniversary of his birth will be "a project in world community" attended by representative leaders from many countries.

Hutchins says that the Bicentennial will re-emphasize the importance of humanistic studies "at a time when science and technology are on the crest of such a high wave." He refers to Goethe not only as a universal man in his interest in literature, science, art and philosophy, but describes him as "also a universal man in the sense that he never was detained by national boundaries," believing in the ability of all individuals to be genuinely free. Goethe was interested in the humanities, Hutchins says, but he "was also a scientist and yet understood the role of the scientist in relation to other fields and other aspects of life."

The Foundation plans to publish a 10-volume edition of Goethe's most important works in modern English translation. Two volumes are due to be completed this year.—USIS.

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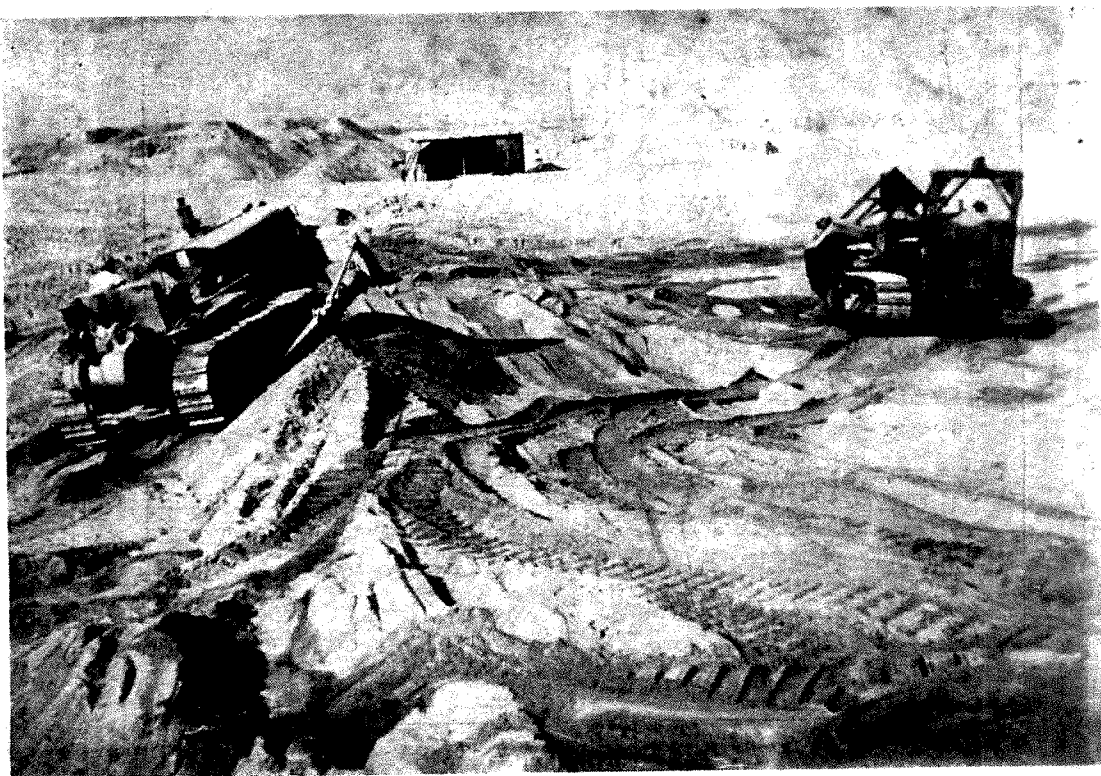
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1949

VOL. LXXXV, No. 6

WHOLE No. 510

NOTES

Critical Times

As the Constitution of the Indian Union is taking shape, it is becoming more and more apparent that the men who are at the head are getting more and more uncertain about the political atmosphere of the country. The day when they assumed power, they were absolutely certain of the sanction of the will of the People being solid behind them. Today we have certain measures brought into the Constitution that British Imperialism was hard put to justify in the eyes of the world and which they could only justify in the eyes of their own people as being temporary measures, brought in under the stress of circumstances to bring under control such forces as were trying to disrupt the established system of Law and Order.

Elsewhere we have discussed one such measure and we await fuller reports of certain others. But there is a question in our mind as to how and why these apparently retrograde steps were considered to be necessary by those on whom lay the task of bringing the Constitution of the Indian Union into concrete shape. We are well aware of the fact that this Constitution that is on the anvil of public opinion, is not of the same metal as that of the Laws of the Medes and Persians, and that it would undergo change, for better or for worse, in successive Parliaments of the sovereign Republic of India as and when circumstances are deemed to be favourable for the alteration of the old order. But for all that it cannot be denied that the Government of the day is no longer so sure of the will of the people now as it was when it took over power from the British.

We have discussed in a previous issue the question of the world situation being the main distractive factor in the apparent vagaries of the men in charge of the Union. Today, after the catastrophic debacle in China, the eyes of the world are being focussed on to India. As an example of the new orientation we quote the following letter from the *New York Post*, written by Senator Hubert Humphrey, one of the young progressive leaders of the Democratic Party:

"Dear Editor! There has been a great deal of discussion concerning American foreign policy, particularly as it pertains to the mainland of Asia and the East Indies. Recent events in China have brought into sharp focus the complexity of the problem.

"Frankly, we need friends in Asia. We need to bolster up those forces that are aspiring to democratic goals.

"India is a leader in the South-eastern Asian area. Likewise, India is a member in good standing of the United Nations. She has played a consistent and devoted role to the principles of the United Nations chapter. Up to this time, she has aligned herself in the United Nations deliberations on the side of the Western powers. She has a deep friendship for the United States.

"It is with these thoughts in mind that I call to the attention of our government the importance of a positive and constructive foreign policy along with economic aid for India.

"It would be presumptuous on my part to attempt to formulate a detailed program. I would suggest, however, the consideration of (1) educational opportunities for Indian students in our country on the basis of scholarships provided by our government, (2) direct financial assistance under the same terms as our ECA or Marshall Plan program, (3) the application of the fourth point of President Truman's inaugural address foreign policy statement, namely, technical, scientific and financial assistance to the under-developed areas."

The friend who has sent us the cutting, Dr. Taraknath Das, has asked us: "What are Indian statesmen doing to forge stronger links with America?" This question we leave to our statesmen to answer.

But the real question seems to be as to what Indian statesmen—we do not mean the leaders of the Indian "Yes-men"—are doing to retain the friendship of the People of India? The strong chain, linking the people with their leaders, that was forged by the Father of the Nation, by a life-time of devoted and utterly self-less service has been deeply rusted and corroded by the forces of evil which our statesmen have failed to bring under control up till now.

Critical times are ahead and so it is vitally necessary that the people and their chosen leaders should get together. Our statesmen should search their souls and seek for the causes of mutual suspicion.

India in the Commonwealth

India's new status as a Republic within the British Commonwealth has been "ratified" by the Constituent Assembly and subsequently approved by the Congress Party machinery at Dehra Dun. Mr. Attlee has explained, after the London Conference, that "Commonwealth of Nations, British Commonwealth of Nations and British Empire," are only different terms carrying the same meaning to be used by different members according to their own choice. So, within the second year of her independence, India re-enters the British Empire. Our revolutionary Congress leaders were noticed to be completely in tune with the old liberals of the country. 13 out of the 15 speakers supported the Commonwealth resolution, including many well-known members of the old liberal party. The Socialists, having little place in the Constituent Assembly staged a demonstration outside the Chamber. Prof. K. T. Shah reflected the genuine sentiments of the majority section of the really progressive people, whom the Congress no longer fully represents. He objected to the expression "ratification," which suggested something previously authorized and which now required ratification in its final technical form. He could not recall any such authorization by the House.

"The tendency to present the House with a *fait accompli* was not likely to lead to the freedom in discussion that is absolutely indispensable for the healthy growth of democratic sentiment in this country. It had been said that the London decision contemplated no change in the existing position. If that was so, what was the need for the agreement? If, on the other hand, there were commitments, the House was entitled to know them.

"One of the greatest achievements of the present Government was to disestablish rulers, some of whose ancestors had a glorious record. He had shed no tears over the passing away of the old Princely Order because he did not believe in autocratic kingship. It did, however, strike him as highly anomalous that the same Government wanted to recognize the British King as the symbol of unity and as the Head of the Commonwealth."

Prof. Shah said, supporters of the London decision pleaded for a "forget-and-forgive attitude." It seemed that Britain was to do all the forgetting and India all the forgiving. India must forgive Britain for her record of exploitation, of suppression, oppression and denial of her rights. Even now some of the so-called Dominions of Britain flaunted their policy of oppression, domination and discrimination against Indians.

He did not see how India would be isolated in the world if she was not a member of the Commonwealth. There was the United Nations with a definite statute, Charter and institutions, of which she was a member. Economically, Britain herself depended on the USA and was unlikely to give India that assistance which India needed.

"The Prime Minister," said Prof. Shah, "has declared that he is not a good bargainer. I am afraid, that

perhaps is true. I must also remind the House that Britain is a very good bargainer."

Pandit Nehru, replying to the debate, appealed to his critics not to look at the question in a party spirit.

"I think it should be possible for people who differ considerably in regard to internal policy to have more or less a unified foreign policy," he said. "It is exceedingly difficult to have any common approach about anything with those individuals or groups who think in terms of other countries and not of India at all as the primary thing. But to people who think in terms of India's independence and progress, there should be no great difference in our foreign policy."

The London decision, he declared, fulfilled, and did not go against any of "the pledges of ours." That is to say, it did not come in the way of India's going forward to her natural destiny of a sovereign independent republic.

Indian freedom and independence were in no way touched. The republic that the House had decided upon would come into existence without any commitment which might tie it down in any way.

"We would have achieved that, of course, in any event, but we have achieved that with the goodwill of many others. To achieve it with the goodwill of others, who perhaps are hit by it, is some achievement. It shows that this manner of doing things is a manner which does not leave a trace of evil, hatred, bitterness or ill-will behind. On the other hand, it starts with a fund of goodwill, and goodwill is always precious from any quarter.

"Therefore, I had the feeling, when I was considering this matter in London, that in a small measure perhaps I had done something that would have met with the approval of Gandhiji. I am thinking more of the manner of it than of the thing done."

One of the tests by which the decision should be judged was whether it helped or hindered India in making rapid progress. India had in a sense solved the political problem, but was faced with many economic difficulties. They were her domestic concern no doubt, but the world could help or hinder any policy that she might adopt.

"I am prepared to go ahead even without external help," he added. "But obviously it will be a far more difficult task, and it will take a much longer time. During these critical years that face us it is important that we make good economically as we have done politically. We have to see whether this (London decision) generally helps us to gain strength and to build ourselves up in the near future or not."

Another test, he said, was whether in the world as it was today it helped in the promotion of peace and the avoidance of war. No Government dare allow its country to be unprepared for contingencies.

"We have to prepare ourselves unfortunately," he added, "unless we are brave enough to follow completely the policy that the Mahatma laid down. But it is not so much a question of my being brave or your being

brave but of the country being brave enough to follow and understand that policy. I do not think we have been brought up to that level of understanding and behaviour and, indeed, we talk about that great level when in the last year and a half we have seen the lowest depths of behaviour in this country. So let us not take his name in vain in this connexion."

"Nevertheless, I think that in a sense India is particularly suited to contribute to peace because in spite of our being rather feeble and rather unworthy followers of Gandhiji, we have imbibed to some slight extent what he told us.

"I do submit that what we have done in no way, negatively speaking, injures us or can injure us.

"Positively we have achieved politically what we wanted and we are likely to have more opportunities of progress in this way than otherwise we would have had in the next few years. And, finally, in the world context, it is something that encourages and helps peace to some extent."

Pandit Nehru pointed out that the London decision in no way bound this or any other country. It was open to the present House or the next Parliament at any time to break the link if it chose—not that he wanted that link to be broken, but he was merely pointing out that the future had not been bound down in the slightest degree.

Some members of the House and some outside the House had opposed his motion. He said: "They have been totally unable to come out of that cage of the past in which all of us had lived, even though the door has been open for them mentally to come out.

"Some of our friends have been good enough to quote from my speeches delivered 15 or 20 years ago. If they attached so much value to my speeches, they might have listened to my present speeches a little more carefully (laughter.)

"The world has changed. Evil still remains evil, and good is good. Imperialism is an evil thing, and wherever it remains it has to be rooted out. Colonialism is an evil thing, and wherever it remains it has to be rooted out. Racialism is an evil and has to be fought. All that is true.

"If you talk about British imperialism and the rest today, I do not say that you are one hundred per cent wrong because there is a bit of it left, but fundamentally you are wrong because there is no capacity for imperialism, even if the will was there. It simply cannot be done. The French are acting imperialistically in parts of Asia. They may, but the fact remains that their capacity for doing it is past. They may carry on for a year or two. The Dutch may do it elsewhere.

"But if you look at these things in the historical way, all these are hangovers of something given up. Essentially, that particular aspect cannot be effected because they have no strength behind them to do so.

"It may last even a few years and, therefore, we have to combat it and to be vigilant, but let us not think

as if Europe or England were the same as it were 15 or 30 years ago. It is not. Nor are we.

"We have to look at these problems in a big way. If we are a big nation in size, that will not bring bigness to us unless we are big in mind and heart and understanding and action also.

"You can take it from me that you may, perhaps, gain a little here and there with your bargainers and hagglers of the marketplace, but, if you act in a big way, the response to you is very big from the world. So it always draws good from others, and a big action which shows generosity of spirit brings generosity from the other side.

"I, therefore, commend this resolution to the House and hope that the House will not only approve it but accept it as a harbinger of good relations, of our acting in a generous way towards other countries and towards the world and thus strengthening ourselves and strengthening the cause of peace."

Pandit Nehru seems to have passed the peak of his popularity. A Frank Anthony was needed to invoke the theory of a "super-agent" to justify Panditji's meeting the House with a *fait accompli*. Clearly enough, Pandit Nehru is now on the defensive.

London Decision Ratification in the A.I.C.C.

Moving the resolution on India's continued membership of the Commonwealth before the A.I. C. C., Dr. Rajendra Prasad said, "We have remained in the Commonwealth in order to promote world peace and avoid future war. If Mahatma Gandhi had any message for the world, it was the message of peace. We also want peace to reign in the world and from this angle we looked upon the London agreement. Our association with the Commonwealth would further the cause India stand for, better than otherwise."

In his 30-minute speech Dr. Rajendra Prasad told the members, "Our Prime Minister carried only the mandate of the Congress Working Committee. The London agreement is in conformity with all our past pledges and does not stand in the way of India becoming a sovereign Independent Republic."

Appealing to the members to view the London decision in the light of the present circumstances, Dr. Rajendra Prasad said, "Today we have the best of relations with England. We must forget and wash the bitter past and cherish the present happy relations."

He added that this decision was not a hard and fast treaty. It did not bind India to anything, she was absolutely free to pursue her own course. By taking this decision, they were neither to lose nor gain anything.

If they decided to leave the Commonwealth, they could do so whenever they so chose without giving any notice. This decision was much better than any treaty because a treaty involved obligations whereas in this case there were no obligations.

Since August 15, 1947, they were free, said Dr. Rajendra Prasad, but there was some weakness. They

had to do everything in the name of the King and that affected their freedom. But this agreement abolished that weakness and from the day they declared India as a sovereign independent Republic, everything would be done in the name of the President and not the King. Even the King's effigy on the coins would be changed.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad told the members that the Commonwealth had changed and had been gradually changing. Under the present decision, a nation could remain free and at the same time be a member of the Commonwealth. India, in spite of her being a Republic, would be a member of the Commonwealth. She could also enter into a treaty with any other nations.

Today the European nations were arming themselves for another war and nobody knew what would happen. We were not compelled to join any side. Our decision would be based on India's interest.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad then commended the London agreement for acceptance.

Seconding the resolution on the Commonwealth issue, Pandit Govind Ballabh Pant said that the London agreement was *"in keeping with the pledges and ideals of the Congress and it is beneficial not only to India but to the whole world."* He said that the Jaipur resolution on foreign policy was in accordance with the agreement. The London agreement, added Pandit Pant, revolutionised the very conception and shape of the Commonwealth.

"It is not India that has joined the Commonwealth but members of the Commonwealth have joined India," he said.

Pandit Pant declared, India's decision to join the Commonwealth while maintaining her independence unimpaired was just like a country joining the United Nations.

The London decision, Pandit Pant continued, should be considered from two aspects: (1) whether the decision was consistent with the pledges of the Congress, (2) whether in the circumstances of today, it was beneficial to India and the world.

He was convinced, Pandit Pant said, that the decision was perfectly consistent with India's high ideals and pledges and that it was beneficial not only for India but for the whole world.

Besides, the decision enhanced the reputation and prestige of India considerably, said Pandit Pant, as the countries of the Commonwealth openly admitted the growing strength of India.

Pandit Pant stressed the desirability of retaining "link with the Commonwealth as India had to depend on England at least for some time."

Another criterion of judging the decision of the London conference, he added, was to what extent did it help in preserving and maintaining the hard-won independence of India. He thought that the decision was helpful in that respect, because in case of any conflict no country of the Commonwealth was likely to go against India.

Speaking on South Africa where Indians were being maltreated, Pandit Pant said that the country had now

lost all moral grounds to stand upon and they hoped to win her over by love and peace.

Concluding, Pandit Pant appealed to the members to pass the resolution unanimously. Members, he said, could express any amount of dissent on matters relating to the internal conditions of the country but they should support the foreign policy unanimously, exhibiting to the world their unity and solidarity.

The Prime Minister, Pandit Nehru, replying to criticisms of the London Agreement said that the London decision might be "bitter" for others, but not for the Congress or for India. It would help consolidate India's freedom and strengthen the forces of peace in the world.

The next four or five years, Pandit Nehru added, were vital for world peace. "If we are not economically strong we will not be able to influence world politics. The London decision gives us an opportunity to advance economically. That economic advancement will be achieved in this agreement, not at the cost of national self-respect."

During the last 200 years, the Prime Minister said, India had developed certain economic connections with Britain and she could not afford to cut them suddenly. To build up the same relations with other countries would take at least two or three crucial years.

Pandit Nehru reiterated, the London Agreement was in accordance with the past pledges.

He agreed with the suggestion made by some members that the agreement should have been first discussed by the A.-I. C. C. and afterwards by the Constituent Assembly, but the A.-I. C. C. could not be called at too short notice while the Constituent Assembly met soon after the London Declaration and it was only proper that such a momentous issue should have been referred to it immediately.

Pandit Nehru said that even though the matter was not referred to the A.-I. C. C. first he would point out that the London decision was in strict accordance with the resolution adopted by the Congress at Jaipur. He wanted to tell the critics that what he accepted at London was not the same which he had opposed previously. In the past he had opposed Dominion Status, but this is not Dominion Status. India will be a Sovereign Independent Republic and will enjoy more freedom than many other free countries of the world.

There were, he said, 70 or 80 independent States in the world and of these only four or five could be said to be independent in the real sense. India would be as free as any of these four or five countries.

The decision, he added, was "a friendly pact." The King had been recognised as a symbol of free association but India's republican constitution would remain unaffected.

He appealed to the House not to bring in the question of racial discrimination while discussing the merits of the resolution. Membership of the Commonwealth did not prevent India from fighting South Africa's policy. India had also conflict with Pakistan on Kashmir and certain other issues. Even under the present set-up

these issues had to be taken up bilaterally just as between any two independent nations. The Commonwealth did not come in the picture. India did not want to refer such disputes to the Commonwealth because it would mean conferring the status of a superstate on the Commonwealth.

The London decision did not imply that India had accepted all policies pursued by individual countries in the Commonwealth. India might have pacts and treaties with Russia and U. S. A. also for mutual benefit but that would not mean that India subscribed to Russian and American policies.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad and Pandit G. B. Pant, the mover and seconder of the resolution, and Pandit Nehru himself unequivocally declared that the London Agreement was in conformity with the past pledges. Pandit Pant went one step further, and declared that "it is not India that has joined the Commonwealth but members of the Commonwealth have joined India." In his enthusiasm, Pandit Pant seems to have forgotten the wordings of the London Agreement which says, "the Government of India has, however, declared and affirmed *India's* desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations...."

Six days before the above three leaders emphatically declared that past pledges had not been violated, the following article by Mr. K. Srinivasan, Editor, *Indian Parliament*, had been published:

"Apart from the merits and demerits of the formula, the Premier's Declaration is a clumsy attempt to hamstring the Indian Constituent Assembly. Times without number it has been proclaimed that India's future relations with the Commonwealth is a matter to be decided solely by the Constituent Assembly.

That Assembly partly decided the issue when it adopted the Objectives Resolution in December, 1946. The Resolution declared:

The Constituent Assembly declares its firm and solemn resolve to proclaim India as an Independent Sovereign Republic.

But it did not lay down what India's relations with the British Commonwealth were to be. It was explicitly left over for future decision. Explaining the Resolution Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

A question may be asked what relation will that Republic bear to other countries of the world? What would be its relations with England, the British Commonwealth and other countries? This Resolution means that we are completely free and are not included in any group except the Union of Nations which is now being formed in the world.

Three ideas are clear here: I. India is to be a Sovereign Republic; II. India's external affiliations are only to U. N. and III. Group affiliations are precluded.

After 1946, the Assembly has not had a chance to consider in greater detail this crucial question. When the draft Constitution was taken up in November, 1948, at the close of the general debate on 9th November,

Mr. Kamath asked on a point of procedure as to whether the Preamble dealing with India's status would be taken up first or last, Vice-President Mukherjee replied: I am not in a position to give any decision on the matter.

When the Assembly met next time Mr. Mukherjee said:

It seems that I made a mistake in the procedure to be adopted. What I have to say now is that Article I should stand as part of the Constitution.

This made it clear that the Government of India, or say the Congress High Command, were not clear in their own mind as to how the issue was to be decided. Prime Minister Nehru had been to London for the Commonwealth Premiers' Conference in October. There were known to have been talks about India's membership of the Commonwealth and her decision to proclaim herself an Independent Republic. In the absence of any official statement the Assembly did not take any notice of the reports.

The London formula, as it has emerged, fully respects the Constituent Assembly's decision that India is to be a Sovereign Independent Republic. The joint declaration says:

The Government of India has informed the other Governments of the Commonwealth of the intention of the *Indian people* that under the new Constitution, which is about to be adopted, India shall become a Sovereign Independent Republic... The Government of the other countries of Commonwealth, the basis of whose membership of the Commonwealth is not hereby changed, accept and recognise India's continuing membership in accordance of the terms of this declaration.

The snag comes in here. The declaration in between says:

The Government of India has, however, declared and affirmed *India's* desire to continue her full membership of the Commonwealth of Nations and her acceptance of the King as the symbol of the free association of its independent member nations, and as such the head of the Commonwealth.

The questions are—who expressed this desire? And when was it expressed?

The Constituent Assembly did not express any such desire.

The Government of India might have expressed the desire but that was not published or debated.

The only other valid pronouncement on the issue was from the Congress.

The Congress Working Committee considered the questions in December, 1948 and drafted a resolution which was adopted at the Jaipur session. That resolution said:

In view of the attainment of complete Independence and the establishment of the Republic of India, which will symbolise that independence and give India the status among the nations of the world that is her rightful due, her present association with U. K. and the Com-

monwealth of Nations will necessarily have to be changed. India, however, desires to maintain all such links with other countries as do not come in the way of her freedom of action and independence and the Congress would welcome her free association with independent nations of the Commonwealth for their common weal and the promotion of world peace.

In the Congress there was very critical opposition to the continued membership of the Commonwealth.

Speaking on the resolution Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru said:

The resolution clearly laid down that India would not remain as a member, but it gave her the freedom to forge relationships which were to her advantage.... I admit there is force in the suggestion that India should not be a member of the Commonwealth with countries like South Africa as equal members, but the resolution before the Committee could not give an irrevocable picture of the future.

A vicious atmosphere was created over the question by what were believed to be secret negotiations between the Government of India and the British Government. The mystery missions of emissaries like Mr. Gordon Walker and unofficial missions like that of Mr. Anthony Eden increased public apprehension. A question was asked in the Assembly. There was an answer that the question of India's relations with the Commonwealth was under consideration but it was not revealed what position the Government of India were taking.

On March 29, Prime Minister Pandit Nehru made a statement in the Assembly. He announced the London meeting and said:

The chief subject for discussion will be certain constitutional questions relating to the Commonwealth.

Nowhere in that statement is there anything directly or indirectly to suggest that the question for discussion was the *future of India on the Commonwealth*. The reference was to certain constitutional questions and according to the British Premier there were questions undecided at the October meetings.

On April 10 and 11 the Congress Working Committee was reported to have discussed the matter but this was denied by the *Associated Press* of India which said:

The question of India's relationship with Commonwealth countries was not discussed, it is learnt.

The first public announcement that India's status in the Commonwealth would be discussed at the London meeting was made by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at Bombay after his dip in the Arabian Sea, a few hours before he embarked for London on April 19. He said:

The immediate object of my going to England is to discuss the future association of India with the Commonwealth countries. I have already in Parliament and in open Congress and elsewhere discussed this matter with frankness and stated what our fundamental position is. I shall abide necessarily with the directions given to me on this subject and equally necessarily by the ideals which have inspired us.

What directions he was given and who gave them are questions that need answer. The Constituent Assembly did not give them. As for Pandit Jawaharlal's ideals they were getting over-weighted with the Prime Minister's diplomacy."

An Uneasy Conscience

The present rulers of the Indian Union have been taking extra pains to justify their agreement with the British Commonwealth. But the Congress President, Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya appears to be uneasy about this decision. His first reaction to it has shown it. On April 28 last he told an *A. P. I.* correspondent:

No decision arrived at can be logically correct nor even reasonably acceptable. Any compromise in life is a negation of absolute truth or justice. How far the deviations must go is a matter entirely to be left to the person in charge. I frankly admit that I am not able to follow the statement that "the King is the symbol of free association of independent member nations and as such the head of the Commonwealth." We must await its clarification. But if the analogy of the membership of a club with a President is applicable, there is not much harm in the arrangement as any one can resign his membership at will and is bound by no obligations, such as those that attach to the shareholder of a joint-stock company or the member of a co-operative society.

Three days later (May 1) addressing a public meeting at Bangalore Dr. Pattabhi appeared to have given his first judgment. Since then the Nehru-Patel steam-roller has seen to it that the opposition of Congress members is flattened out. But Dr. Pattabhi's opinion is worth permanent record. Here it is:

The new relation between India and the Commonwealth is not a sacramental marriage, but only a companionate association.

The British had a peaceful departure from India and India's relations with Britain continued very cordial. Britain felt she had lost the best jewel in her Crown and desired some sort of association with India. This was a matter of prestige. But India had decided to be a Sovereign Republic and was not prepared to be part of the Dominion. Pandit Nehru was fully instructed about these matters when he went to attend the Prime Ministers' Conference. The new relation was the result. But India wanted some connection with some country for her own benefit. Naturally a known devil was preferable to an unknown angel. The Crown had no more any significance. It had been removed from the publications and from the chair of the President of the Legislature and replaced by the Asoka Pillar. The Crown remained a mere symbol. "Only," said Dr. Pattabhi. "I would have liked this head to go by rotation."

Minorities Committee Report

Sardar Patel, Chairman of the Committee, presented the Report to the Constituent Assembly which has been adopted after a historic debate in the Assembly. Mr. R. K. Siddhwa said that Chaudhury Khaliquzzaman and Mr. Chundrigar had been party to reservation of

seats at the first meeting of the Committee after which they went over to Pakistan. Sir Saadullah said that of the four Muslim members present at the last meeting of the Advisory Committee, "only one—Begum Aizaz Rasul—had supported abolition of reservation. Another Muslim member had opposed abolition, while Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and Maulana Rahman had remained neutral."

Following is the full text of the Report of the Advisory Committee which consisted of 40 members and passed abolition of reservation with only one member voting against it:

"The Advisory Committee on minorities, fundamental rights, etc., in their report dated the 8th of August, 1947 had recommended certain political safeguards for minorities. These were accepted by the Constituent Assembly during the August, 1947, session and have been embodied in Part XIV of the Draft Constitution. According to these recommendations, all elections to the Central and Provincial legislatures were to be held on the basis of joint electorates with reservation of seats for certain specified minorities on their population basis. This reservation was to be for a period of ten years at the end of which the position was to be reconsidered. There was to be no weightage, but members of the minority communities for whom seats were reserved were to have the right to contest general seats. The communities for whom seats were to be reserved were Muslims, Scheduled Castes and Indian Christians, the latter only so far as the Central legislature and the Provincial legislatures of Madras and Bombay are concerned.

"I would recall to your mind at this stage that the Committee had observed in their report that minorities were 'by no means unanimous as to the necessity in their own interest of statutory reservation of seats in the legislatures.' Nevertheless the Committee had recommended reservation of seats in order that minorities may not feel apprehensive about the effect of a system of unrestricted joint electorates on the quantum of their representation in the legislature.

"When the above recommendations were being considered by the Assembly events were taking place following the partition of the country which made it impossible to consider the question of minority rights in East Punjab particularly in so far as the Sikhs were concerned. This question of East Punjab was accordingly postponed; and also the question whether the right to contest unreserved seats should be given to minorities in West Bengal.

"The Advisory Committee in their meeting held on the 24th February, 1948, appointed a Special Sub-Committee consisting of myself as Chairman and the Hon'ble Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Hon'ble Dr. Rajendra Prasad, Shri K. M. Munshi and the Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar as members to report on the minority problems affecting East Punjab and West Bengal. This special Sub-Committee met on November 25, 1948 and presented a report to the Advisory Committee.

"This report came up for consideration before the Advisory Committee at their meeting held on the 30th December, 1948. Some members of the Committee felt that conditions having vastly changed since the Advisory Committee made their recommendations in 1947 it was no longer appropriate in the context of free India at present conditions that there should be reservation of seats for Muslims, Christians and Sikhs or any other religious minority.

"Although the abolition of separate electorates had removed much of the poison from the body-politic the reservation of seats for religious communities it was felt did lead to a certain degree of separatism and was to that extent contrary to the conception of a secular democratic State. Dr. H. C. Mookerjee, Mr. Tajamul Hussain, Shri Lakshmi Kanta Maitra and certain other members gave notices of resolutions seeking to recommend to the Constituent Assembly that there should be no reservation of seats in the Legislatures for any community in India. Shri V. I. Muniswami Pillai gave notice of an amendment to the said resolutions seeking to exclude the Scheduled Castes from the purview of the said resolutions. At that meeting I pointed out that if the members of a particular community genuinely felt that their interests were better served by the abolition of reserve seats their views must naturally be given due weight and the matter allowed to be reopened.

"At the same time I was anxious that the representatives of the Minorities on the Committee should have adequate time both to gauge public opinion among their people and to reflect fully on the amendments that had been proposed so that a change if effected would be one sought voluntarily by the minorities themselves and not imposed on them by the majority community. Accordingly the Committee adjourned without taking any decision and we met again on the 11th of May 1949. At this meeting the resolution of Dr. H. C. Mookerjee found wholehearted support of an overwhelming majority of the members of the Advisory Committee. It was recognised, however, that the peculiar position of the Scheduled Caste would make it necessary to give them reservation for a period of ten years as originally decided.

"Accordingly the Advisory Committee with one dissenting voice passed the said resolution as amended by Shri V. I. Muiswami Pillai in the following form:

"That the system of reservation for minorities other than Scheduled Castes in the Legislatures be abolished."

"It was further decided that nothing contained in the said resolution shall affect the recommendations made by the North-East Frontier (Assam) Tribal and Excluded Areas (other than Assam) Sub-Committee with regard to representation of tribals in the Legislatures. The Committee also decided that the resolution should not affect the special provision made for the representation of Anglo-Indians in the Legislature.

"The Committee also accepted the unanimous proposal made by the Sikh representatives that the following classes in East Punjab, namely, Mazhabas, Ramadass,

Kabirpanthis and Sikhligars, who suffer the same disabilities as other members of the Scheduled Castes, should be included in the list of Scheduled Castes so that they would get the benefit of representation given to the Scheduled Castes. Subject to this change and to the above-mentioned resolution the report of the Special Sub-Committee appointed by the Advisory Committee was approved.

"As a result of the above decisions the resolutions seeking to do away with the rights of Minorities to contest general seats in addition to reserved seats in Assam and West Bengal on which notices had been given by some members of the Committee were withdrawn.

"The Committee are fully alive to the fact that decision once reached should not be changed lightly. Conditions have however vastly changed since August 1947 and the Committee are satisfied that the Minorities themselves feel that in their own interest no less than in the interests of the country as a whole, the statutory reservation of seats for religious Minorities should be abolished. The Committee accordingly recommended that the provisions of Part XIV of the Draft Constitution should be amended in the light of the decisions now taken."

Safeguards for Minorities

In the debate that followed, the most controversial speech on the amendment, upholding the traditional Muslim League doctrine of communal distrust and communal separation, was made by Mr. Ismail of Madras. He said that conditions had changed since August 1947.

The Committee had stated that it was satisfied that the minorities themselves felt that statutory reservations of seats should be abolished. He did not know how the Committee came to be satisfied in that manner.

"I assert here and say definitely," said Mr. Ismail, "that the Muslims as a community are not for giving up reservation. I would implore the House to retain separate electorates which alone will give us the right sort of representation in the legislature.

"The Muslim League is still the representative organisation of the Muslim community and we have more than once within a year expressed definitely the view that we are not only in favour of not giving up reservation but we will urge for the retention of separate electorates."

It was only to represent their views before the Government or legislature that Muslims wanted separate electorates. He added: "What we want is the right to self-expression, the right of being heard and the right of association. Separate electorate does not mean separatism at all. It means the recognition of the difference between one group of people and another. It is not a device to separate people."

He said that if reservation was justified in the case of Scheduled Castes, who belonged to the Hindu community, it was all the more justified in the case of other communities which were essentially different from the majority community.

Mr. Z. H. Lari pleaded for cumulative votes in multimember constituencies. Sir Muhammad Saadullah pleaded for continuance of reservation for Muslims.

Begum Aizaz Rasul, Mr. Tajamul Hosain and Nawab Ismail gave their full support to the report. Nawab Ismail said, "The reservation of seats is designed to keep alive communalism and is not an effective safeguard for the Muslim minority or any other minorities. I congratulate the majority community, with its vast superiority in the number of votes for not utilising the device for its own purpose."

He felt that separate electorates were incompatible with a Democratic Government. The best minds of the Muslims had been thinking for a long time that with the inauguration of responsible Government, separate electorates would be harmful. At the time when the separate electorate system was claimed there was no direct election, and there was no Statutory safeguard.

With responsible Government functioning, those who were elected through the separate electorate system were doomed to remain in opposition always. He pointed out that at a meeting of some of the Muslim members of the Constituent Assembly, it was decided to do away with reservation and in accordance with that decision, Begum Aizaz Rasul had cast her vote. Replying to the demand for the separate electorate system by the Muslim members from Madras, Nawab Ismail said that fundamental rights of citizens had been provided for in the Constitution and they could vindicate their rights before the Supreme Court which he felt was a much better forum than the legislature, where party feelings might run high.

Muslims were prepared to give up separate electorates 20 years ago, provided safeguards were then given. But today the conditions were different and they had Statutory safeguards. Why then should they demand separate electorate? How would it help them? Communal organisations would have to put up candidates and it would not lead to a harmonious working with the majority. The best thing for the Muslims to do was to trust the majority. If the Muslims wanted India to be a secular and noncommunal State, they should not stand in the way of its emergence as such.

Mr. Tajamul Husain (Bihar) said that he was of opinion that there should be no reservation of seats for any community. No country having a parliamentary or democratic system had reservation of seats. Even in the House of Commons seats reserved for Universities had been abolished.

Speaking as a Muslim, Mr. Tajamul Husain said, he could say that Muslims did not want reservation, which meant forcing of candidates on an unwilling electorate. "Separate electorates have been the curse of India and have done the country incalculable harm," he declared. Muslims were Indians first and Indians last and would fight for the honour of the country, he said.

He appealed to the majority community not to give reservation of seats to Muslims but to allow them to stand on their legs. If statutory recognition was given to

Muslims as a minority, they would suffer from an inferiority complex. They would be isolated and isolation would lead to frustration and cripple them.

Referring to Mr. Ismail's demand for separate electorates, he said he would appeal to Mr. Ismail "not to ask for charity." Muslims must enter the legislatures by open competition.

Mr. Lari's amendment to introduce a cumulative system of voting, he added, was "a backdoor method" to enter the Legislatures and was even worse than reservation of seats.

The majority of the Muslims in the Assembly, he contended, were in favour of removal of reservation of seats and separate electorates. Quoting figures in support of his argument, Mr. Husain said that out of 33 members, ten had gone to Pakistan and 15 out of the remaining 23 favoured joint electorates.

Saying that he was one of the two Shiah members in the Assembly, Mr. Husain said that Shiahs had all along been fighting for the removal of separate electorates and had been ardent nationalists. He read a resolution passed at the last Shiah Conference which wanted the removal of separate electorates.

Speaking for the Indian Christians, Dr. H. C. Mookherjee said that under a secular State no minorities on a religious basis could be recognised. There were some groups, economically backward who required economic safeguards but he could not see why they should be given political safeguards.

The Chapter of Fundamental Rights which had been adopted by the House would secure all rights to every citizen. He hoped the House would accept Pandit Thakurdas Bhargava's amendment that reservation for Scheduled Castes should have a definite time-limit.

The masses, Dr. Mookherjee continued, did not want reservation. What they wanted was food, clothing, shelter, medical aid and good roads.

In his opinion, the Scheduled Castes did not require reservation but he was prepared to submit to the wisdom of the leaders who had provided for it.

The majority community had been very generous to every minority community, he said. When he was presiding over the sessions of the Constituent Assembly for some weeks, foreign observers including journalists were impressed by the opportunity given to members of the Scheduled Castes to express their views.

The attitude of the minorities had not been very helpful in the past. They had used backdoor methods to sabotage the national movement. If the minorities wanted to live harmoniously, they should trust the majority.

Mr. Frank Anthony spoke on behalf of the Anglo-Indians.

He said that the report did not affect the safeguards provided for Anglo-Indians. Those safeguards were being retained. The leaders of India did not only forgive and forget the past but they had recognised the special needs and difficulties of this small minority.

He said: "Today I am able to say with a sense of inexpressible gratitude that in making this gesture to

this small community the Advisory Committee was uniquely generous." It was asked in some quarters whether the Anglo-Indians had given any help towards the struggle for freedom and whether they had not joined the reactionary powers intended to retard the cause of freedom. These pasts were an insuperable hurdle for him. In spite of that, the community not only received recognition as one of India's minorities but it was accorded a special treatment.

Mr. Anthony paid a tribute to Sardar Patel whose attitude during the deliberations of the Committee he said, had been inspired by an attempt to understand the real feeling and psychology of the minorities. Sardar Patel felt that if there was fear, real or imaginary it was better in the larger interest of the country to assuage that and look at it from the point of view of the minorities. Whatever decisions were reached by the Advisory Committee, they were the result of unanimous agreement.

They were not imposed decisions but were based on friendly understanding, compromise and faith. He strongly denied the suggestion that the Minorities were oppressed in India and that their representatives were subjected to a sense of fear or regimentation.

He added: "I have not suffered from any sense of fear or regimentation. The Minority representatives are not stooges of any particular party. When we say that we have been generously treated, we mean it. It is not the regimentation or fear which provoked us to say so." He said that if any minority in idiocy thought, by sectarianism or separatism they could serve themselves, they were making a mistake. The real guarantee for the minority of equality of opportunity was the establishment of a secular State.

Pandit Nehru on Minority Rights

The Prime Minister, Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, described as "historic" Sardar Patel's motion in the Constituent Assembly for abolition of reservation of seats to minorities, except the Scheduled Castes.

Intervening in the debate, Pandit Nehru said: "There has been such abundance of goodwill shown towards this motion that it is hardly necessary for me to intervene in support of it, but I felt the urge to do so, because I wished to associate myself with this historic turn of our destiny."

"It is a motion which means not only discarding something that was evil but turning back upon it and determining with all our strength that we shall pursue a path which we consider fundamentally good for every part of the nation. All of us here, I believe, are convinced that this business of separatism, whether it took the shape of separate electorates or other shapes has done a tremendous deal of evil to our country and to our people."

"We came to the conclusion sometime back that we must get rid of separate electorates. That was the major evil. Reluctantly we agreed to carry on with some measure of reservation. Reluctantly we did so for two reasons."

"Firstly, we felt that we could not remove that without the goodwill of the minorities concerned, it was for them to take the lead or to say that they did not want it; for the majority to force it down their throats would not be fair to the various assurances we have given in the past and, otherwise too, it did not look the right thing to do.

"Secondly, we agreed to that reservation because in our heart of hearts we were not sure of ourselves and of our own people. How would they function when all these reservations were removed? We agreed to reservations but always there was this doubt in our minds whether we had not shown weakness in dealing with a thing that was wrong. So when this matter came up in another context and it was proposed that we do away with all reservations except in the case of the Scheduled Castes, for my part I accepted that with alacrity and with a feeling of great relief, because I had been fighting in my own mind and heart against this business of keeping up some measure of separatism in our political domain.

"And the more I thought of it, the more I felt that it was the right thing to do not only from the point of view of pure nationalism, which it is, but also the separate and individual view-points of each group, the majority and the minority. We all call ourselves nationalists but perhaps in the minds of each the colour and texture of nationalism that is present is something different from what it is in the mind of the other.

"We call ourselves nationalists and rightly so, and yet few of us are free from those separatist tendencies, whether they are communal, provincial or other. Yet, because we have those tendencies, it does not necessarily follow that we should surrender to them all the time. It does follow that we should not take the cloak of nationalism to cover those bad tendencies."

Looking objectively, said Pandit Nehru, there was some point in having reservation or any other kind of safeguard for a minority where there was autocratic rule or foreign rule but as soon as there was something that could be called political democracy, this kind of reservation, instead of helping the party to be safeguarded and helped, was likely actually to turn against it.

Where there was a third party or where there was autocratic rule, it was possible that these safeguards might be good or that the monarch or foreign ruler might play off one against the other. "But where you are up against a full-blooded democracy, if you seek to give safeguards to a minority, you isolate it, maybe you protect it to some extent but at what cost; at the cost of isolating it and keeping it away from the main current in which the majority is going. I am talking on a political plane of course at the cost of forfeiting that inner sympathy and fellow-feeling of that majority. Obviously, if it is a democracy, in the long run or in the short run, it is the will of the majority that will prevail. The result is that the minority may get one anna in the rupee of protection at the cost of the remaining fifteen annas. That is not good enough"

"Look at it from the point of view of the majority. It is all very well for a majority to feel that it is strong in numbers and in other ways and, therefore, it could afford to ride roughshod over the wishes of a minority. If a majority feels that way, it is not only exceedingly mistaken, but it has not learnt any lesson from history, because, however big a majority, if injustice is done to minorities, it rankles and it is a running sore and that majority ultimately suffers from it. So, ultimately, the only way to proceed about it, whether from the point of view of the minority or the majority, is to remove every barrier which it separates them in the political domain so that they may develop a way of working together."

That did not mean, of course, a kind of regimented working, said Pandit Nehru. There might be many groups and parties but not on the minority, majority or religious plane but other planes, social or economic.

Frankly, said Pandit Nehru, he would have liked to go further and put an end to the reservation in regard to the Scheduled Castes too but frankly also he realised that in the present state of affairs in India that would not be a desirable thing to do. He tried to look upon this problem not in the sense of a religious minority but rather in the sense of helping backward groups in the country. He was glad that this reservation would be limited to a fixed period of ten years.

"Doing away with reservation," Pandit Nehru went on, "is not only a good thing in itself, good for all concerned and more specially for the minorities, but psychologically a very good move for the nation and for the world. It shows that we are really sincere about having secular democracy. I use the words secular democracy as many other people use them but sometimes I have the feeling that they are used a bit too much by people who do not understand their significance. It is an ideal we aim at and yet perhaps very few of us, whether we are Hindus or Muslims or Sikhs or Christians, can claim to have no prejudices and no taint of communalism."

"I do not myself particularly fancy any one of us trying to deliver sermons and homilies to the other as to how he should behave, or one group telling the other, whether it is the minority group telling the majority, you should do this or that or whether it is the majority telling the minority, you should do this or that to gain our goodwill.

"Of course, something has to be done to gain goodwill but goodwill or loyalty or affection is hardly a thing which is obtained by sermonising. It develops because of certain circumstances, certain appeals of the mind and heart and the realisation of what is really good for one. Now when this House is going to take a major decision which will affect our future greatly let us be clear in our minds that in order to proceed further, each one of us, whether belonging to a minority or majority, should try to function in a way to gain the goodwill of the other group or individual."

Pandit Nehru said that Mahatma Gandhi stressed the good in every individual or group and drew good out of him and made him function to the best of his

ability. That was the only way of going ahead. Mr. Frank Anthony had reminded the House that the motion before it was an act of faith for all, particularly for the majority community because it would have to behave towards others in a generous, fair and just way. "Let us live up to this faith," said Pandit Nehru amidst cheers.

Sardar Patel's Reply to Minority Rights Debate

Replying to the debate, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel said that when he was appointed Chairman of the Advisory Committee on minorities he trembled, for the task was immensely difficult owing to the history of so many years of foreign rule. Conditions in the country were extremely difficult, and all classes of people were full of suspicion. Yet he felt that the moment power was transferred, a gradual transformation would begin to take place and it gave him considerable encouragement.

Later he began to sense a feeling of gradual growth of trust and mutual confidence.

Pointing out that even at the first meeting of the Advisory Committee nationalist-minded leaders like Dr. H. C. Mookherjee opposed any kind of safeguard for minority, Sardar Patel said, "I am sure you will be happy today that his ambition is being fulfilled."

There were other groups of people who found it difficult to get out of the mire into which they had fallen and a friend from Madras brought forward a proposal for reservation of seats and communal electorates. The motion for separate electorates was supported by that "great Muslim League leader who swore loyalty to the Constitution in this House and immediately afterwards packed off to Karachi." He was now carrying on the work of the Muslim League on that side. He had left a legacy here. The residuary legatees were perhaps in Madras.

There was still a vast amount belonging to the old Muslim League which had yet to be divided and some people felt that they might get a huge chunk out of this if they persisted in continuing the old League here. Sardar Patel did not think that even if a good portion of that money was brought here, it would do any good to those who got it.

Those who believed that there were two nations which had nothing in common and therefore they must have a homeland where they could breathe freely had got it. He did not blame them, but he would "respectfully appeal" to those who wanted to follow the same path here to go and "enjoy the fruits of their freedom and leave us in peace." There was no place here for those who claimed separate representation.

Separate electorates were introduced in "this unfortunate country" not on the demand of those who claimed to have made it but, as Maulana Mohammed Ali had said, as a command performance. *That command performance had fulfilled its task.*

"Now," said Sardar Patel, "I want the consent of all the minorities to change the course of history you

have the honour and privilege to do it. Future generations will record in letters of gold what you are doing today."

Mr. Ismail's amendment asking for separate electorates, Sardar Patel said, was moved by the same group in August, 1947, and was rejected. He did not know whether there had been any change in their mind, or not but he knew that "they have got a mandate from the Muslim League to move this amendment."

Sardar Patel said that he felt sorry for them. "This is not the place for acting on mandates. This is a place to act according to your conscience for the good of the country to think that a community has different interests from those of the country is a great mistake."

"Assuming that we agreed today to give reservation of seats, I would consider myself to be the greatest enemy of the Muslim community, in a secular democratic State. What will be the consequences? Assume that you have got separate electorates on a communal basis, will you ever find a place in any of the Ministries in the provinces or at the Centre. You will have no share in the Government. You will exclude yourself, remain perpetually in a minority. What advantage will you gain, do you still think that there is some third party which will use its influence to set up the minority against the majority and compel the majority to take one or two ministers according to the proportion of population. It is a wrong idea. That conception in your mind, which has worked for many years, must be washed off altogether."

Sardar Patel said: "We are a free country. This is a sovereign State and we are a sovereign Assembly. We are moulding our future according to our own free will. Therefore, please forget the past. Try to forget it. If it is impossible, then the best place for you is where your thoughts and your ideas draw you. Whatever may be your credit for having won a separate homeland, please do not forget what the poor Muslims have suffered, leave them in peace."

The future of any minority, said Sardar Patel was to trust the majority. If the majority misbehaved, it would suffer. It would be misfortune for the country. If the majority did not realise its own responsibilities. If he were a member of a minority community, he would forget that he was in minority. Why should not a member of any community be the Prime Minister of this country? He was glad to hear Mr. Nagappa say that it was a privilege to be born a member of the Scheduled Castes. It was not a dishonour but an honour. Sardar Patel wanted every member of the Scheduled Castes to feel that he was superior to the Brahmin, or, what was better still, for every member of the Scheduled Castes and for every Brahmin to forget his caste.

Sardar Patel recalled that at an earlier meeting of the Advisory Committee Mr. Tajamul Husain was asked whether he had consulted other members of the Muslim community and Mr. Husain replied that he had done so. In spite of that, Sardar Patel had asked all members of the minority communities to consult their consti-

tuencies. The Committee met four months later but unfortunately Syed Mohammed Saadulla was not present.

The opinions Syed Mohammed Saadulla had gathered were not even communicated to the Committee. Sardar Patel did not know whether Syed Saadulla had consulted Maulana Azad or not. But Syed Mohammed Saadulla had said that the Maulana remained neutral at the last meeting of the Committee. Syed Saadulla claimed to know the Maulana's mind more than Sardar Patel did. But Sardar Patel could tell Syed Mohammed Saadulla that the Maulana was "not a cypher." Maulana Azad had the courage and conviction and if he felt that it was against the interests of his community to abolish reservation he would have immediately stood up and protested.

But he did not do so because he knew that what was being done was right (cheers). Therefore, if Syed Mohammed Saadulla interpreted Maulana Azad's silence as neutrality or dissent, he was much mistaken. Maulana Azad had stood up against his own community when he felt that he was right.

Sardar Patel was sure that if ever it had occurred to Maulana Azad that India was a country of two nations, after the division he would not have remained here. But there were people who worked for separation, who claimed all through their lives that there were two nations and yet claimed to represent here the remaining nation.

"I am surprised," said Sardar Patel, "that Syed Mohammed Saadulla claims to represent the vast masses of Muslims in this country now. How can he? I am amazed that he makes that claim. I represent the Muslim more than he can ever do (cheers). He can never do that by the methods that he has followed all his life. He must change them. He said that he was not enamoured of reservations. According to him, the Muslims of Assam do not want reservation. Then who wants it? The majority of the Muslim members were against reservation; he would accept their opinion. He has heard the opinion of the Muslim in this House. Let him change his opinion."

Referring to Mr. Lari's amendment Sardar Patel said he was glad that Mr. Lari had admitted that the Committee's approach was right. There was no question of the Committee making a wrong approach because the initiative and the decision was left to the minorities. In support of his demand for a proportional representation, Mr. Lari had quoted the instance of Ireland but Ireland was smaller than a single district of the United Province. India was a vast country and even the introduction of adult franchise with so much illiteracy was a very difficult task. To introduce complications of the nature suggested by Mr. Lari would be a "very dangerous experiment." If Mr. Lari was satisfied that reservation was bad, he should not try to bring it back by back-door.

Sardar Patel said that in the changed atmosphere, minorities would get even more than their due share of representation under joint electorates. This was proved

only a month ago when in the Ahmedabad municipal elections every ex-Leaguer who fought on the Congress ticket won, while the Scheduled Castes secured the seat above their quota.

Addressing himself to the Sikhs Sardar Patel said, he had always held the Sikh community in considerable respect and admiration. He had been their friend even though they might dispute sometimes that claim. He would give them reservation and would induce the Minorities Committee to agree to it but he felt that that was not in their interest.

Saying the Sikhs had a Ranjit Singh whereas the Scheduled Castes had no prince of their own in history. Sardar Patel asked: "What have the Scheduled Castes got, poor down-trodden and absolutely dust with the dust as they are what is their position today, in spite of our tall talk?"

Ten thousand members of the Scheduled Caste community, he added, had been converted to Christianity in three days in Hyderabad. The reason that made them change their religion was that they were afraid of their past association with the Razakars and thought they would be safe if they changed their religion.

Asking the question whether any of the members had gone and stayed for an hour in a Scheduled Caste scavenger's house, Sardar Patel continued: "Have they any place which they can call their home, though Mr. Nagappa (Scheduled Caste member from Madras) said that India is his? I am proud of it, but what about the poor people who are oppressed continually.

"They are not safe yet under our protection, we have given a pledge to them under the Poona Pact. Have we fulfilled that? We must confess we are guilty. Thousands of them in other parts of the country (obviously the reference is to Pakistan) want to come back but they are not allowed to return. Unfortunately, we are not able to help them. That is the position of the Scheduled Caste."

Some of the Sikhs who wanted reservation did not suffer from the difficulties felt by the Scheduled Castes.

Declaring that fear would wreck and undermine the cause of the Sikhs, Sardar Patel said: "I appeal to you not to pick up a quarrel for a concession here and a concession there. I would ask you, Sikhs, to take control of the country and rule it. You will be able to rule because you have got the resources. You have got courage. In agriculture, army, engineering, in any walk of life, you have proved your mettle. Why do you begin to think low of yourselves? I am asking even the Scheduled Castes to forget that they are Scheduled Castes, although it is very difficult for them to do so.

"Although you have acknowledged with gratefulness the concessions shown to you, I am grateful to you because in this country we want an atmosphere of peace and harmony, not of suspicion and distrust.

"India today is suffering from want of blood. It is completely anaemic. We must put blood into her veins first. We have to build up the country and lay the foundation for the future.

"I feel proud that today we are able to bring about almost unanimity in removing the past blots in our Constitution.

"And now, we are today with the grace of God and with the blessings of the Almighty, laying the foundation of a true, secular, democratic State where everybody will have equal opportunity. May God give us wisdom and courage to do the right thing to all manner of people as our constitution provides."

The resolution abolishing reservation of seats by minorities was adopted by the Constituent Assembly. Reservation for Scheduled Castes was limited to a period of ten years.

Communal Politics Again

Within a fortnight of the declaration of the Hindu Mahasabha's intention to re-enter politics, the All-India Muslim League has also decided to enter politics again. The Hindu Mahasabha declared its intention in the form of a resolution of its Working Committee and published an eight-point programme which has many things in common with the Congress programme and may well be compared to the programme of any Socialist party. But the deeper plan has just been revealed by the General Secretary of the All-India Hindu Mahasabha who, in a statement says that the *Mahasabha had made no departure whatsoever from its old ideal of Hindu Rashtra*. "Though our programme seems to be pro-Socialistic, and even pro-Communistic," he said, "our differences with them are fundamental. Our emphasis is primarily on cultural unity and secondarily on economic re-adjustment. Our appeal is to subordinate the economic interests of the individual to the superior demand of a common culture and common ways of life."

He added that the Hindu Rashtra ideal did not mean a State to be run exclusively by the Hindus or for the benefit of the Hindus. "We call it a Hindu Rashtra, because the word 'Indian' is foreign to us, and because the overwhelming majority of our population are Hindus which comprises within itself such widely diverse faiths as Buddhism, Jainism and Sikhism."

"The Hindu Rashtra of our conception will be meaningless, if it fails to alleviate the sufferings of the masses or to bring about a new social and economic order in which every national can be assured of a minimum standard of living."

"Our economic programme is primarily intended to benefit the landless people who form 90 per cent of the population in the rural areas, and the section of educated middle class that is dependent on fixed monthly income."

The emergence of the Muslim League has been through the issue of a circular to all provincial and primary Leagues in India by Mr. Muhammad Ismail, President, All-India Muslim League, from Madras. The circular says, "The Muslims are a community and for their religious, cultural, educational, social and political purpose, the League cannot remain inactive. In these days of joint electorates and to maintain peace and

harmony, it is necessary that the League should revive its political work also."

The reappearance of communal politics with one of the bodies having extra-territorial affiliations will be immensely harmful to national interests. It may prove to be a source of the gravest danger both to the external and internal security of the country. Unless the whole population rose to the occasion to fight this menace through preaching and persuasion without recourse to the least amount of violence, only blood and tears will be in store for us.

Article 85 of the Indian Constitution

An interesting debate took place in the Indian Constituent Assembly on Article 85 which deals with the privileges and immunities to be enjoyed by the members of the Union Parliament under the new constitution. During the discussion, several speakers suggested that the protection conferred on members for views expressed within the House should be extended to their publication in the Press. In strong support of this argument, Pandit L. K. Maitra described as "preposterous" limitations placed on member's privileges and quoted past Congress efforts to resist similar restrictions. Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar, speaking on behalf of those who sought to curtail this fundamental privilege of a Parliamentarian in a democracy, said that the demand amounted to a "license" and could not in any circumstances be conceded except at a risk of an abuse of the privilege of free expression of views.

We do not claim to know what part Mr. Anantasayanam Ayyangar played in the fight for India's freedom but he does seem to do a good deal of talking in the Parliament and is seen to side with reactionary forces at crucial moments. We find him here opposing one of the fundamental requisites of the successful working of a democratic system of government describing freedom as "license," on another occasion he is seen stoutly opposing the Hindu Code Bill from the platform of the All-India Radio.

The importance of the privilege of the Press to publish full texts of speeches delivered on the floor of the Legislatures had been fully realised by the past Rulers of India who had first stopped such publication in Bengal, later extended all over India during the 1942 movement. Till the Dacca Riots of 1942 the Press in India enjoyed this freedom. When Dr. S. P. Mookerjee went to Dacca to make a personal enquiry into the causes and conditions of the Riots, an order was issued to the Press by the then Home Secretary of Bengal Mr. A. J. Porter placing the publication of all matters relating to any communal trouble under a ban. Dr. Mookerjee's statement, therefore, could not be published. But since the Bengal Assembly was already in Session, an adjournment motion on the Riots was moved and Dr. Mookerjee made his historic speech, which, being a privileged one having been delivered on the floor of the Assembly and forming part of the proceedings of the House, was pub-

lished in full. The publication of the speech brought the real state of affairs at Dacca within the knowledge of the civilised world and broke down the iron curtain that had been set up round that beleaguered city for screening the real Imperialist engineers of the Riots. The British Government was obliged after these disclosures, to take action to stop the riots.

This last safeguard for an oppressed people was soon taken away under the Defence Act and the ban extended all over the country. Had Mr. Ayyangar any experience of the fight for freedom in the country, he would not have made such a ridiculous statement in the Constituent Assembly. It is really regrettable that a temporary measure adopted by the British Rulers for the protection of their Imperialist designs, has formed part of Free India's Constitution. Mrs. Renuka Ray has, the other day, told her foreign listeners that the press in India is free. With the adoption of Article 85 which now forms part of India's Constitution, her assertion, which was already lacking in substance, now becomes an absolute unreality.

Strictures on the Executive

Severe strictures on the officials of the present administration, saying that "the official mind still moves in the old groove of suspicion and distrust," was made by Mr. S. R. Das, Chief Justice of the East Punjab High Court, while delivering judgment in the appeal filed by the *Daily Pratap* against forfeiture of its security deposits by the Chief Commissioner of Delhi. The appeal was heard by a full Bench consisting of the Chief Justice, Mr. S. R. Das, Mr. Justice Falshaw and Mr. Justice Acharya Ram. The severe strictures passed in this judgment would prove greatly beneficial to the cause of journalism in this country, where the Executive has developed an energy in gagging the Press even greater than the past foreign Rulers. The sooner this dangerous trend stops, the better for our newly won democratic freedom. The press summary of this important judgment is given below:

"Upholding the appeal and setting aside the order of forfeiture, the Judges in their judgment said, "The change in the situation in the country and the new set-up do not appear in the least to have brought about any change in the outlook of the executive and the old, vain susceptibilities still linger in their mind.

"Our newly-won freedom has not broadened their vision and they are still prone to stifle legitimate comments and criticisms. The outpourings of aggrieved persons who pray for redress, instead of being appeased, are sought to be smothered with the handy weapon of the Law of Sedition.

"We do feel that the Law of Sedition in our country should no longer be left in the nebulous state in which it is by reason of the judicial decisions based on the true but nevertheless narrow principles of construction. It is desirable that the safeguards let in by the Federal Court in its judgment in *Niharendu Dutt-Mahamdar's Case* should be incorporated in our Law of

Sedition and our Press Act for these very proceedings clearly demonstrate, to our mind, that people still require protection against the executive Government, even though it is our National Government."

Dealing with the two items on which the order of forfeiture was based, viz., (I) a letter of a refugee staying in the Kingsway camp and (II) a news item regarding walk-out of Maulana Azad and Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai from the meeting of the Working Committee, the Chief Justice remarked that the letter was nothing more than an impassioned appeal to an editor of a newspaper by a refugee on behalf of all refugees who, in their belief, have suffered and sacrificed their all, to take up their cause fearlessly and to wake up the Government towards their responsibilities towards the refugees.

The Judges did not agree with the prosecution argument that there were several passages in the letter which tended to bring into hatred or contempt towards the Government, the capitalists, and the Muslims of the Indian Union under Sec. 4 (1) (D) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931.

The Judges remarked that it would be an evil day for this country if Sec. 4 (1) (D) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act could be made use of for stifling legitimate criticism or comments or for preventing the ventilation of genuinely felt grievances on the pretext that they inevitably give rise to some resentment and disapprobation.

Dealing with the report of walk-out by Maulana Azad and Mr. Kidwai from the Working Committee meeting, the Judges remarked: "A newspaper reporter will not be worth his salt if he failed to send a report of that Working Committee meeting to his paper. Further, could this report arouse more hatred or contempt than had already been in the public mind as a consequence of the several important instances that were known?"

They observed in this connection. "It is quite clear that it is no longer possible for us, however much we may regret it, to read into Sec. 124A, Indian Penal Code, or Sec. 4(1) (D) of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act 1931, the safeguard provided by the English decisions which prescribe what we have called the external standard requiring that in order to amount to sedition.

"The words, etc., must generate hatred, contempt or disaffection of such intensity or depth as would be likely to result in violence or tumult or public disorder. The only safeguard now available to the subject is what is provided by the several explanations appended to the Section. Every comment expressing disapprobation of the measure of the Government or of the administrative or other action of the Government, in the nature of things and strictly speaking, is likely to create a certain amount of feeling of resentment against the Government but the explanations clearly indicate that the legislature has left some room however restricted for 'bona fide' criticism or comment.

"In other words, the sections taken and read as a whole are not to be regarded as intended to minister to the

mere vanity or susceptibilities of the Government or its officers but ventilation of reasonable criticism, comments and grievances although the same may generate or excite some amount of resentment or disapprobation against the Government provided that such resentment or disapprobation does not generate or excite the more intense or deeper passion of hatred, contempt or disaffection. To put the same thing in another way, the hatred, contempt or disaffection made culpable by the Sections must, in its intensity and depth, be more than a mere feeling of resentment of disapprobation which is generated by legitimate comments, criticism or ventilation of genuine grievances. Such, we apprehend, is the meaning and effect of the Section of the Indian Press (Emergency Powers) Act, 1931."

East Punjab's Difficulties

The following from the Simla correspondent of the *Indian News Chronicle* (New Delhi), dated May 7 last raises curiosity without satisfying it. Dark hints are thrown at Gyani Kartar Singh's goings-on, at the Union Defence Minister Sardar Baldev Singh having "burnt his fingers," of the anger of the Congress High Command, and of the helplessness of the new Premier of the province Lala Bhimsen Sachar. The how and why of these are not explained, and the public in other parts of India are left guessing.

"At this dangerous altitude nothing seems to go unnoticed—not even a private dinner. The fact that soon after his arrival here three days ago Gyani Kartar Singh sat down to a meal with Dr. Gopichand Bhargava on the invitation of a common friend has caused tongues to wag mischievously again. The two leaders, long close to each other politically and personally, were lately estranged over the turn of ministerial developments. But their reconciliation, acclaimed by latent Downing-streeters, can spell no disaster. Sardar Baldev Singh has already badly burnt his fingers. Plainly, it was at his instance that Gyani Kartar Singh rebelled against Dr. Gopichand and made common cause with Mr. Bhimsen Sachar. The Congress High Command retaliated by clipping the rebel's wings. Thus no amount of re-unions and reconciliations can restore the *status quo*, a partnership between Dr. Gopichand and Gyani Kartar Singh whose entry into the Cabinet is strictly forbidden.

"This is not to say that intrigue has not raised its ugly head anew. Since his assumption of office three weeks ago the Premier has been residing in a single suite of a local hotel. One of the outgoing Ministers unceremoniously gave possession of his house to his successor, thereby depriving the Premier of a choice. Another young Minister, who has been officially requested to move into a P. W. D. house to accommodate the Premier, refuses to comply. He is said to have threatened to move to the town's worst slums."

The hints and suggestions thrown in the paragraphs quoted above are outward expressions of hopes frustrated, a mixture of psychological and economic *malaise* that has proved very often in human history as the danger-signals of anarchy in thought and conduct. The Sikhs who have suffered the most are the most clamorous in giving voice to their dissatisfaction, heedless of their neighbours'

plight; they appear to be holding fast to their pre-partition scheme of a Sikh State; only now it is disguised under and dressed in other names. This is the core of East Punjab's difficulties.

The tactics that they have been following to reach their goal are dangerous in all conscience; these remind one of those that precipitated the partition. And unless better sense dawns on the leadership of the Sikhs, we are in for troubles and strains that will not allow the country's leadership to settle down to quiet, constructive nationalism.

The Sikhs are 40 to 50 lakhs, most of them concentrated in the Punjab. The old monopoly in military life may not continue, and they will have to live, and work outside this small province. This makes their position delicate; and the gloating in the *Delhi Liberator* that a body of Sikhs prefer British regime in Singapore than freedom in India will be the undoing of many more Sikhs than a few thousands who may go out of the country. The ugly mentality developed and given expression to will cause far more evil to the Sikhs than to others who have been striving their best to accommodate their natural ambitions in the new set-up.

Indian Shipping

On May 5 last the conference held at London reported settlement of the "rate war" started by Dutch shippers in the India-Continental carrying trade. The general public are not kept informed of the complications of the problem that faces Indian shipping today; they know in a general way that Indian shipping has had to struggle against the non-Indian interests and that Indian shipping is denied the right to dominate her own coastal trade. Not even the arrival of political freedom has been able to make any change in this system of discrimination.

The recent conference appears to have re-emphasized our helplessness if we are to accept the interpretation of Mr. M. A. Master of the results of this conference. He represented Indian shipping at its meetings, and he complains that "once again the Indian lines found themselves placed in the unfortunate position of the Cinderella of the joint shipping family," that "for the sake of a settlement Indian lines had to agree to give away the largest portion of the trade (carrying) from their own country."

The summary of the interview reported from London by the Press Trust of India representative does not explain the whole problem. As it is, we give it below, though we must confess that it would not enable the public to understand its various factors.

"The real bone of contention at the conference was the division of the trade between India, on the one hand, and Belgium, Holland and Germany on the other. While the other lines were allowed to carry not only their trade to and from their own country but trades from foreign countries also, Indian lines were confined to the carriage of trades to and from their own country only."

"While all important lines declined to part with even a small percentage of the trades from their own countries for establishing peace, Indian lines had to agree to give away the largest portion of trade from their own country to enable all to end the 'war'. There is nothing, therefore, for Indian lines to enthuse over the reasonable share of the trade of their own country which they had asked for."

Mr. Master has expressed his dissatisfaction; he has said that the progress of Indian shipping could not be allowed to be impeded or "retarded for a long time by such arrangements as were recently made." But this dissatisfaction cannot influence public opinion if the facts that compelled representatives at the Conference to accept an unjust settlement are not published and its implications explained. Mr. Master has demanded Government help. But how to make that help effective against non-Indian combines is the real problem. Here Mr. Master is silent or the report does not tell his whole story.

Mr. Punjabi on Food Plan

Mr. K. L. Punjabi, Agriculture Secretary, Government of India, in an A.I.R. broadcast from the Delhi Station explained the food self-sufficiency plan which the Government of India had adopted. He lamented "that it was tragic that a country which, a few decades ago, used to export foodgrains to other countries, should today be reduced to the position of having to import large quantities of food for bare subsistence." For this purpose a great deal of our foreign exchanges are used up. Spending Rs. 30 crores a year for subsidising the sale of imported food, bought at a rate as high as Rs. 79 per maund, for meeting a deficit of less than 4 per cent, has been nothing short of a scandal. The official eagerness to bestow greater thought on costly food imports than on an earnest and real grow-more-food campaign has led the people to think that the real considerations which dictate official policy in this direction have been something else than welfare of the country. The colossal amounts spent on grow-more-food campaigns have not increased food production even by 2 per cent. Money has been wasted in crores every year. Replying to a charge, made over the floor of the West Bengal Legislature over a cut motion during the past budget session, that the amounts spent on grow-more-food schemes were being wasted, the Agriculture Minister said that he dared not stop the grants. We wonder what prevented him from ordering a thorough enquiry into the allegations. Conditions are equally bad in many other provinces—with the exception of a very few—if not still more worse. We are sure that had serious efforts been made to implement the recommendations of at least what the Gregory Report submitted as far back as 1942, food shortage by this time would have been completely eliminated.

Mr. Punjabi has said that "careful calculation has shown that given normal seasons, our deficit, allowing for the increase of population, can be wiped out by 1951 by increasing our production by 10 per cent only. This is not a difficult task." We quite agree that it is not

a difficult task to broadcast high hopes based on "careful calculations" from a radio station and with reservations like "given normal seasons," "allowing for increases in population," etc. Masses forget but intelligent people understand what the result will be. We have had enough of such platitudes from Ministers down to the officials. The way in which things are moving and vested interests are flourishing leads us to believe that in 1951 instead of an increase of 10 per cent in food production "leading to self-sufficiency", the country may be told of an overall deficit of 15% or so. More efficient men are needed at the helm of the Department of Agriculture.

Dr. Rajendra Prasad against Hindu Code

Dr. Rajendra Prasad has urged postponement of the consideration of Hindu Code Bill in the Constituent Assembly (Legislative). He says, "I feel the present Constituent Assembly which is also functioning as Legislature of India has not any mandate from the country to enact the Code." Dr. Rajendra Prasad, who was replying to an address presented to him by the Women's Indian Association, made the above observation and further said, "Perhaps to some of you my views may appear reactionary, but Mahatmaji has told us not to sail under false colours but to treat the world as we think and feel."

The Hindu Code Bill is long before the country; its supporters and reactionary opponents have had full opportunity and time to express their own minds over it. Curiously enough, Dr. Rajendra Prasad had kept silent so long, and only a year after the death of Mahatma Gandhi, he has come out to oppose the Bill. It would have been fair if the name of Gandhiji had not been dragged into a controversy, specially in favour of a view which the overwhelming majority in the country considers to be retrograde. We wonder how Dr. Rajendra Prasad, himself being the President of the Constituent Assembly, could challenge the competence of that body, which is engaged in drafting the fundamental law of the country, to enact a social measure which has been thrashed out for years by a fully competent committee and debated threadbare by the people of the country.

A Bengali lawyer has given a fitting reply, in the columns of a local contemporary, to Dr. Rajendra Prasad's belated opposition. He has shown that the opinion or opposition by the conservatives is relevant to the extent they are deprived of any opportunity to follow their old ways of life. The Hindu Code Bill does not touch them but allows the progressive Hindus to live their own life without the tyranny of the old guards. It is curious that the Code which is sponsored by the Congress Government is being opposed by men like Dr. Rajendra Prasad. How does the Congress Party stand on this question?

The apprehension that the reform under the Code may prove a dead letter is without foundation. Dr. Rajendra Prasad had said, in that very address quoted

above, that "I do not want the reform to remain a dead letter after it has been passed." A statute becomes a dead letter under the following conditions: (a) when it outlives its utility, (b) when the advantages or benefits of an enabling statute are outweighed by the consequential disabilities imposed by it, e.g., the Hindu Widow's Remarriage Act which divests the estate inherited by the widow from her deceased husband, and deprives her of the guardianship of her children by her deceased husband on her remarriage, or the Special Marriage Act 1872, which in its application to Hindus, Buddhists, Sikhs and Jains, severs the person marrying under the Act from his family, deprives him of his right to religious office or service or management of religious or charitable trust, denies him the right of adoption, deprives his issues of the Hindu law of succession, and confers the right of adoption on his father when such person is an only son, or (c) when the government fails to provide for an adequate machinery to work out the provisions of a penal statute like the Child Marriage Restraint Act. The Hindu Code Bill does not come under any of these categories and therefore there is no likelihood of its becoming a dead letter immediately after it is passed as has been feared by Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Mr. Kidwai on Mail Delay

Mr. R. A. Kidwai, India's Minister of Communications, recently visited Calcutta to make personal enquiries into the causes of delay in mail delivery. He played Haroon-al-Rashid and gave incognito visits to several of the postal departments. After completing his inquiry, Mr. Kidwai told Calcutta press men that there had been some amount of bungling and inexcusable delays. There have also been deliberate attempts to hold up delivery of letters and other postal articles because of an apprehension in the minds of some workers that the new scheme would necessitate some retrenchment. The Minister said there was no justification for such an apprehension.

Mr. Kidwai found on enquiry that letters and postal articles which should have been sent to the Calcutta G.P.O. for outward transmission found their way to other Post Offices. As a matter of fact, when he visited the Sealadah R.M.S. Office on May 18, he found large bundles of letters posted in Calcutta in April still lying there. Definite instructions had been issued to the R.M.S. staff to be vigilant and to see that all letters and other postal articles were properly sorted and sent to the right R.M.S. office for outward despatch.

These astounding disclosures were made in the Press Conference but nothing was said as to what steps had been taken to punish the delinquents whose action amounted not only to gross and inexcusable negligence amounting to sabotage. Unless responsibility was fixed on somebody somewhere and disciplinary action followed detection of cases of gross delinquency, things will never improve.

India's Fighting Forces

We are glad that the Defence Department has been devoting a certain amount of attention to interesting the "non-martial" races in the fighting forces of the Indian Union. Brigadier Billimoria, for instance, has shaken the complacency of us all who have been so far content to leave the fighting for the country's honour to the Sikhs, Dogras, Gurkhas, Garwalis, Jats and Muslims of the Punjab, the United Provinces and Delhi. In course of a statement he said that about 85 per cent of the recruits belong to these classes. The rest come from Madras and Bombay. This shows that the central and the eastern India have been indifferent even when the all India authority has gone.

We have to find the reason why; and the Defence Department has to apply its mind to this task. Unless the leaders of the people and the leaders of the armed services jointly work in this quest, we are afraid that posters and radio speeches will not be of much avail in creating enthusiasm amongst the peoples who have hitherto shown no interest in the Army, the Navy and the Air Force. These peoples have forgot the traditions of Kshatriya life under the peace imposed by Britain over India. And General Cariappa and his department have to make special efforts to create these traditions. The appeals that bring recruits from the "martial races" will have to be varied in the case of the peoples and classes in view. Experiments will be required, a few of which may prove ineffective.

We have had occasion lately to hear on the air Lt.-Colonel P. C. Lahiri's speech on the "Potential Officers of the Armed Services." The courtesy of West Bengal's Publicity Director has made it available to us for more leisured perusal. The speech is evidently addressed to a very limited circle—those who have had "a background of academical education." Experience must have shown that this education is "more or less bookish," lacking in "practical aspect," whereas the aim of the Armed Forces Academy is to "make a Man of the Boy and produce the Incipient Technician normally latent in many youths." India has "tens of thousands of young men who have these qualities latent in them."

But why do they not come forward to join the armed forces? Lt.-Col. Lahiri deduces on the basis of the poor response in January last to the Federal Public Service Commission Examination for Inter-Service Virgins that candidates and their guardians lacked the requisite knowledge with regard to the "scope, purpose, system and benefits of training" at the Military Academy. We have, on the other hand, heard reports that the appeals to the prospective recruits lacked the human touch, that the stand-offish bureaucratic methods, still on the ascendant, repel the candidates. The language spoken sounds unfamiliar to young men new to the field.

We are afraid that there is truth in this complaint. Otherwise, how are we to explain the eagerness in the response made to the notice calling for candidates for sergeants for the Calcutta Police?

Shoshit Sangh (Exploited Classes)

The Allahabad *Leader* reports the birth of a new organization in the United Provinces' eastern districts calling itself *Shoshit Sangh* (exploited classes); its membership at present appears to be limited to the traditional labouring classes not "untouchables"—Kurmish, Pasis, Kachhis, Ahirs, Kahars, etc. An understanding appears to have been reached with the "untouchables" binding them for the removal of age-long shackles, both social and economic.

Ministers and Parliamentary Secretaries are found associated with this organization; but they do not appear to be able to control their followers who are known to have burst into violence and murder in the pursuit of their programme of up-lift. "Caste Hindus" appear to be specially chosen for attack. And though there has been a law for about two years on the Statute Book, securing religious and social justice to the "depressed classes," caste Hindu conceit does not appear to have been able to accommodate itself to the needs of a more coherent social life.

We do not know when caste Hindus will be able to give concrete shape to the reforms that have been with us since the days of Raja Ram Mohun Roy. Even now leaders of men like Babu Rajendra Prasad and Dr. Pattabhi Sitaramayya can loudly proclaim their allegiance to Gandhiji's principles and practices while they find nothing inconsistent in opposing reforms in their society on the plea of the State having no right to interfere with social customs!

Major River Schemes in West Bengal

Much is being hoped for from the three river schemes initiated by the Central Government of the Indian Union in West Bengal. Mr. Nripendra Kumar Gupta writing on the subject in the 30th April, 1949 issue of the *Calcutta Municipal Gazette* brings out the consequences of these schemes on the future of Calcutta, one of the two largest ports in India. Not even the separation of East Bengal has yet shown that Calcutta has lost its importance as a port. The development of Vizagapatam and Chittagong as rivals is far off.

Discussing the Damodar Valley Scheme and the Mor (Mayurakshi) Project, Mr. Gupta says:

"... the Damodar Valley scheme is expected to stop the rain water in a catchment area about 8,000 sq. miles of the plateau of Chhotanagpur from running to waste. The flood in the Burrakur and especially the Damodar will be controlled by the erection of eight dams and a barrage. The Damodar before entering the province of West Bengal takes up the entire flood water of the Burrakur river at a point about 2 to 3 miles south of the town of Burrakur. At the height of flood during the monsoon season, the flow reaches as much as 18,00,000 c.ft. per second. It is 'the river of woe' to Bengal. By means of the above control, it is hoped to keep a perennial flow of about 2,00,000 c.ft. per second, thereby providing facilities for both irrigation and navigation. Besides irrigating 7,83,000 acres of land in West Bengal by which, West Bengal

will, it is expected, get a paddy crop of about 4,00,000 tons and *rabi* crop of a total value of about Rs. 5 crores, it will solve the transport problem too.

"A barrage will be provided at Durgapur a few miles above Burdwan town. It will help to connect the Damodar with the Hooghly about 80 miles above Calcutta, by a canal about 80 miles long, and navigable throughout the year. It is believed, thereby the depth of the Hooghly will be increased by 2 to 3 feet, throughout its 180 miles course from the mouth of the Canal to the Bay of Bengal, during the dry season and possibly 5 to 6 ft. during the rains.

"The Mor Project will cover the eastern fringe of the plateau of the Santhal Parganas,—the eastern-most district of Bihar. The river *Mayurakshi* rises near Dumka, and after a meandering course of about 150 miles, during the course of which it is joined on the right bank by the Siddheswari and the Dwarka, and on the left by the Kopai and the Brahmin, it falls into the Hooghly near Duttabati in the district of Murshidabad. The flood water during the rains enters the district of Birbhum through a deep gorge at Messanjore. A dam 125 ft. high and 2,240 ft. long will be erected at Messanjore thereby submerging an area of no less than 41.5 sq. miles. There will be two canal systems, each 78 miles long with 200 miles of distributaries and fall on the north bank and 220 miles of distributaries on the south bank.

"As a flow of about 2,28,000 cusecs during the monsoon season and about 30 per cent less during other periods will be maintained throughout the year, the Hooghly in its upper reaches will benefit substantially.

But Mr. Gupta builds his hopes for Calcutta on the "Ganga Barrage Project" as a result of which the Hooghly will be resuscitated from the threat of stagnancy. We will allow him to describe the problem created by "the decadence of the Hooghly" by the "complete silting up of its off-take from the mother-stream of Ganga."

"The division of the province of Bengal into two parts has made two things imperative—the provision of a river route for large inland steamers and barges to keep Calcutta in intimate contact with the trade emporium of Bihar and U.P. This can be done only if the link of the two rivers is maintained throughout the year by re-excavating the intake, and by devising the means of keeping a constant flow of water from the Ganga into the Hooghly, so as to maintain a minimum depth of at least 12 feet, throughout the entire length of the river up to Calcutta. The second is a link with Assam and Tipperah.

"For this purpose the *Ganga Barrage Scheme* has been taken in hand, and a Commission is at work to examine it in detail and to bring it to fruition. Details are yet wanting but it is believed that besides restoring the Hooghly as a perennially navigable river in its upper reaches, it will also restore the Jalangi and the Matabhanga and provide irrigation for the District of Murshidabad of which it is badly in need. The barrage will also carry a direct railway and road link with upper Bihar, Assam and Tipperah."

As a citizen of this "no mean city" of ours, the writer hopes that the whole face of our province will be transformed, and "Calcutta will have a fresh lease of life, possibly a couple of centuries."

Burma's Difficulties

The most recent news from Burma does not go to show that Thakin Nu's Government is at the end of its troubles. What with division in the Anti-Fascist Party organized under the inspired leadership of the late Aung San, leading to a civil war, what with economic difficulties—a consequence of the second world war and also of this civil war—what with difficulties with Government employees hailing from India and with Indian capitalist interests consolidated in Burma's economic life now sought to be liquidated, and behind it all British capitalist interests watching and waiting for making their position more secure, the Thakin Nu Government will have the sympathy of all men of goodwill.

The insurgents have declared the foundation of a State of their own in Central Burma. We do not know if the Karens are concerned with this particular business. They need not be when we remember that the Burma Government has already conceded the demand for a Karen State as a Unit of the Burma Federation. The "White Bands," the "Red Bands," and the Communists constitute a different proposition which has to be fought to a finish. This decision must have been the reason that has forced the Thakin Nu Government to seek the help of her neighbours—India, Pakistan and Ceylon—as also of Britain.

We do not know how the Government of the Indian Union understand the implications of this entanglement. With the grievances of about 6 to 7 lakh Indians unredressed, public opinion in India may not be as enthusiastic for "all-out aid" to Burma as it would otherwise be. Pakistan has an adverse interest raising its head in Arakan where Muslims are reported to be conspiring to set up a Pakistan State. Britain has not turned a new leaf over-night as her goings-on in Malaya go to show. Ceylon is disinterested but she is limited in resources, and she will have to depend on others to be of any effective help. India could also be disinterested, but the difficulties, indicated above, may stand in the way.

France's Costly New War

Last month we expressed surprise at the way in which French colonialism's three-years' war on the Viet-Nam Republic has been allowed to go almost un-noticed in any international forum. The latest news from this war-front in East Asia is that the French Republic has been sending African battalions to make a last-ditch attempt to preserve her strangle-hold on Cochín-China, Tongking, Annam and other areas on the mid-Pacific Ocean. The New York weekly—*Life*—in its comments dated March 7 said that "the French are losing a tough, tricky fight in Indo-China".

News has reached the world that about 5,000 Algerian and Senegalese troops are on the high seas destined for Indo-China. On March 8, 1949, a Pact was signed by Vincent Auriol, French President, with ex-Emperor of Annam, Vinh-thuy, the latter acknowledging French hegemony over France's Colonial areas in Indo-

China. We have seen an estimate which said that during the last three and a half years France has wasted about two to three hundred crores of rupees in trying to retain her hold over this region of Asia. Apart from this, the economic unsettlement due to this has been more costly. Viet-Nam's News Service stationed at Bangkok (Siam) gives us an idea of the loss to the world caused by the madness of French chauvinism. The following summary tells the story.

Vietnam is the fifth rice-producing country in the world. Before the war the annual rice output averaged 6,300,000 tons. This quantity covered home requirements by far, and the rice surplus, amounting to not less than 1,600,000 tons yearly, was exported.

Vietnam possesses extremely rich deposits of tin, lead, zinc, iron, copper, antimony, tungsten, mercury, coal etc.

Vietnam's forests produce a number of first-rate timbers and valuable resins, and the rubber yield has formed nearly half of total French exports in the years preceding 1940.

Before World War II, Indo-China produced 60,000 tons of rubber a year—5 per cent of the world's output. Last year it produced 3,000 tons only. Only the largest plantations could afford to operate through the war. The jungle took over the smaller ones. Vines crawled over the sore bark of tree trunks slashed by rebel raiders. Once slashed, a rubber tree must grow a new bark before the latex can be tapped again.

The big planters who carry on, like the Societe des Plantations des Terres Rouges, do it the expensive way. Terres Rouges, which owns about 140,000 acres of rubber estates, moves key personnel in three private airplanes. Its trucks go in convoy to and from Saigon, 60 miles south, with government troops and company guards patrolling ahead to protect them. Rubber losses are pyramided in other products, Indo-China once grew 8 per cent of the world's rice and exported 1½ million tons annually. Last year it exported less than 200,000 tons. Annual exports of all products once totalled nearly 400,000 tons.

France's principal creditor, the United States, should wake up and take a look into France's budget. Is the "Marshall aid" enabling France to divert a part of her moneys to this costly adventure? How long will the conscience of the world tolerate this shame?

"Revolutionary Defeatism"

These words are used by Communists and other fellow-travellers to justify or explain their betrayal of national interests. India has had this experience when the Communists of India sabotaged the united front against British Imperialism. This sabotage became a characteristic feature of Indian Communist activities as when Hitler ordered the invasion of the Soviet Union breaking the Russo-German Pact of August 23, 1939. This Pact had assured Hitler of Stalin's benevolent neutrality thus emboldening him to launch his attack on Poland and starting the second World War.

Since the Bolshevik revolution this "revolutionary defeatism" has introduced a new force into wars and preparations thereof. The *Radical Democrat* published a story that proved how French Communists brought about the defeat of their country's resistance against German attack. We summarize it below :

"On December 9, 1947, in a speech before the French National Assembly, Colonel Pierre de Chevigne, editor of the newspaper *Le Pays* and deputy of the M. R. P. raised an issue which has been intriguing many ever since the early days of the second World War. He said :

'I herewith accuse the deputy—Madame Denise Ginclin, and in her person the Communist Party of France, of high treason and of intelligence with the enemy before the armistices of June 23, 1940.'

In order to back up his charge, the deputy showed to the Assembly official documents of the Parisian police, highly damaging to the Communists.

The Communist deputies shouted : 'They are fakes !' Whereupon Colonel Chevigne calmly replied : 'It is high time that this affair be brought into the open. If the documents are fakes, then you are free to sue me in any court. I am ready to renounce my immunity as deputy. Let the French court decide.'

The Communists never took up the challenge. But certain facts of the period in question have by now been brought into the open. After September 1939, after the invasion and partition of Poland, Hitler was endeavouring to make peace with France and Britain. On October 31, 1939, two French Communist deputies, Florimond Bonte and Arthur Ramette, in a letter addressed to Edouard Herriot, then President of the Chamber of Deputies, wrote : 'Germany has just made peace offers. A great hope is abroad all over the country. Will these proposals be rejected without even a debate in Parliament ?' Significantly enough, the full text of the letter appeared verbatim in the official journal. Later on it was mysteriously torn out of all the bound volumes of the journal in practically all French libraries.

Pursuing the policy of "revolutionary defeatism," the Communist paper *Humanite*, secretly circulated among French soldiers, wrote : "All our past calls for a union against the war and strong action for immediate peace . . . From now on, we know where the enemy is. We point at those responsible. Down with the Government of war-mongers ! . . . Down with the Socialist bosses who want to sell us the idea of a holy union for war. We know that we are not alone. Just as we fight Daladier and Reynaud, the German soldiers fight Hitler and the British workers fight Chamberlain and Churchill. The international fight against the war has started. We will continue it until peace which we all want is restored.'

When the German armies broke through in May, 1940, the *Humanite* again wrote : 'We must form immediately a peace Government based on the working masses and such a Government should take immediate measures for establishing a 'general peace'.'

And Marshal Petain and Laval made this peace !

Wa- Potential of the Two Blocs

The following, released from Washington on the day the Atlantic Pact was signed (April 3), gives us an idea of the relative strengths of the two Blocs that divide the world today :

The North Atlantic Treaty unites 12 Western countries with a total population of 332,439,000, nearly 15 per cent more man-power than the Soviet group.

Russia with its six Eastern European allies, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Rumania, Bulgaria and Albania, have a population of 174,739,000.

Measured in manpower, the present armed strength of the Treaty countries and the Soviet Bloc is estimated to be roughly the same. This covers the standing Armies, Navies and Air Forces but does not include reserves that might be called up in the event of a war.

Most of the military man-power of the Atlantic group is centred on the armed forces of the United States, Britain and France. The three countries account for about 3,113,000 of the 12-Power total of 4,148,600.

Russia is the big Power of the Soviet group with an estimated 4,050,000 men in its armed forces. Her other allies add about 1,121,000 to that figure.

Navies of the United States and Britain, plus naval forces of the other allies, give Atlantic alliance a wide edge in sea-power.

As for air power, military experts can only guess. They estimate that the total number of aeroplanes is about the same for the Western and Eastern blocs, but believe that the Atlantic Powers could probably muster more long-range bombers.

In addition to their manpower advantage the Western Powers together possess :

1. More than three times as much capacity for producing steel.
2. More than twice as much coal production.
3. Eight times as much oil.
4. Almost 34 times as much ocean-going merchant tonnage, and
5. Nearly three times as much motor transport.

Monoharlal

The death of Sir Monoharlal of the Punjab occurring at the time and place at which it did has a significance of its own. He attained fame in early youth as a student of Prof. Marshal of Cambridge, as a fellow-student of Maynard Keynes. But what a difference was there in the ultimate use these two men could make of their life ! Keynes became a power to reckon with in Britain's economic and financial thought and life; Monoharlal had to remain content with being the finance minister of his native province.

The first Minto Professor of Economics in the Calcutta University—the chair was established on the initiative of the late Asutosh Mukherjee in the pursuit of making the University a seed-plot modern thought at the highest—Monoharlal's appointment was a recognition to the promise of his life. Then he appeared to have retired to his own cell and sunk into provincial life. As an educationist and legislator he did his best, but this did not reach the expectations entertained by his admirers.

He was the finance minister in the Sikander Hyat Khan Ministry, a really Muslim League regime. But that did not count when the partition came, and he had to leave Lahore along with lakhs of Hindus and Sikhs. The pain of this separation must have told on his health, never robust ; he died at Ambala, a "refugee." May he rest in peace !

THE ATLANTIC PACT

By SHARAD KUMARI DUBEY, M.A.

The signing of the "Atlantic Pact" has become a landmark in World History, as it has given birth to the Trans-Atlantic Alliance for the first time. On April fourth the twelve Western powers pledged themselves to consult together when their territorial integrity and political independence, or security is threatened in any part of the globe, and to do everything to strengthen their free institutions, and to eliminate economic conflict by means of mutual co-operation. It binds the signatories to fight aggression by taking recourse to collective armed force. The authors of the Pact have cherished pious hopes by stating in the preamble that they have resolved to unite their efforts for collective defence for the preservation of peace and security.

II

ANGLO-AMERICAN ANXIETY FOR SECURITY

A brief review of the history of the diplomatic relations of the Big Three will show that the hostility between England and America on the one hand, and the Soviet Russia on the other is not a novel feature of the post-war era. Ever since the establishment of the Bolshevik regime in Russia, the war of ideologies started. The Soviet propaganda against the capitalist system, and the repudiation of her foreign debt to the amount of \$8,000,000,000 was responsible for her boycott from the community of nations for a considerable time. Britain did not give her *de jure* recognition till the return of the Labour Government of MacDonald in 1924, which followed a liberal policy by admitting Russian legation in her metropolis for the first time, after the overthrow of the Czarist regime. But as soon as the conservatives came to power diplomatic relations were strained. It was alleged that the Bolshevik Government was taking an active part in anti-British propaganda in Europe and Asia. Then an unexpected raid of the British police on the offices of Arcos Limited, the Soviet Trading Corporation in London, was responsible for complete suspension of diplomatic relations between the two countries, and not until 1929, when a second Labour Government came in power. Anglo-Soviet diplomatic intercourse was resumed.

III

Relations between U.S.A., and U.S.S.R. were not friendly either. The two countries followed completely different ideologies. Their political system was based on conflicting principles. The Soviet system was a direct menace to the capitalist world, thus they ignored and avoided each other till 1933. On account of the great depression and slump in the American trade a group of American businessmen favoured the idea of entering into trade relations with Russia, and finally in November 1933 the two countries exchanged diplomatic envoys.

IV

The beginning of the second World War brought about a definite change in the external relations of these countries. The fear of a Nazi conquest compelled them to change their outlook. They hastened to enter into an alliance in order to save themselves from the Nazi domination, but the Russian hopes were soon shattered. The Western group gave very little and insufficient help to Russia as their purpose of opening a second front for Germany having been fulfilled, they concentrated their energy in offering a strong resistance to the Nazi forces in case they crossed the English Channel.

V

Thus Russia became very suspicious and hostile to the Anglo-American designs. Neither the declaration of The United Nations Charter, nor the occupation of Germany by the four powers brought about any improvement in their relations, on the other hand the platform of the United Nations is being used for carrying out a vicious propaganda against each other.

VI

There is little doubt that the Atlantic Pact is the result of the clumsy Soviet tactics and cold war in the East. Especially the Communist coup in Czechoslovakia, and the fomentation of trouble in Greece put the Western democracies on guard. The gulf between the East and the West is widening, and much to the disgust of the pacifist, Europe has become a victim of dirty power-politics and mutual bickering. This lack of understanding and goodwill on either side will be ultimately responsible for plunging Europe into a deadly war in the near future.

VII

The word security has become the watchword of the post-war politics. The U.N.O. has failed to justify its existence, as Mr. Bevin has remarked, "It has failed to offer security and collective defence which is required." But who is responsible for failure of the U.N.O.? It is again the big powers who always work for selfish motives.

VIII

The Atlantic pact is the result of secret and hectic activities in the Chancelleries of Europe and America for about eight months, as disclosed by Mr. Bevin at a press conference. It has been hailed in the Western countries as the precursor of a new era in the democratic world. The Belgian prime minister has described it "as a turning point in U. S. history." Surely it is the first bold step by the American Government to take initiative for the defence of the Trans-Atlantic Area. It is also an improvement upon the Kellogg pact which was only a declaration on the part of the

signatories to pronounce outlawry of war as an instrument for settling mutual disputes. It did not provide the signatories with an armed force to punish the miscreant who violated the agreement. Thus it was more or less a Biblical command which had only moral value and lacked an effective force to carry out its mission. It is hoped that the present pact will serve the purpose for which it is formed, and will also work as a warning to any power with aggressive designs.

IX

The pact is a revolutionary step to give a novel shape to the age-old American policy of isolation and neutrality. George Washington's policy of keeping America aloof from the European entanglements has been renounced. The Monroe doctrine has been given a decent burial. At last America has realised the necessity of taking an active part in the European politics, firstly because she failed to avoid her participation in the last two world wars, and secondly the scientific advancement has practically destroyed the barrier of geographical distances. Another fruit of the Atlantic agreement is that the Western democracies have recognised American supremacy and acclaimed her as the greatest world-power. Britain's prestige has suffered heavily. Proud Britain is no more the queen of the Atlantic. In this age of Atom bombs and chemical warfare, only America has retained her title as the most powerful nation of the world. She, perhaps with the exception of Canada, is the only country who holds the Atom bomb secret.

X

America is anxious to check the all-round communist infiltration. She is not prepared to leave any stone unturned to form a strong bulwark against the onrush of the communist tide. Thus she hastened to form a strong fortification of the Western countries to deal with any emergency. The pact has also given an official recognition to the Western bloc, and it has embittered more the already hostile relations of the Eastern and Western groups of Europe.

XI

The pact has come for bitter criticism by the Soviet press which accused the Western powers of entering into this alliance. But the fact is that the Kremlin is nervous of the United front which the Western powers have put up now. Moreover, there is another cause for her anxiety. Marshal Tito's breach from the Comintern weakened her offensive campaign. Bewildered and confused she is making every attempt to keep the rest of her satellites within her fold. With this end in view active diplomatic manoeuvring is going on behind the iron curtain.

XII

ATLANTIC PACT: A DEATH BLOW TO U.N.O.

The Atlantic treaty has come as a bolt from the blue for the U.N.O. The prestige of this body had

already suffered due to the appeasement policy of the Anglo-American group in not checking the imperialistic design of the French and the Dutch on Indo-China and Indonesia respectively. Another cause of its failure is the lack of agreement amongst the leading powers on any problem of vital importance, such as the control of the Atomic Energy, the lifting of the Berlin Blockade by Russia, and the currency problem in the Eastern and Western zones of Germany. Besides, the Palestine muddle and Kashmir tangle and the Indonesian issue have remained unsolved even today. The lack of impartiality and clear motive on the part of the two rival groups have made the Asian people lose their confidence in this organisation.

XIII

The League of Nations failed because the big powers could not save Manchuria and Ethiopia from the Japanese and Italian invasions. They did not bother to take action when Hitler marched into Czechoslovakia. But when he attacked Poland they realised the gravity of the growing Nazi danger, and pooled their resources to check him. A similar fate awaits the U.N.O. The Atlantic treaty has undermined its authority.

XIV

The text of the Atlantic Pact pays a lip service to the Charter of the U.N.O. The preamble runs thus :

"The parties to this treaty reaffirm their faith in the purpose and the principles of the Charter of the United Nations. . . ."

But it is curious enough to find out how this principle has been violated in articles 5 and 10 of this pact. In article 5 which forms the corner-stone of the agreement it has been laid down:

"The parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all, and consequently they agree that if such armed attack occurs each of them in exercise of the individual or collective self-defence, recognised by the charter of the United Nations, will assist the party or parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with other parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic Area. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken measures necessary to restore and maintain International peace and security."

It must be noted that there is no provision in the pact to settle mutual disputes by peaceful means, or to refer them to the International tribunal. Again there is no mention in the pact that the contending parties shall abide by the decision of the Security Council when the matter is referred to it. The issue has been cleverly evaded.

XV

But the most glaring contradiction of the U.N.O. Charter is to be found in Article 10. According to it, "The parties may by unanimous agreement invite any other European state in a position to further the principles of this treaty, and to contribute to the security of the North Atlantic Area to accede to this treaty..."

The above provision is inconsistent with chapter 8th and article 52 of the U.N.O. Charter which permits only regional arrangement. Surely the participation of Italy, a Mediterranean power in the agreement, has turned it into a non-regional alliance. Moreover, active efforts are going on to rope in Spain and Portugal so that the Western bloc can get the control over the strategic points in this sea. Russia is also trying to get control over this area, and is wooing Turkey to find an outlet into this Sea through the Dardenelles, and Bosphorus. Thus the Soviet Government has criticised the pact as an aggressive move against her. But according to Mr. Dean Acheson, the U. S. Foreign Secretary, it is "the roof of security which has been stretched beyond the North Atlantic area."

XVI

THE PACT: AN IMPETUS TO RACE OF ARMAMENTS

Though the pact has provided security to the Western Democracies for the time being, yet it does not augur well for the safety of the world. On the contrary, the possibility of a global conflagration has very much increased. Now American capital will flow in the Western countries to buy arms and ammunitions, similarly the Kremlin will not lag behind in supplying war material to the eastern countries of Europe. Thus International help has been paved with good intentions. This endless war preparation will lead ultimately to the altar of Mars! The human race already sick and disgusted with the previous wars will have to face the catastrophe for a third time.

XVII

PACIFIC DEFENCE

At present the possibility of a future world war is more in the Pacific than in the Atlantic region. Russia has got an easy access to the Pacific, while she is almost landlocked in the Atlantic. The Western powers are fully conscious of the vulnerable position of this area, and consultations are going on to form a Pacific pact on the lines of the Atlantic pact. Mr. Eden's visit to the Pacific countries, and also to India and Pakistan was purely dominated by this motive. This time the Pacific will turn into a chess-board for the leading powers to play their game. The communist victory in China and Russian foothold in Korea are proving a real headache to the signatories of the Atlantic pact, and to those Asian countries who do not subscribe to the communist ideology. Besides this, the fast deteriorating conditions in South East Asia, the civil war in Burma and the labour troubles in Pakistan,

Ceylon and India, are sufficient warning of the fact of a rapid growth of communism throughout the Asian continent.

XVIII

NEED OF AN ASIAN BLOC TO AVOID WORLD WAR III

The real motive of the Atlantic pact is to keep the balance of power in Europe. Once the equilibrium is disturbed, the whole world will again be involved in a ruinous war. To avert this calamity the balance should be strictly maintained. The remedy lies in the formation of a third bloc, a neutral group of the Asian countries to serve as mediators between the conflicting nations. Modern Asia must keep herself aloof from European entanglements, but at the same time she must be well prepared to resist any invasion on her soil. The Asiatics should combine their resources to organise a strong front against Communism and Imperialism. It is high time the Asian countries should make a joint declaration to the effect that they will not permit any further exploitation by any power.

XIX

With the fall of Nationalist China into Communist hands India has become the undisputed leader of the East. She must rise to the occasion, and make full use of the golden opportunity, and also shoulder the moral responsibility of reawakening the Orient. It is up to her to take the initiative, and to call a conference of the Asiatic countries to discuss ways and means of escaping from the impending danger. The seeds of the Asian bloc have already been sown in the Asian conference on Indonesia. In the next conference, the Asiatics should boldly assert their will and declare that they will not suffer any type of colonialism on this fair land whether it may be of the French, Dutch, or the British type. The salvation of the Asiatics lies in their own hands. They need not look towards the West for future protection and guidance. A strong regional defensive alliance will be enough to meet the emergency.

XX

Moreover, Asia must launch a moral and cultural campaign to fight communism. The battle of ideologies can be won better by effective propaganda than by an armed conflict. War leads to destruction and results in a classless, and propertyless society, which proves a very fertile ground for the spread of communism. Therefore, the problem is more psychical than physical, and its solution lies in bringing about a change in the mental outlook by peaceful means, and not by force. In this respect too, India can assume the leadership by sending cultural envoys to the world as was done by her in the glorious past. The message of Truth and Non-violence so nobly preached by Christ, Buddha, and only till yesterday by Mahatma Gandhi should be spread far and wide to bring solace and peace to the suffering humanity in this war-torn world. May success crown her efforts.

RE-ORIENTATION OF OUR HEMP DRUGS POLICY

By H. C. MOOKERJEE, M.A., Ph.D.,
Vice-President, Constituent Assembly of India

THE aim of the hemp drugs policy we have inherited from our old rulers and to which we are still adhering is, in the language of one of the Government reports, "restraining the use and improving the revenue by the imposition of suitable taxation." A glance at the returns of excise revenue proves beyond any doubt that the latter object has been attained. So far as the former is concerned, it is evident from what has appeared elsewhere that we have reasonable grounds to think that, in undivided India, there were approximately four million addicts about 85 per cent of whom used the hemp drugs in excessive quantities and that some at least among the rest are likely to be tempted to excess. It has also been shown that the above figures do not include occasional users and that, as in the case of consumers of moderate quantities, some of these too may be expected to become habitual users of these drugs.

These facts prove definitely that the existing hemp drugs policy which, with minor alterations here and there, has been in operation for a century and a half has proved its futility as a means of checking the spread of addiction though, at the same time, it has proved its usefulness as a producer of revenue.

The justification invariably put forward is that the system aims at controlling consumption through high prices and that the profits of this traffic in the bodies and souls of some of our people in the form of the hemp drugs revenue, is merely a by-product in an attempt to keep indulgence within reasonable limits.

The very grave objection which may be urged against the existing policy is that it disregards the basic fact that the State exists for one purpose only, the service of the people and that so long as it serves the needs of the people, it does not matter what that service, in terms of money, costs, for it has to be rendered.

Judged by this standard, there is no valid excuse for the excise system now in force, for, far from benefiting the people, it, in a sense, has the effect of making the State a partner in a business which has been inflicting downright injury on a section of our countrymen.

As the existence of certain factors makes it impossible to end the consumption of hemp drugs with one bold stroke, we have to introduce certain fundamental changes calculated to extirpate addiction to them in our policy which, it is proposed to discuss in the following pages.

LIMITATION OF SUPPLIES

The gradual increase in the revenue derived from licit hemp drugs unaccompanied by a corresponding reduction in the total quantity sold to the public proves that high prices due to imposition of heavy duties can never, by themselves, solve the problem of addiction.

What has happened in most cases is that habitual users have continued to consume the amounts to which they are accustomed and, where they are poor, have secured additional means by cutting down their expenditure on other and probably more legitimate items. Smuggling also has played its part in keeping them supplied and it has been resorted to on account of the high profits derivable from it.

That addiction is fundamentally due to the production of habit-forming drugs in quantities in excess of legitimate, that is medicinal and scientific, requirements was pointed out by H. W. Adams, C.B.E., M.D., Lecturer of Pharmacology and Therapeutics, University of Sheffield, U.K., and Medical Officer of the Ministry of Health, United Kingdom, who, on page 52 of his *Drug Addiction* said :

"If we take a broad view, it is clear that the world's crop of drug addicts is . . . primarily the result of the interaction of a plentiful supply of seed with a suitable soil. The seed is provided by the production of the natural and manufactured narcotic drugs . . . in quantities far in excess of the world's legitimate requirements for medical and scientific purposes, while the soil is represented by inadequate human personality."

It is therefore maintained that the centralisation of the cultivation of the hemp plant and of the manufacture of drugs from it, their prohibition elsewhere and the adoption of suitable measures for stopping illicit cultivation and spontaneous growth will have the effect of going to the root of the problem by cutting off supplies to the addict. This brings us to the question as to what steps, keeping in view the existing situation in India, can be taken to place hemp drugs beyond the reach of those who otherwise would have recourse to them for purposes other than legitimate. At the same time, they must be such as to cause the least amount of inconvenience to those who have so far been using them.

CONTROL OF IMPORT OF CHARAS

Elsewhere, some account of the methods of manufacturing charas when this drug was produced in India has been given and it has also been stated that, for all practical purposes, what is consumed in our motherland today is imported from Yarkand in Central Asia.

Constituting one of the most important articles of trade between Central Asia and India, this drug is brought down from Yarkand in the summer *via* Panamik where it is first registered by a clerk. It reaches Leh, capital of Ladakh, in Kashmir State territory by the latter end of September or early in October where there is a warehouse with a special staff maintained by Government. The charas in bundles weighing about 100 pounds each is checked at Panamik and again at Leh to make it certain that every bundle arriving at the latter place is accounted for either in

Kashmir State or in one of the Punjab warehouses. After being recorded for the second time at Leh, the charas is forwarded to one or other of the Government warehouses or is consumed in Kashmir itself. Transport of charas after leaving Leh, is allowed only in bond under pass. On arrival at the warehouses maintained in India, the charas bundles are weighed and again registered.

The North-West Frontier Province also has certain warehouses under Government control which take care of charas imported from Central Asia *via* Chitral to Durgai, a railway station on the North-Western Railway. It is understood that this is a quicker and shorter and also a less expensive route. The regulations governing the transit of charas are the same as those for the drug reaching India by the Leh route.

If strict observance of these rules had not been insisted on, many bundles of charas which had come to Leh would probably have gone underground and later been smuggled into India. The system of registration has proved so effective that, at least before the partition of India, there was little reliable proof of the existence of smuggling on anything like an appreciable scale through the ordinary trade routes.

The Hemp Drugs Commission which had realised the ease with which addiction to charas can be stopped, observed in paragraph 567 of its report that

"Charas is practically a foreign article. . . . It would not be a very difficult matter to stop these imports. . . . It may, therefore, be accepted that the supply of charas (to India) might be cut off without much difficulty."

As regards the smuggling of charas after its import has been banned, it may be observed that there is evidence showing that contraband charas has, for years, been reaching India mostly through Chitral and, to a certain extent, through independent tribal areas, but always in small quantities being smuggled mainly by travellers who carry small amounts at a time upon their persons. The drug which comes to India in this way is not sufficiently large to interfere with our prohibition programme. In addition, if addicts are registered and their needs met through Government agency, the incentive to smuggling would largely disappear and, at the same time, the creation of new addicts discouraged, if not totally stopped. Under these circumstances, we may hopefully look forward to the time when addiction to this most deleterious of hemp drugs will be a thing of the past.

PROHIBITION OF GANJA

Prohibitionists feel that the first step to be taken to end addiction to ganja is to make an estimate of the total amount required for meeting the needs of registered addicts and for purposes medicinal and scientific. After that, the cultivation of the hemp plant and the manufacture of the drug from it should be centralised and they should be conducted under direct Government supervision and control in such a manner as to produce the quantity required for the above-mentioned

purposes. Simultaneously, appropriate measures should be adopted with even greater strictness than at present to stop private persons from engaging in these activities. The fact that they were formerly carried on in practically every tract of India where climatic and other conditions are favourable to the hemp plant and are today confined to small areas in what were formerly five British Indian provinces shows that the suggestion is a practical one.

It has been held that prohibition of ganja would fail because addicts will continue to get their supplies from three illicit sources. These are the Indian States, the product of surreptitious cultivation and of spontaneous growth.

As regards the first of these, it has been shown elsewhere that the major part of the ganja produced in the Indian States taken as a whole, is consumed within them and though some of it has been systematically smuggled into our part of the country for years together, the quantity which has been coming in is not so large as to materially interfere with our programme. In addition, the success recently achieved by the democratic forces in them clearly indicates that the people there who are in no way different from us, will soon be putting into effect an identical anti-drink and drug policy. As a matter of fact, the banning of liquor has already come into force in many of them and others have started talking about the banning of opium.

As for illicit ganja obtainable from surreptitious cultivation in gardens or enclosures and interfering with the smooth working of prohibition, we have to remember that more than half a century ago, when the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission was conducting its investigations, it found that this was, in its language, confined "to the rearing of a few plants" and that the quantity thus secured was not always sufficient to supply the needs of those engaged in it whence it follows that the question of smuggling cannot arise. Further, the Commission had the clearest possible proof that, even in those distant days, this illegal practice had been stamped out in what is today Bengal, Bihar, Assam, Orissa and the Central Provinces.

It is therefore contended that if the difficulty caused by secret cultivation could be overcome in the above-mentioned areas notorious in those days for the excessive smoking of ganja, it can and will be done with equal success if and when the rearing of hemp plants except under immediate Government supervision for medical and scientific purposes and for supplying the needs of registered addicts, is banned.

As regards ganja obtainable from spontaneous growth, the view expressed by a small minority of the people examined by the Hemp Drugs Commission was that it does yield the drug in question. But so weighty was the evidence on the other side that on page 92 of its report, the Commission observed:

"The great majority of witnesses . . . state that ganja is not produced from the wild plants; and

undoubtedly what is ordinarily accepted as ganja cannot be so obtained."

What goes under the name of wild ganja consists sometimes of the dried leaves of the hemp plant but more often of the flowering tops of the female plant. But these possess so little of the narcotic principle mainly because of the presence of male plants that the Hemp Drugs Commission commented on its lack of attractiveness for the addict in the following terms :

"The ganja derived from spontaneous growth, untended and unimproved, is so inferior as to obviate all likelihood of its competing with the cultivated ganja."

It is only in remote areas of spontaneous growth that the poorest of the confirmed rural addicts can hope to indulge in this apology for the drug with some prospect of immunity from detection. The worst that can happen is that they will be tempted to keep up the practice where it has prevailed in the past. But an improvement in the situation is bound to manifest itself for it is not all likely that this isolation will continue to be permanent and as, with the legal banning of hemp drug addiction, greater care is certain to be taken in the detection and punishment of the guilty, we may confidently look forward to its diminution to negligible proportions if not to its total disappearance.

As regards the question of the smuggling of ganja obtainable from spontaneous growth, it may be said that even at the most liberal estimate, it is found in small, scattered patches in widely separated tracts in our motherland. It is maintained that the above type of consumers found in them would be quite content with supplying their own requirements and would think twice before collecting wild ganja in quantities large enough to be smuggled profitably to places where there is a demand for the very low grade drug obtainable from this source. One reason for their disinclination would undoubtedly be the uncertainty in the demand for this admittedly poor stuff coupled with the negligible profits that could be expected taking into account the risks such a course would entail.

BHANG CONSUMPTION UNDER INDIAN CONDITIONS

From what has appeared previously, it is clear that, during the hot and dry summer months, bhang in the form of a cooling beverage is generally used in the North-West Frontier Province, Sind, Rajputana, most parts of the Punjab, the western area of the United Provinces and in the Central Provinces.

We find bhang drinks used in connection with certain religious observances of Hindus which, as stated more than once, is not regarded as obligatory by large and important sections of them. It has also been shown that the quantity consumed on such occasions is, generally speaking, far from excessive. Bhang drinks are offered to guests during social functions in certain areas of Bihar and the United Provinces and among

particular sections of the people in the Central Provinces. It is also in use among the rural population as a domestic medicine for the relief or cure of certain ailments. The demand for the narcotic for this purpose is not, however, either steady or large. Then we find bhang being habitually consumed for purely euphoric purposes which no one can defend. Lastly, we have sadhus and fakirs who regularly use all the three hemp drugs to assist them in their religious exercises. But whatever the purpose, these, as habitual consumers, must be classified under addicts.

The religious festivals in connection with which bhang is consumed are generally speaking, the Durga Puja of Bengal and the Holi and Dewali festivals in Upper India. These, however, are not every day occurrences and, just as the red powder used during the Holi makes its appearance on the market just before and during the festival and disappears after it is over, it is possible to think of some kind of arrangement under which bhang in moderate amounts can be made available to worshippers on these occasions.

As regards the consumption of bhang drinks on such occasions as marriages and family festivities, it may be held safely that they are necessarily infrequent and there is nothing to show that the supply of this drug for such purposes cannot be controlled in such a manner as to ensure moderation.

It is obvious that, if and when prohibition of bhang comes into force, some arrangement should be made to supply the requirements of those who use it for the preparation of cooling drinks and that so long as public sentiment in regard to its consumption, of course occasional, in connection with religious observances and social customs and for quasi-medical purposes does not change, some people at least would resent the total cutting off of the supplies of this drug.

A NEW BHANG POLICY

Under the above circumstances, the aim of our bhang policy may be summarised as follows :

(1) To limit the supply of bhang for euphoric and "religious" purposes to not more than the amounts to which addicts have been accustomed so as to prevent further increases in the dosage.

(2) To control the distribution of the drug in such a manner as to supply the needs of the occasional consumers in quantities just sufficient to meet their needs.

It has been suggested that, to give effect to the above programme, those who consume bhang as a cooling drink as well as those others who require it in connection with religious festivals and family festivities should be asked to apply for and get short-term or temporary permits from a responsible Government officer. These should specify the quantities to be supplied by the distributing agency.

There remains the question of making bhang and small quantities of ganja easily obtainable for quasi-medical use. It is natural to expect that, with the wide

extension of our public health services, quackery as well as self-medication will disappear perhaps more quickly than we are inclined to think. Till this happens, these drugs may be made available to the public provided applications for them are endorsed by medical practitioners recognised by Government. Proper care should be exercised to prevent abuse of this relaxation of the rules.

So far as bhāng addicts are concerned, they should get themselves registered as such within a given time when they will be granted permanent permits for procuring from the distributors just the amounts to the use of which they have been accustomed and which should be mentioned in their licenses.

It is admitted that the above policy which will enable bhāng addicts to obtain their supplies of the drug in limited amounts and ensure moderate consumption of the drug by occasional users is, fundamentally, a compromise with objectionable practices which we must induce our people to give up through anti-drug education.

Obviously, the quantity of bhāng used regularly by those whom we may describe as lay addicts and by sadhus, sanniyās and fakirs most of whom are either guilty of excess or tend towards it, is much larger than that consumed by occasional users. With the introduction of bhāng prohibition, a gradual reduction in the quantity in demand will manifest itself. And this because the tendency towards excess in the case of the newer addicts will be checked and because death, removal from our territories and similar other causes will cause a reduction in the number of registered bhāng addicts. It also seems likely that, owing to the trouble which will have to be taken to secure temporary permits for procuring the drug for use during religious and family festivals and during the hot months of the year, there will be a falling off in the quantity consumed by occasional users. The discouragement to the creation of new addicts due to the limited availability of the drug will also play a notable part in checking any tendency towards increased consumption.

All this may be expected only if bhāng is made available to its occasional and habitual users in strict adherence to the policy outlined above. To ensure it, the first thing necessary is that the preparation of the drug and its distribution should, as in the case of ganja, be the responsibility of the State.

An estimate of the quantity of bhāng likely to be required should be made. This should take into account the needs of addicts and of occasional consumers during religious festivals, occasions of family or social rejoicings, etc. The leaves of the hemp plant of which this drug is composed should be collected by responsible agents of Government from spontaneous growth in only one well-defined area and the cultivation of the plant for bhāng should be stopped. Elsewhere, a vigorous campaign for stamping it out should be maintained till it is utterly extirpated.

DIFFICULTIES IN IMPLEMENTING BHĀNG POLICY

It has been argued that control of the hemp plant for the production of bhāng which does not require any care or attention, is much more difficult than that for the production of ganja where a particular technique in the processes of cultivation and manufacture has to be carefully followed. Our bhāng policy, it is pointed out, would be defeated by its illicit production from surreptitious cultivation and spontaneous growth.

As regards the first, it may be stated that the secret rearing of a few plants in out-of-the-way places cannot yield any but small amounts of bhāng and, as such, does not constitute a menace to our programme. That it can be stamped out is evident when we remember that, for all practical purposes, the cultivation of the hemp plant formerly found in most parts in India has gradually been confined to small areas in five only of the former British Indian provinces.

So far as the second objection is concerned, we know that there is spontaneous growth of the hemp plant in the mountainous and submontane regions of Bengal, Assam, Bihar, the United Provinces and the Punjab as also in uncultivated or unoccupied land close to or in the midst of inhabited areas in the plains and that it is maintained, especially in the last two tracts, by the importation of fresh and vigorous seeds from hemp drugs, nearly always licit, consumed by the people inhabiting them.

It does not seem unreasonable to suggest that the spontaneous growth in the higher Himalayan altitudes would not seriously interfere with our programme because as they are thinly inhabited, those of the people there who would persist in the use of bhāng would be content to gather the quantity they need themselves and would not care to engage in smuggling it, a troublesome business on account of its bulk and difficulties of transport and not an attractive one taking into account the small profits and the risk of detection and punishment.

Coming to the submontane tracts and the plains, it seems reasonable to hold that if, with the prohibition of ganja, the supply of fresh seeds is cut off, the hemp plants would deteriorate in the sense that they would no longer secrete as much of the narcotic principle as is found in them today. It is admitted that some at least among the people here would not find it difficult to obtain their personal requirements of bhāng from the wild growth but the same factors which are likely to prevent smuggling of this drug from the Himalayan tracts would, in a majority of cases, be equally operative for this area.

There are two ways of meeting the problem of the illicit traffic in bhāng to which reference may now be made. We know that the manufacture of bhāng has to be undertaken sometime in May and June in the plains and during July and early August in the hills. Those who manufacture this drug surreptitiously

will therefore have large quantities with them from about August and they can be penalised if there is legislation laying down the maximum amount a person may have in his possession. The second method for discouraging the illicit manufacture of bhang was suggested long ago and consists in making the occupiers or where there are none, the owners of land responsible that wild growth should not be found in their lands.

But one thing we know, a matter specifically mentioned by Raja Shoshi Sikhareswar Roy in his Note of Dissent to the *Report of the Indian Hemp Drugs Commission* and corroborated by the experience derived from the successful working of prohibition in Burma which is that it is not so difficult to stop illicit cultivation and to extirpate wild growth as is generally assumed. He said :

"In former times bhang leaves were procurable in almost all the districts of the Central Provinces, but now, probably owing to the good administration of the Excise Department of those provinces, it is a rare thing there."

TWO GRAVE DEFECTS OF THE LICENSING SYSTEM

While the aims of limiting the availability of the hemp drugs consist of supplying the requirements of their present-day users and preventing the spread of addiction, the ultimate purpose is the eradication of addiction. This explains the difference of our approach to the hemp drugs problem from that of our old rulers who, discouraged by certain difficulties, real and fancied, took for granted the impossibility of the successful working of prohibition and sought to restrict consumption through high prices. These were brought about by imposing high duties on hemp drugs at the time of issue and granting licenses, almost invariably auctioned, to sell them to the public. The result has been keen competition among those desirous of securing the privilege of retail sale with consequent payment of large, sometimes very large sums for it.

This system has been responsible for at least two evils. The licensees who have to invest large sums in the business have almost universally been tempted to encourage the sale of the drugs as a means of making a profit possible only after they have recovered the amount paid for obtaining the license. This has inevitably encouraged excess among habitual consumers and led to the creation of new addicts. While the more timid and the law-abiding among the licensed vendors have been content with selling licit hemp drugs, the less scrupulous ones have not shown much hesitation in acting as intermediaries between dealers in illicit hemp drugs and the public.

It is understood that purveyors of illicit hemp drugs for whom direct contact with consumers is neither easy nor practicable and with whom it is the rule to dispose of their wares in as large amounts as possible, establish contact with dishonest licensed vendors who sell them to such addicts as consume

amounts largely in excess of that which it is legal for them to possess. When the vendors are approached by such people, they pretend to show them especial favour by supplying their needs. Nor do they fail to charge heavily for the services thus rendered. This collaboration between the two sets of evil doers had grown into such a positive scandal that the Spirit Commission of Bengal specifically referred to "the illicit sale (of smuggled ganja) by vendors under cover of their licenses."

A scrutiny of the Excise Reports issued by the different provinces will show the large number of licensed vendors who are punished year after year for this offence. No reasonable man would care to even suggest that all the instances of infringement of law of this nature are confined to the cases actually detected and punished.

All this has been said merely to prove that the present machinery for reaching the hemp drugs to the consumer has not so far proved a success and that the measures outlined previously cannot be expected to lead to the results aimed at unless we can bring into existence a reliable medium for their distribution in accordance with their spirit. In view of what has appeared above, it seems desirable that the agency in question should be such that the remuneration it receives should not depend on the volume of sale and that it should be composed of responsible people not likely to be tempted to betray their trust by reason of the profit they could make by participating in illicit trade in these drugs.

IMPROVED AGENCY FOR DISTRIBUTION OF HEMP DRUGS

Several suggestions in regard to this matter have been made from time to time among which only three, apparently the most promising, are referred to below. The first of these is that the post office which has made such a success in the distribution of quinine should be entrusted with the sale of the drugs to the consuming public. It is contended that postmasters who handle valuable insured and registered parcels, money orders, savings bank accounts, etc., would think twice before participating in illegal practices and may reasonably be expected to obey strictly and to carry out honestly the directions conveyed to them by their superior officers.

It has also been proposed that the head of the village panchayat should do the work, the idea being that faithfulness in the discharge of this duty would be imposed on him on account of the constant though indirect supervision exercised over his work by his colleagues and other local residents. Those in favour of this system point out that the headman is nearly always one who enjoys public esteem for his integrity and he would hardly be tempted to risk loss of reputation and punishment through dishonest practices easily detected in small places.

A third suggestion is that medical men and druggists including kavirajes and hakims who are now

to be found in some central place in every group of villages and in practically all the larger villages and who, as a class, are generally respected, should be entrusted with this work.

Many workers in this field after a thorough study of this particular aspect of the problem have, however, come to feel that instead of entrusting the work of distribution to any one of the above three classes of people, it would be wiser to utilise the services of all three of them as well as of other suitable men in areas where they are either not available or are not regarded as sufficiently trustworthy. In all cases, the people selected should get a small and fixed remuneration and their record of sale should be checked from time to time by the officers of the Excise Department so that any departure from the rules laid down may be detected and the people concerned brought to book.

HIGH PROFITS AS INDUCEMENT OF ILLICIT TRAFFIC

While the various measures referred to in the previous pages are calculated to reduce consumption and to discourage illicit traffic in hemp drugs, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that in spite of all our efforts, the latter will persist and that if prohibition fails, it will do so because of supplies provided by it to the public. It therefore seems essential that we should do something to end the contraband trade, success in which we may hope to attain provided we can ascertain and remove the incentive behind it.

Every reasonable man will concede that if illicit production and distribution of hemp drugs have flourished in the past and, so far as one may judge, are likely to do so in future, it is mainly because, in spite of occasional set-backs in the shape of detection and punishment whether by way of fines or imprisonment or both, abnormally high profits have been secured and general success in evading the law achieved. From this it follows that they may be expected to be practically eliminated if we are able to give such a shape to our hemp drugs policy that, while swift and sure punishment will, in most cases, overtake traffickers in illicit drugs, they will not be able to earn anything like their present profits.

From one point of view, our present policy may be held as being responsible for a business in which the prices paid by the purchaser are many times the cost of production, the very substantial difference between the two being divided between the licensed dealer and Government, the latter securing the lion's share. Apart from the damage suffered by the users of hemp drugs, it indirectly encourages illicit practices by reason of the strong temptation it offers to unscrupulous people who are attracted to them through hopes of diverting to their pockets the large amounts normally received by the exchequer in the form of revenue.

It thus appears that so long as Government seeks to make a profit out of the business of making hemp

drugs available to the consuming public, no matter whether it consists of habitual or occasional users, the smuggler will persist in his efforts to have his share of it even if it implies defiance of law and, occasionally, detection and punishment.

A New Price Policy

There is only one sure way of checkmating the dealer in illicit drugs and that is liquidation of the profit motive, the spring of all his nefarious activities. This implies that the State also must give up all ideas of deriving a revenue from this source a revenue characterised as "tainted money" by the Hon'ble Shri O. P. Ramaswamy Reddiar, Premier of Madras, on the 2nd October, 1948 when, announcing prohibition of drink in all the twenty-four districts of Madras. This means that when indulgence in hemp drugs is banned and the various measures mentioned elsewhere as well as such others as are likely to be helpful adopted, these substances will be supplied only to permit-holders through a reliable Government agency at prices covering their actual cost of production plus the charges incurred for their distribution.

It is clear that, under these circumstances, the wind will, in most cases, be taken out of the sail of the illicit dealer. It does not seem likely that, taking into account the difficulties he will have to overcome and the risks to which he will have to expose himself to some of which reference has been made elsewhere he will be able to secure and to dispose of his wares in such quantities and at such prices as to repay him for all the trouble he will have to undertake. In a word, the game would no longer be worth the candle, so far at least as he is concerned.

The only objection against the above suggestion seems to be that as illicit practices are not likely to disappear altogether, it will entail loss of revenue without corresponding benefit in the shape of extermination of hemp drug addiction. This we cannot afford because every pie of it is needed to put through many measures for the benefit of our masses and the prosperity of the country.

So far as reduction of hemp drug revenue is concerned, it may be pointed out that, as compared with the total taxes, the amount received from this particular source by both the Centre and the Province constitutes such a small proportion, that its sacrifice presents no problem at all. If actual figures are not given here, it is only because they are not likely to interest the reader. The correctness of this view can be easily ascertained by consulting recent volumes of the *Statistical Abstract for British India*, and of the *Memorandum on Excise (Hemp Drugs) Administration*.

This attitude identical with that of our old ruler utterly fails to recognise the fact that the State is not a commercial institution the only concern of which is the supposedly practical one of having a balance after meeting all its commitments or, if that is not possible, to at least balance incomes and outgoings

It exists for one purpose only, the benefit of the people and that whatever assistance is needed has to be rendered no matter what the cost. In this particular instance, the people have to be protected from an admittedly evil practice and the question of loss of revenue is altogether beside the point.

PUNITIVE MEASURES AGAINST ILLICIT PRACTICES

Under the law as it stands at present, the possession of hemp drugs in quantities larger than the maximum amount laid down under it, is an offence. This does not go far enough as a deterrent of the patronage of illicit traffic in them. One can imagine an instance where the permit-holding addict saves part of his ration for such purposes as supplying friends and acquaintances or as a standby in case he is compelled to stay for some time at a place where there are no facilities for obtaining the drug to the use of which he is accustomed. This, of course, is a clear infringement of law and has to be penalised. It has, however, to be admitted that it is a less serious offence than procuring or laying up a stock by the purchase of illicit drugs.

If, on detection of any such case, there are reasonable grounds for thinking that the offender has created a reserve by self-denial and if, in these circumstances he is found to be a permit-holder, it may be presumed that he can do with a smaller amount than that he is entitled to purchase under his permit. A comparatively light punishment and a reduction in the quantity mentioned in his license ought to meet the needs of the situation.

It seems fairly correct to assume that, as after the introduction of prohibition, we cannot expect the total extinction of the contraband trade, traffickers in illicit hemp drugs will have to sell their wares to those addicts, probably all permit-holders, who are not

content with indulgence in the drugs in the amounts they are entitled to purchase. These, it follows, must almost invariably consist of people who are unable to find any satisfaction in life without a progressive increase in the dosage, a thing not proposed to be allowed under the system suggested elsewhere. In addition, some non-addicts who by reason of their defective personality have such an intense craving for hemp drug intoxication that they are prepared to go to any length to satisfy it, may also be expected to patronise the illicit dealer. Generally speaking, these two classes of people will be tempted to not only meet their daily requirements from illicit sources but, where their means permit, to lay in a stock.

Cases like the above cannot be dealt with adequately today because all laws made hitherto have penalised the supplier of illicit drugs while the prospective buyer has, to all intents and purposes, been allowed to escape. The position becomes difficult where the possessor of illicit drugs has under his control a quantity not in excess of the maximum permitted under law. It is suggested that when there is clear evidence that the accused is in possession of illicit drugs, an easy affair where he is not a permit-holder and also where a suspiciously excessive quantity is found with a licensed consumer, he should be placed on the same level as the purveyor and equal punishments inflicted on both.

It is contended that while the limitation of supplies of hemp drugs and their distribution through a reliable agency to permit-holders aim at checking excess and preventing the creation of new addicts, the adoption of the new price policy and the imposition of penalties on both purchasers and suppliers of illicit drugs are calculated in the first instance to discourage and, later on, to practically extinguish illegal traffic in them.

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THE PROBLEMS OF COTTAGE INDUSTRY

By KALI CHARAN GHOSH

DURING the last few months conferences in galore have been held in different parts of the country to devise ways and means for the resuscitation of the dead and the dying cottage industries of India. Dr. Syama Prasad Mookerjee, the Minister for Industries in the Central Government, has taken up the cause with a vigour that is characteristic of him. It seems that instead of trying to tackle the problem in a haphazard way, as has been done hitherto, some persons are seriously applying their mind to find out a way that might yield some tangible result.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES OF THE PAST

The case of cottage industries in utter need of practical help has been agitating the minds of the thinking public since the time when the old order was changing and the products of machinery were beginning

to encroach upon the sacred domains of industries which (while producing exquisite works of art as well as articles of daily use for the sake of which "the whole world has been ceaselessly pouring its bullion for 3,000 years into India") had "polluted no rivers, deformed no pleasing prospects, nor poisoned any air." It must be more than half a century when thoughts were being directed and suggestions put forward to stop the rot and to place the foundation of cottage industries on a sound basis.

NEW OUTLOOK

What is lacking is not new commissions and conferences, highly paid officers and setting up of new departments. It is now necessary to go into the merits of the suggestions that are already there and to proceed with the advantage of a new administrative set-up coming in the wake of independence. We have also to

take into consideration the time factor or the age we live in and the psychological change that has overtaken labour no matter whether it is working on a voluntary or stipendiary basis, in big factories or small industries conducted in villages. Love for work, the motive force that engendered zest and perseverance and emblazoned the nerves and delayed fatigue, has given place to a motive for gain, for remuneration for the time spent and not on the output of one's labour. It means that it will be a miserable failure if we try to revive cottage industries on the model of our ancient units mostly depending on manual labour. We have got to introduce simple labour-saving devices in the shape of small and uncomplicated machinery and also new methods of production that do not claim too much of one's time combined with exhausting and boring labour.

PATRONAGE OF THE SOCIETY

It is also doubtful if all the old cottage industries can be brought to life and placed on their old footing. One should not lose sight of the fact that all our ceremonial observances—social and religious—demanded compulsorily various articles produced by artisans, each group pursuing their respective avocations. In a Hindu marriage or other ceremonies, weavers, braziers, gold and silversmiths, shell-bangle makers, carpenters producing *chowkies* and *khārams* (wooden sandals), sola pith ware producers, mat-weavers, weavers of carpets, *sindur-chupri* makers, iron-wire-bangle makers, etc., had each his definite place, besides the priest; the barber and many other people having had to play his respective role in this connection. The men and their wares, particularly the latter, were deemed indispensable and money flowed from those who could afford to men living on the out-turn of cottage industries. When substitutes began to take the place of the original; when non-supply began to be overlooked and for some reasons or other, the priests and the parties could agree to eliminate some articles from the fare of essential goods, the industries related to them suffered and began to decline.

FOREIGN IDEAS, FOREIGN WARES

In our everyday life we gradually introduced articles not only of foreign manufacture but also those born of foreign ideas. Naturally we looked up to foreigners for the supply of those goods at least for the first few years of their invention. From the childhood toys to the necessities of the household our homes abound with manufactures of foreign make. Gutta-percha, rubber, celluloid or plastic toys, mechanical toys, mouth organs, constructional toys, 'mickey mouse', sports goods in miniature and a lot of other toys have completely replaced the crude out-dated and outmoded toys of wood, sola, cloth, paper and other materials of the like.

In the matter of indoor and outdoor games we have complete sets of accessories which had no existence in India before the influx of foreigners. In

almost every sphere this change is noticeable. Tea and table sets, agricultural implements, electrical and other appliances, articles of very common use, such as torches, safety razors, stoves, fountain pens, curtain rods, cameras, musical instruments, including gramophones and radios and a host of other articles come under this category.

RAW MATERIALS IN USE

There is a further change, a change in the use of raw materials for the manufacture of articles of very common use. Porcelain, enamel, aluminium, "German silver," glass, etc., have replaced earthenware and bronze wares of old. Rayon or staple fibres are replacing silk and part of cotton yarn. Synthetic products and enamel, china clay and other minerals are required for the manufacture of articles which have a ready market.

REVERSAL OF IDEA

In our outlook in respect of cottage industries we have to change our ideas accordingly. The old order of industries that were in vogue must change and necessarily the raw materials that were used to be handled must yield place to new. It is easy to suggest names of industries both old and new that may be taken up in the scale of small industries but there is no avenue or centre for training worth the name that can put a new-comer on his legs. In the old order of things, from sire to son the art descended; sometimes the special aptitude of a particular artisan brought in new life, new technique and caused the manufacture of special products.

There were families which specialised in a particular type of goods so much so that the producer or the locality of manufacture and the products were inalienably associated together in name. In the new dispensation the struggle is bound to be harder. Educational institutions will turn out students in thousands and any lucrative business will draw many competitors to its fold. Further, the new cottage industries as envisaged in this article will have to draw their raw materials from various sources having their origin in far-off places and depending on large industries for their regular supply.

SWADESHI VS. SWADESHI

It is quite likely that big industries would be working with the same kind of raw materials and in a competition between the giant and the dwarf the latter is bound to suffer badly. For a long time the competition had had its origin in foreign lands but now the industries have been shifted to India and one cannot now work upon the sentiment of the people and carry on a campaign of boycott to safeguard the interests of small-scale indigenous industries. Under the changed circumstances, there will be keen competition between two sets of indigenous industries, one large and the other small and it would be very difficult to induce the common man to support small industries when the

price of the products of large-scale manufacture is usually lower.

ZONAL BARRIERS

In such circumstances the duty of the Government is not only delicate but also very difficult because it will have to support a unit which is rather uneconomic in the sense that it involves a larger cost for the manufacture of the same kind of indigenous machine-made goods. The Government will have to raise zonal barriers to enable cottage industries to establish themselves and this barrier must be effective against both indigenous and foreign products. It is a difficult proposition and it is doubtful if it will be economically sound and feasible in application. But it may be said with an amount of certainty that without the help of a measure of this nature no effective protection can be given to cottage industries.

DIFFICULTIES IN MARKETING

It has always to be remembered that the old ideas about cottage industries have got to be changed. They can never be self-sufficient inasmuch as marketing would be found more difficult than production. Formerly a certain area near about the centre of production was sufficient to consume the total output but in the changed circumstances with other articles ready at hand as substitutes it may be found difficult to make arrangements for sale of the entire production within a limited area. The more distance the products of cottage industry will have to travel the more complications will arise, involving larger costs and additional problems regarding disposal.

BASIC EDUCATION AND COTTAGE INDUSTRIES

The country is getting ready to impart basic education to all its primary students. Education will be imparted through the help of a craft and it is not unlikely that at least some students will acquire a degree of efficiency enabling them to produce marketable goods. The crafts suggested are spinning, weaving, clay modelling, carpentry, agriculture, and a few others. The question is whether the training in these crafts is secondary, the primary object being education of the pupils, the aspect of earning in later life through the knowledge of a craft acquired in earlier life being totally overlooked. But according to Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the scheme, the products of the crafts are expected to make education self-sufficient and it is understood that the trainees should be able to start cottage industries on their own account. This is expected to make the village hum with activity and enrich the countryside. The point regarding self-sufficiency of education through the labour of immature pupils is pushed somewhat to the background. It is now expected to create an aptitude in the child and make it easy for him to choose his own course in post-school period in the matter of earning his livelihood through a particular craft.

In making a scheme for resuscitation of village industries we cannot possibly overlook the shape of things which basic education is going to create.

There would be legion who will have some sort of training, maybe an expert knowledge, in the manufacture of goods that have some use in everyday life but the want of which can be met by articles obtained from other sources. If measures cannot be evolved to protect the interests of these grown-up pupils engaged in handicrafts, in any case the part of education on which the children will have to spend many useful hours is bound to go to waste. In the larger interests of the present and the prospective artisans and of village economy it is necessary that the knowledge acquired through basic education may fit in the larger scheme of revival or starting of cottage industries. The outlook is gloomy inasmuch as there are no signs of such an attempt and it seems that each section is pursuing its own course without thinking of the possibility, nay the necessity, of a combination of the two.

COTTAGE INDUSTRIES IN JAPAN

The Government of India has recently sent two gentlemen on deputation to Japan for a comprehensive study of the conditions prevailing there regarding cottage industries where, to this day, they thrive as in no other country. This investigation was carried on half a century ago and it is a pity that the knowledge acquired through several visits to Japan have never been applied in practice. Availability of cheap electricity and gas is the most important factor in the village industrial activity in Japan. There are other advantages such as easy and cheap communication, facilities at research laboratories, selling associations and subsidies; gearing the requirements of large industries with the products of small being the greatest. In my view if we cannot satisfy the last-mentioned condition, there is very little chance of the large mass of cottage industries surviving the onslaught of large-scale industries.

IMMEDIATE REQUIREMENT

There must be training institutions distributed over each district where experts should be entrusted with the task of imparting practical knowledge instead of the present method of glorified clerks holding important positions in departments, where dexterity of hand should be more important than a facile pen. No doubt there will be occasions when even the teacher and the actual workers may be confronted with special difficulties and problems of a peculiar nature presented by the marketing of a new and better type of factory goods; at such times the services of the specialists in solving the difficulties of an individual producer or a class of producers will be indispensable.

An attempt to solve the problems of the cottage industry, without an intelligent investigation into the causes that have wiped out age-old industries that used to feed many millions, is bound to fail miserably. Without tackling those problems, without adopting measures for their eradication or removal, it would be futile to try to build up a superstructure on a foundation that is old and weak.

AGRICULTURAL Vs. INDUSTRIAL PRICES IN INDIA

By PROF. GOBINDA CHANDRA MANDAL, M.A.

WHAT is important in the study of prices is not a study of rise or fall in the general price-level but the study of the price-mechanism as a whole. From the socio-economic standpoint a rising or falling price-level has got little significance if prices of all commodities and factors of production rise or fall uniformly. Importance of an inflation or deflation consists in the disparity of price-movements. This is an obvious truth; but yet in theoretical discussions much more attention is devoted to the general rise or fall than to the relative movement of prices. It is necessary to study the inter-relation of prices precisely because the price movements are not harmonious. What is important in price-economics is not somehow to check inflation or deflation by fiscal and monetary measures—but a planned reconstruction of the price-structure as a whole. Reconstruction or planning of prices is possible only on the basis of a study of the inter-relation of prices. But it is not enough to study the inter-relation of present prices. The whole background of price-relationships should be brought to bear upon the present policy of price-planning. It is necessary to consider long-period trend in relative prices. The present essay is concerned with the two major sectors of the national economy—agriculture and industry. It is an attempt at studying the relative movement of industrial and agricultural prices in prosperity and depression. In this connection we first of all choose for our study a long period—the period between the two Great Wars. The first part of this period is characterized by recession following the post-war boom, the second part is characterized by depression and the third part extending up to the commencement of the second Great War is a period of slow recovery. This is shown in the following table:—

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES

1914=100

	Cereals	Raw jute	Jute manufactures	Raw cotton	Cotton manufactures	General
1921	144	100	104	143	280	179
1922	136	83	144	191	239	176
1923	112	90	138	244	221	172
1924	121	102	159	272	228	173
1925	135	154	177	205	210	159
1926	139	120	147	147	173	148
1927	139	93	146	167	159	148
1928	133	100	150	167	159	145
1929	125	95	122	146	160	141
1930	100	63	88	91	139	116
1931	78	49	76	83	123	96
1932	68	45	75	92	119	91
1933	66	41	77	80	113	87
1934	69	39	77	73	115	89
1935	75	50	74	78	117	91
1936	79	50	64	89	111	91
1937	77	56	67	89	117	102
1938	72	49	62	67	106	95
1939	86	80	102	75	106	108

From the above table we find that the post-war boom had been over and the prices began to decline since 1921. The fall is, however, very sharp during the depression of the 'thirties. From 1935 the prices tended to improve and then soared up during the second Great War.

Analysis of the above figures glaringly reveals the disparity in the movements of industrial and agricultural prices. Throughout the period the prices of raw jute lagged behind the prices of jute manufactures, the prices of raw cotton lagged behind the prices of cotton manufactures and the cereal-prices lagged behind the general price-level.

Together with the above figures one should read also the table of dividends earned in the jute and cotton mill industry in India as given below:

AVERAGE DIVIDENDS (ordinary rate per cent per annum)		
	Jute Mills	Cotton Mills
1927	63.5	20.7
1928	72.0	24.6
1929	59.7	20.8
1930	31.3	18.5
1931	20.0	16.6
1932	17.0	11.1
1933	17.0	10.0
1934	19.5	10.1
1935	20.8	9.6
1936	15.7	7.6
Average during 1927-1936	32.7	15.0

An average dividend of 32 p.c. or 15 p.c. can certainly be regarded as high. It will not be unreasonable to ascribe a large portion of it to a disparity between prices of raw jute or raw cotton and jute manufactures or cotton manufactures. Thus while during the period 1926-1935 the average price-index of raw jute was 69.5 the average price index of jute manufactures was 103.2, there was a disparity between the two price-indices to the tune of 33.7 points. Similarly while during the period 1926-1935 the average price-index of raw cotton was 112.4 that of cotton manufactures was 137.7, the latter being 25.3 points higher than the former. Dividend in the jute industry reached 72 p.c., i.e., the maximum in the year 1928 when the difference between the price-index of raw jute and that of jute manufactures had been 53 points, i.e., the maximum in the year 1927. The accrual of profit even during the depression in both the industries at rates noted here would not have been possible without a comparatively greater degree of depression of the raw jute and raw cotton prices.

The comparatively unfavourable prices of agricultural commodities are largely explained by the unorganized character of agriculture in India. Industry by virtue of its organization enjoys a superior bargaining power in relation to agriculture. In India industries like cotton mill industry, sugar industry iron

and steel industry have received full benefits of protection from the State without any corresponding benefits accruing to agriculture.

Now, how did the prices fare during the second Great War?

Figures relating to price-movements of raw cotton and cotton manufactures in 1943 are given below:

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES

19th August, 1930=100

1943	Raw Cotton	Cotton manufactures
January	176	402
February	199	416
March	250	429
April	242	455
May	259	508
June	261	487
July	261	476
August	238	414
September	233	—
October	240	404
November	193	376
December	200	369

A perusal of the above figures enables us to understand that it was not unnatural for the cotton mill industry to enjoy in 1943 a 500 per cent increase in profit over the level of 1939. In 1943 the food prices rose abnormally only to enrich the business-community, but the peasants or agriculturists could not take advantage of the high prices.

Throughout the period of the second Great War the prices of raw materials lagged behind the prices of manufactured articles, though, of course, the rise in prices of agricultural commodities in general tended to exceed the rise in industrial prices since 1943. This is shown in the following table:

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES

Week ended 19th August, 1939=100

	Agricultural Commodities	Raw Materials	Manufactured articles
1939-40	127.5	118.8	131.5
1940-41	108.6	121.5	119.8
1941-42	124.2	146.9	154.5
1942-43	166.2	165.9	190.4
1943-44	268.7	185.0	251.7
1944-45	265.4	206.0	258.3
1945-46	272.6	210.0	240.0
1946-47	313.8	235.3	259.7

In recent times a tendency has developed for prices of raw materials to increase in greater degree in comparison with industrial prices. This is shown below:

INDEX NUMBERS OF WHOLESALE PRICES

Year ended August 1939=100

	17th July 1948	A week ago	A month ago	A year ago
Fibres	455.3	454.7	473.7	334.2
Textile products	452.8	452.7	449.8	312.7

We find that in the post-war period the increase in all prices of agricultural commodities including food

articles has surpassed the increase in industrial prices. Undoubtedly the food prices have been largely responsible in recent times for a sharp increase in the cost of living of the workers and middle class employees—thus creating a disparity between their earnings and cost of living. On this account inflation is causing social unrest. But the question is whether it is advisable to bring down the agricultural prices at the present moment for moderating the general prices. To commit one-self to a policy of lowering agricultural prices for providing industries with greater profit-margin and workers with relief in cost of living is to ignore the whole background of relative price-movements in India. The data given here as far as available lead to the conclusion that the prosperity of industrial economy in this country has largely been built upon the impoverishment of the agricultural economy. Agricultural economy in India has all along been subservient to the interests of the industrial economy. The system of control which was in force during the war-period did not remedy this subservience of agricultural economy to industrial interests.

Thus even in 1944 when the control was most seriously applied the profit-index in the cotton mill industry rose as high as 760.5 (1928=100), the peak level, i.e., 988.0 having been attained in 1943. Agriculture in India has all along been a deficit economy. While industries went on earning profits even during the depression of the 'thirties, the indebtedness of agriculturists was mounting day by day. While the orthodox Indian economists laid emphasis upon the agriculturists' expenditure on social ceremonies as a cause of rural indebtedness, they did not attach due importance to the relative deficiency in agricultural prices. The State here systematically neglected its responsibility towards removal of this deficiency. It can very well be maintained that agricultural interests in India have not yet received as much patronage of the State as has been extended to industries.

In present discussions the existence of cash hoards in rural areas is being exaggerated. Thus while various sections of the community of intelligentsia conferred in the middle of the last year and expressed their opinions on the inflationary situation, the industrialists and bankers in their reports emphasized withdrawal of surplus purchasing power from the hands of farmers, as an effective remedy of inflation. Such suggestion seems to be based upon an overestimation of the surplus income in the rural sector of our economy. The question is: How many of the peasant families are above the subsistence level in our country where average agricultural holding per family is hardly more than four acres? The recent improvement of agricultural prices has at best enabled the peasants to reduce their ancestral debt. The agricultural economy at present can claim at most to be financially balanced and not more than that. There is not much point in suggesting reduction of public expenditure as an anti-inflationary measure. What is necessary is the diversion

of a considerable portion of public expenditure towards making agriculture immediately more fruitful—towards intensive development of small irrigation projects which will immediately yield satisfactory results—towards schemes of small-scale industrial production which can be immediately fulfilled.

The question at this moment is not that of a deflationary movement but a greater degree of socio-economic adjustment. This requires a greater degree of planning in the system of control which is working in India. This means that profiteering is to be uprooted with the utmost determination. The problem is that of a vigorous planning for price-cost adjustment—adjustment between earnings and cost of living of factory

workers and middle class employees. In such a context the need for an assessment of the inter-relation of agricultural and industrial prices in our country should be properly appreciated.

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INVESTMENT OF FOREIGN CAPITAL IN INDIA

By PROF. P. L. GOLWALKER, M.A., B.COM.,
Commerce College, Wardha.

"THERE is a general willingness in the United States to invest money in India and give technical assistance with adequate safeguards," recently expressed Mr. B. Ramarau, India's ex-Ambassador in Washington and the Governor designate of the Reserve Bank of India. The investment of foreign capital in India is not now looked upon with suspicion due to her political freedom and the venues open for the future industrialisation of the country. India, for her industrialisation, requires large amounts of capital which cannot be made available in the country due to the shy nature of Indian capital, hence there are no two different opinions on the question of invitation of foreign capital for the industrialisation of the country with proper regulation of the conditions for such investments. Industrialisation is the necessity for India as it alone will strengthen the economic stability of India which in modern times is so important for the defence of any country. India's annual rate of saving is 6 per cent of her national income, which is already very high for a poor country and more saving cannot be expected at the cost of foregoing the necessities of life. Therefore, for industrial development and implementation of the various economic plans, foreign capital's assistance is the necessity of the hour; also with foreign capital we can secure scientific, industrial technical knowledge, capital equipment and know-how of various industries.

But before welcoming foreign capital there is utmost necessity for the regulation of the investment under the supervision of state authority so that it may be utilised in the best interest of the nation. Also we have got to be careful that 'history may not repeat itself' in terms of foreign domination—economic or political. In this connection the remarks of President Wilson are worth remembering:

"A country is dominated by the capital investment in it. It is a fundamental idea that in proportion as foreign capital comes in, and takes hold;

foreign influence comes in and takes hold. Therefore, processes of capital are in a sense, processes of conquest."

If we peruse the past history of India this version holds good where the Britishers came in the 17th century as tradesmen and gradually became the master of the country and ruled over for approximately two hundred years. Therefore now when we are free and are inviting foreign capital, it must not be forgotten that a keen and watchful eye must be kept on the methods of such investments and not only this, but these should be properly regularised in the best interests of the nation along with ample provision and facilities for the foreign investors.

PRESENT INVESTMENT

As to the present investment of foreign capital in India, various estimates have been given from time to time by various sources but so far no reliable statistics are available. The amount of foreign capital in India was estimated to be £700 crores in 1930 in the *Economist*, to £1,000 crores in 1933 by the British Associated Chamber of Commerce (this figure consisted Britain's one-fourth investment in foreign countries). Mr. B. R. Chinoy now the member of The International Monetary Fund has estimated this amount of foreign capital to be £528.52 crores in March 1945, after settlement of the sterling debts and to £2237.20 crores inclusive of foreign rupee-debts (*Commerce*, 1947, p. 742). The major portion of this foreign capital came to India through the loans taken by the Government establishments and only one-third amount came in as a loan to individuals. Besides, the total of Britain's investments in India has been estimated to be £240 crores by a prominent British journal; the occupational analysis of this was made by Sri Nalini Ranjan Jarker as below:*

Trade and manufacture	Over 50%
Banking and Insurance	20%
Shipping and other transport business	13%
Plantations and tea gardens	4%
Mining	4%

It will now be necessary that before new capital investments are made, proper and accurate statistics of foreign capital already existing in India may be computed by *State authority*, preferably the Reserve Bank of India.

REQUIREMENT OF FOREIGN CAPITAL

In India the scope for economic development is tremendous. India has made beginnings towards industrialisation, mostly in the cotton textile industries, due to the dislocation of world markets during the last war and at present has got to make her position economically strong to organize and maintain her defence and for his expansion and establishment of her basic industries on national basis is the need of the hour, which necessitates a large amount of capital. Due to partition, and political and communal disturbances during the last few years India's problem of industrialisation has been complicated resulting in decreased production, inflation, extreme dependence on imports and a shortage of foreign exchange facilities, specially in hard currency areas. These cumulative causes have led to the decline in the new investments by private individuals when the country is standing at the threshold of industrialisation and has got so many plans for the development and utilisation of her natural resources—power, mineral, forestry, etc., and for the establishment of basic industries. For successful implementation of all these plans, India requires a large amount of capital which cannot be expected from Indian investors alone but requires foreign assistance in the forms of capital goods, know-how of the various industries and technical assistance. The capital requirements of India according to Bombay Plan were estimated to be Rs. 10,000 crores of which three-fourths were to be met out of created money and Indian capital and approximately Rs. 2,600 crores were required to be loaned from abroad. Besides Indian industries also require the replacement of the war-worn machinery for which no provision was made by the Indian industrialists during the prosperous years which also require capital. Thus the total capital requirements of India for her industrialisation, at present have been estimated to be Rs. 25,000 crores during fifteen years by Dr. Henry F. Grady, the first U. S. Ambassador to India.

ATTRACTION TO FOREIGN CAPITAL

To have an inflow of foreign capital for the industrialisation it is necessary that foreign investors must have some attractions for investment of their surplus capital in this country. The first and foremost condition which goes to attract capital is the credit of the country in the International Money Market which in its turn requires stability. In spite of so many political, communal and economic disturbances and dislocations, India is the only country in the South-East Asia which is more and more being looked upon as a stabilizing

factor and as to her credit in the money-market it is considered to be very high.

Therefore, obviously the foreign investors would prefer to invest their surplus capital in India than to invest the same in any other Asian countries where the political disturbances are co-existent with the mismanagement of currency and credit, where they will have to face greater risks. For every investment there is the profit-motive behind it and as India has got large venues for industrial developments, the profits earned will be naturally higher than in many other countries due to availability of large home-markets. Thus if sufficient safeguards as to repatriation of capital and profit remittances are provided along with investor's reasonable demands, foreign capital will no doubt flow in for the industrialisation of the country which will raise the economic standard of the country and make her a power in the South-East Asia.

PRIME MINISTER'S STATEMENT ON FOREIGN CAPITAL

On 6th April, the Prime Minister has given a statement on the investment of foreign capital wherein he expects that foreign and Indian industrialists would co-operate with the Government in strictly abiding by the Industrial policy of the Government declared in last April. The Government does not want to restrict the foreign capital in any way and the foreign investors will be free to earn profits under the same conditions which are applicable to the Indian industrialists and these profits could be remitted subject to the availability of foreign exchange facilities then existing. The Government does not intend to impose any restrictions on the withdrawal of such capital provided it is not prejudicial to the interests of the nation. As to the acquisition of industries financed by the foreigners, if need be, proper compensation will be paid for the same and facilities for remitting the same will be provided according to the Government policy. He also emphasised that the management and control of the industries should, as far as possible, be in the hands of the Indians but the Government shall have no objection if the control of industries rests with the foreigners for a limited period provided such control is not prejudicial to the national interests and every case for such control of industry will be examined on the basis of their plans. The Government shall have no objections for the import of foreign technicians, if sufficiently qualified Indians are not available, but the training and employment of Indians will remain as an essential condition.

As to British interests in India, Pandit Nehru said that though the Government's policy is to promote the Indian industries still there is ample scope for British and foreign industries in India. The Government does not want to mar any foreign interests existing in India, but wants their constructive co-operation for the promotion of national economy of the country.

To sum up, foreign investment is welcome in India in the interest of the nation and that there would be no discrimination in favour or against foreign capital except that the foreign capitalists would func-

tion according to the industrial policy laid down by the Government of India.

While the reception to this statement has been generally warm, there are some classes of businessmen who reveal some important points of differences, because firstly, the Indian businessmen have not been given any free hand in negotiating to secure foreign assistance. This point has not been made clear in the statement. Secondly, the statement does not clarify the extent to which Indian business interest can make their own arrangements for foreign assistance. Thirdly there is no clarification whether the initiative for securing foreign assistance as to capital and technical personnel rests wholly with the Government or otherwise. As far British interests are concerned they are fully satisfied as they have already got a firm footing and are well-acquainted with the Indian business conditions. As to American businessmen, they are more reluctant to express themselves beyond signifying their readiness to recognize the change. In common with the British businessmen, they emphasize the importance of providing positive attractions as further investments will be required in the basic and other new industries which would require a long time to be able to earn profits; but as India requires capital for her interests the safeguards provided for in the statement as to the repatriation of capital, remittances of profits and compensation in case of nationalization are more than enough to attract foreign capital. Only what is necessary is the clarification of the aforesaid three points by the Government. The field for private investments is still large and the foreign investors who have been offered sufficient security for assisting in India's industrial development have thus nothing to lose but a great deal to gain by having a channel of investment in this country and in view of Pt. Nehru's assurances there is no reason for the shyness of foreign capital in seeking investments in this country.

FOREIGN CAPITAL—REGULATION AND CONTROL

Before foreign capital is welcomed in India, it is necessary in the interest of national economy that proper and accurate statistics of foreign capital so far existing in India may be computed. This computation should be on an analytical industrial basis, i.e., giving the amount of foreign capital invested in each industry separately by some responsible State authority, preferably the Reserve Bank of India. Secondly, these foreign investments should altogether be free from any sort of political strings as Free India cannot now tolerate any efforts to establish economic strangleholds in any sector of her national economy and for this it is necessary that provisions for the regulation and control should be provided and processes of investments should be watched with the utmost care. The provision for this should preferably be made in the Industrial Bill which is being submitted in the assembly for discussion. It is already clear from the Prime Minister's statement that foreign capital is not necessary due to meagre savings of the country but for the assistance of home capital and hence both foreign and

national capital should go hand in hand for the promotion of India's economic prosperity.

It is also necessary that further records of all the foreign investments should be maintained by the State, preferably the Reserve Bank of India and these should be given periodic publication through the Bank-bulletin for information of interested parties, also this will help as a guide to the Government of India in respect of foreign capital employed in the various Indian industries. The foreign investments are naturally required for the purchase of capital goods required for our industrialisation and so the Government should see that the investors do not insist on the purchase of capital goods from one particular country as these are the days of standardisation and price-wars and under these circumstances India shall have to depend on that particular country for the accessories; hence national interests should not be sacrificed at any rate.

The management of industries should exclusively remain in the hands of Indians in case of basic industries and other such industries which are of important from the strategic point of view. As to the management of other subsidiary industries the management may be allowed to rest with the foreigners for a limited period still it is necessary that at least a third of the number of directors on the management-board should be Indian, also a certain percentage of directors should be nominated by the Government.

To have a proper and efficient control on the industries financed with foreign capital, the Reserve Bank of India should have a separate Industries Department who should be entrusted to collect and publish statistics of foreign capital employed in each industries and also have the knowledge as to how the same is being made use of. This work can be performed most judiciously by this Bank only and banks are in a better position to have the best knowledge of success or otherwise of any industrial undertaking. Lastly it is also essential that these foreign investments should be most carefully regulated in the national interest and adequate provision made to canalize them into hitherto unexplored productive channels, as this would facilitate elimination of competition in the existing field.

CONCLUSION

The treatment afforded by the Government to the Indian industrialist is far more liberal than existing in many other countries. Similarly, many more facilities have been granted to them by relief in taxation in the new budget and still if they do not co-operate with the Government by providing more capital and starting new enterprises foreign capital is welcome and indispensable for financing the Industrial and Agricultural development programmes which are bound to increase the national prosperity. The maxim that "poverty anywhere is a danger to prosperity everywhere" should not be ignored by the countries who are in a position to lend money, as this will prove to be the best antidote for the spread of communism in Asian countries on account of the economic prosperity of the people—which can only contribute to world peace and prosperity.

INDIA NEEDS INFORMATION LIBRARIES ABROAD

By P. K. SARKAR, B.A., A.L.A.

"UNLESS real co-operation replaces both Isolationism and Imperialism of whatever form in the new inter-dependent world of free nations, there will be no lasting security for you or for us." Chiang Kai-shek's message to *New York Herald Tribune*.

It is a truism that man cannot live in peace even within his narrow circle, without caring for the opinion of his fellowmen. Where the sphere of a man's activities increases, public opinion gathers a momentum, whose effects are far-reaching. In spite of vigorous Nazi propaganda Hitler lost his hold on the resistance of German armed forces at the Russian front, and Rommel had to retreat in the African theatre of war. Nothing else has brought home to thoughtful persons the importance of public opinion, both internal and external, than the two successive world wars. Men have realised that common people have a mind of their own, generally capable of forming sound opinions upon a basis of ascertained facts. Hence the importance of statecraft or anything considered to be the pursuits of a handful of experts, such as diplomats, economists, etc. They have further realised that it is not enough for a nation to be good-intentioned to its neighbours. It must vouch honesty by its activities and mutual understanding, because ignorance of each other's ways and lives has been a potent cause of the suspicion and mistrust between the peoples of the world, through which their differences have broken into wars. Hence the end of the first World War saw the birth of the League of Nations, and the U.N.O. has now come into existence, after the second World War has proved how true these words are.

On the international plane the UNESCO is fighting for co-operation in education and furtherance of cultural interchange of arts, humanities and sciences; for these will promote the freedom, the dignity and the well-being of all and thus assist in the attainment of understanding, confidence, security and peace among the peoples of the world. But this should not preclude individual members of the United Nations from acting so as to strengthen the mother organisation. As a matter of fact, so far as Great Britain, U.S.A., and other big nations are concerned, we already find that they have individually entered the field, and are trying for mutual understanding and help. Such English organisations as the British Council, which stimulates interest of other people in the British way of life, organises English classes, and encourages lectures and discussion groups, and the British Information Libraries, which are to a great extent self-explanatory, and the

United States Information Services, have all been created for the ulterior motive of "making others our own." There is no reason why our nation which has just attained freedom should not vie with the elders and surpass them in course of time in making known to the world the *ahimsa-niti* of her people and in explaining the Indic cultures—her history hoary with age, her literatures resplendent with variegated languages, her philosophy which soars high to the realm of the unknowable Brahman, her arts which are as rich in variety as they are colourful in tone and perspective.

To each Indian Embassy there should be attached an Information Service upon which the superstructure of official publicity must not only rest, but to them the public outside India must return with whetted appetite for elaboration of specific points or corroborative background. Although these Information Services would be under Indian Foreign Office, they should have their supply of books and other materials as well as services from the National Central Library, about whose set-up a proposal is already afoot. The Information Service Libraries must give precedence among its sources of information to Indian Official documents. Alongside of these, filling in the picture of current affairs, should grow up the vertical information files, made-up pamphlets and cuttings from newspapers. But to give balanced reflections of Indian opinion on this mass of fugitive and sometimes contradictory views, the ISLs must be reinforced with a solid phalanx of wisely selected Indian periodicals. Of course, we cannot forget the Librarian's lifelong companion—books which should form the background to the files, documents and periodicals, books of every type, from yearbooks, gazetteers and other treatises of ready reference, to standard ones on Indian arts, literature, agriculture, etc. When India has begun producing films of topical interest, e.g., those on Indian schools and colleges, produced for mass recreation, these may also be housed in ISLs, and given a display. The ISLs may also be responsible for organising lectures of eminent Indians, when they happen to visit their centres. In fine, the ISLs should undertake and supplement all possible activities of an Indian Embassy, which may hold the prestige of her nation high in the estimation of world opinion.

ERRATUM

The Modern Review for May, 1949: Frontispiece, facing p. 337, read Nityananda with Jagai and Madhai for Sri Chaitanya with Jagai and Madhai.

KANCHIPURAM OR THE CITY OF TEMPLES

By SWAMI RITAJANANDA

WHEN the traveller gets down at the simple and small station of Conjeeveram, he will hardly believe that he has arrived at a place of importance. Coming out of the platform, he will find a number of small bullock-carts and a few rickety *jutkas* (horse carriages) taking the vast crowd of people inside the town. The *jutka*, which neither gives suitable accommodation nor facilitates sight-seeing, rushes along the dusty roads, and the visitor wonders how people came to call this the best among the cities like the Ganges among the rivers. The Sanskrit sloka

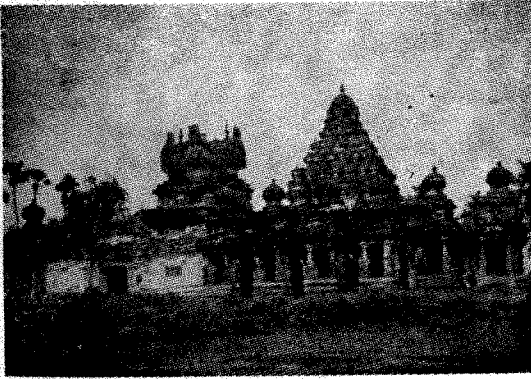
*Nadeeshu Ganga Nagareshu Kanchi
Pushpeshu Jati Purusheshu Vishnu** . . .

evidently must have been composed by a native of Kanchipuram. Very soon the carriage takes him into

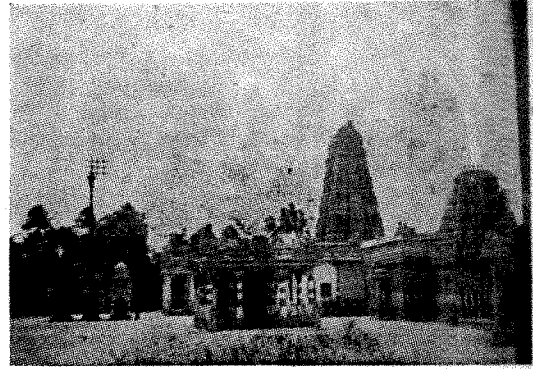
mandapas a big carving of the tortoise in the centre of the floor over which the deities taken in procession are placed, which is a unique feature of the city. But still, the name of the town came to be known as Kanchipuram many centuries ago and became a place of pilgrimage of great importance as the following Sanskrit couplet shows :

*Ayodhya Mathura Maya Kashi Kanchi Avantika
Puri Dwaravati chaiva saptaite mokshadayikah**

Of the seven sacred places Ayodhya, Muntra, Maya (Hardwar), Kashi, Kanchi, Avantika (Ujjain) and Dwaraka, capable of giving salvation to a person this city is one. It is really very significant that this place is important to worshippers of Shiva, Vishnu as well as of the Divine Mother. So it is no wonder that every day large crowds of pilgrims are pouring into the city



The Kailasanath temple



An interior view of the Kachchapeswara temple

the precincts of the city and he will soon find that he has never come across such broad roads in any of the places of pilgrimage and that even many of the modern cities do not have such wide and well-planned streets. On either side of the road, run rows of shady trees and further away from the trees are the rows of houses of various shapes and designs. Here and there he sees an old stone *mandap* or pavillion or an age-worn temple crumbling into bits, making it clear that the city may be at least interesting for the antiquity of the place.

Kanchipuram or Conjeeveram is the modernised form of the original name Kanchipuram or Kachchipedu which is the name of the place mentioned in the ancient records. Perhaps it is right to accept this name, since there is more internal connection with the word *kachchapa* (tortoise), than with *kanchi* (a golden waist band). Firstly, among the various temples of the place there is one temple dedicated to Kachchapeswara, a beautiful and imposing shrine for Shiva who, worshipped by Vishnu in the form of a tortoise, came to be known as Kachchapeswara. Further, we find in almost all the

from various parts of India. But this is not the only attraction. While the devotee finishes his round of visits to the few temples in a day or two, the historian, the artist and the archaeologist will find that a stay even for a month is too short a period to have a thorough knowledge of all the attractive features of this ancient city. Wherever one goes, the numerous temples that greet his eyes will make him soon realise that the temples did not serve only as the abodes of gods but also as rich museums of art, architecture and well-recorded monuments of ancient history. The three hundred and odd temples scattered throughout the city with such a wealth of interesting material show that the country was not wanting in historic sense even in the early days.

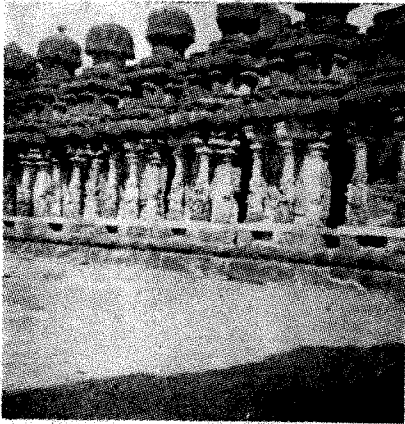
II

This big city at present extends over five or six miles and is generally divided into two sections, the Bigger Kanchipuram and the Little Kanchipuram or the Shiva Kanchi and the Vishnu Kanchi, respectively. There is

* नदीषु गंगा नगरेषु कांची, पुष्पेषु जाती पुरुषेषु विष्णुः...

* अयोध्या मथुरा माया काशी कांची अवन्तिका ।
पुरी द्वारवती चैव सप्तैते मोक्षदायिकाः ॥

a third part called the Jina Kanchi but at present it is known by a different name and is not included in the municipal limits, though it was originally a part of the old town. The first section contains the important Shiva temple of Ekamranath and the temple for the Divine Mother Kamakshi, besides many other temples. It is the most crowded part of the whole city. The second one has the temple for Varadaraja or Vishnu



A view of the interior of the Kailasanath temple showing the rows of cells with the lion-pillars

and is a very important place of pilgrimage for all followers of Sri Ramanujacharya. The third one contains two ancient temples of Jain Thirthankars reminding us of the fact that there was a good population of Jains at this place. Thus we find that in olden days the city was catering to the religious needs of the people, whatever religion they followed. The broad-minded rulers spent lavishly in building the temples according to the needs of the people.

When we just try to probe into the history of the place we will find that the city has been in existence for more than two thousand years and it is quite probable that many relics of the olden days may be under the buildings and roads of the present town. It became the capital of the Pallavas about the second century and held that important position up to the ninth century. Many Chinese travellers who have visited India give graphic accounts of this wonderful city and its people. Hiuen Tsiang mentions that this was the birth place of Dharmapala Bodhisatva, a famous Buddhist scholar. There were many *sangharamas* with reputed men of wisdom and thousands of young men gathered there for their education. It is also mentioned that Emperor Asoka built a tall *stupa* reaching a height of 100 feet. Although we do not find any trace either of the *sangharamas* or the tall pillar at present, but still considering the evidence from the classic literature of the Tamils also, we find that it was an important Buddhist centre at one time. The Tamil book *Maimekhalai* gives a very fine picture of the monks of the period and the high level of the culture of the times. The only monument, which is said to be

the Asoka pillar, is a block of stone on a mound of sand with some inscriptions on that. The archaeologist alone can testify to the truth of the statement.

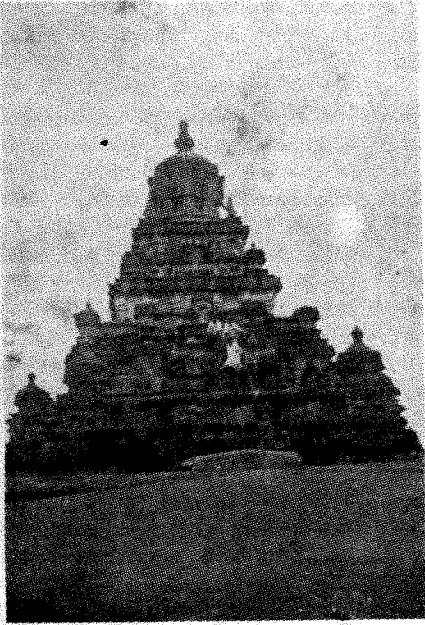
The credit goes to the Pallavas for bringing out this well-planned city into existence, supplying it with all the necessities of the crowded population and decorating it with many artistic places of worship. They constructed broad and straight roads and dug many tanks for supplying water. The river Vegavati, that flows close by, does not contain water during many months of the year and consequently these tanks became the reservoirs. Even now, when the town is getting water from the underground wells in the river-bed, we can see many of the tanks, although most of them are slowly disappearing for want of attention. Various industries and crafts thrived well under the patronage of the kings, and the weaving industry is one, which has brought a name to the place. It is the one industry that has been kept for many generations and the major population lives by this alone.



A front view of the Ekamranath temple Gopuram with the Mandapa. The Gopuram is 188 ft. in height

The temples of the ancient times with their distinctive features of architecture serve as historic monuments. These are known as the pieces of Pallava architecture, considering their difference from other temples, they have left behind. No stone temples existed before their arrival and the simple structures were later on much improved by the Chola and Vijayanagara kings. About the beginning of the tenth century, the fate of the country changed once for all. The beautiful capital of the Pallavas became the target of attack of the enemies and many a time was the town sacked and burnt, when most of the buildings of the

earlier days were completely destroyed. It was annexed to the empire of the Cholas and the Vijayanagara kings but did not have the same importance of the Pallava period. But these kings were not blind to the artistic element prevailing there and they also contributed by building some more grand temples like those of the Ekamranath and the Varadaraja. By this time, the Hindu revival movement was being vigorously preached



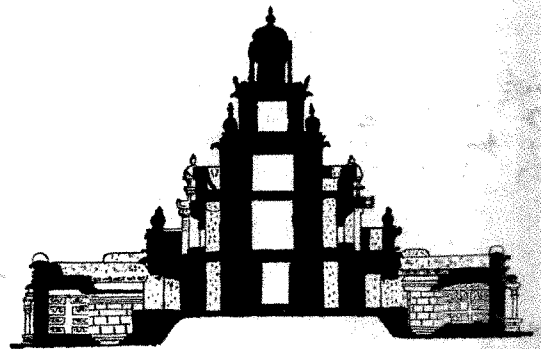
The Vimana or the tower over the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple.

by the Saiva Nayanmars and the Vaishnavite Alvar saints, and consequently the places of Hindu worship and institutes for Sanskrit studies began to get special attention. Here, it is interesting to note that in spite of the fact that the city lost its glorious times, it still kept up its cultural atmosphere. The institutions named as *ghatakas* replaced the *sangharamas* and Hindu scriptures began to be widely read. The fact that Sri Sankaracharya paid a visit to this place and made this as one of his seats for teaching Advaita, shows the importance of the place. After this period and before the arrival of the British there was the influx of the Mohammadans, who aimed more in the pillage of the town than in anything else, damaged many of the old structures and disfigured the beautiful carvings as far as it was in their power.

III

With this short historic background we shall be in a position to understand the special features of the various monuments as we go round the city. As it has been already pointed out, the Jina Kanchi is on the other side of the river Vegavati, and at present is known by the name of Thiruparuthikunram. It might have been once a place where cotton was grown, as the

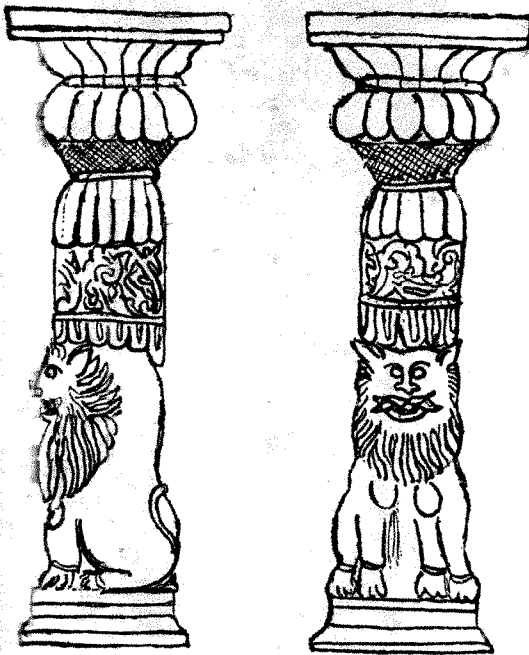
name suggests, and used for the flourishing textile industry. Now it is a very small village with two Jain temples, Chandraprabha and Vardhamana. The later temple is a big one and has been built in purely Dravidian style and the whole lay-out is like that of a Vishnu temple. At one time it was an important place of Jain culture and the name of this place is mentioned in the Jain records of Mysore. Some great saints have performed austerities under a tree in its courtyard. In the main shrine, we find the statues of a number of Tirthankars; and also close to the main one is a shrine to Sashta, otherwise known as Harthara Putra. This is one of the Dravidian gods adopted in the Hindu pantheon and whose image we see in other temples in Kanchi. His figure has a particular form at Kanchi, which is rather unusual. He is seated with one leg hanging down and the other on the seat. A band goes round his waist and the raised leg. Besides this Hindu god, we also find in the paintings over the ceiling depicting the life-sketches of various Tirthankars, and the story of Krishna who is considered as one of the Tirthankars. At present, in that small village there are only three or four Jain families and we note with regret that there are not many to keep the place neat and attractive. The other temple of 'Chandraprabha' is a much neglected small temple. There might have been other Jain temples in the town, which, when they lost their importance, supplied the material for the Hindu temples. So one will not be surprised to see a row of Jain images in a block, put in the middle of a huge outer wall of a Hindu temple.



Sectional elevation of Sri Vaikuntha-Perumal temple

From the Jain temple as we approach the main city, we reach the most important ancient temple of Kailasanath. A casual visitor to Kanchi will never come to it, since it is a bit away from the present town and is not considered as a place of pilgrimage by many. Its happy days when the princes and peasants gathered there and did the worship, have gone for ever like the glorious period of the Palavas. Now this lone temple stands surrounded by paddy-fields with very few huts close by. Except for occasional visits of the archaeologists and others interested in ancient culture, the cow-herd boys and a few buffaloes

are the only wanderers in the vicinity of the temple, as if to show the Lord, feeling tired of the crowd of visitors, wants to enjoy the stillness resembling that of his favourite abode Kailasa.



Side and front views of the lion-based pillars of the Pallava period

Even an ordinary visitor will find that the temple has a primitive appearance, when he just thinks of the tall Gopurams, well-decorated Vimanas and the elaborately carved pillars in the other temples of the main city. The entrance Gopuram is ludicrously stunted with no wide and big gate-way. On either side, he finds rows of small Shiva temples, six on one side and two on the other. There must have been four more temples, which have evidently crumbled down. This arrangement of rows of Shiva shrines is not found anywhere in South India and it will remind one of the temples on the banks of the Ganges near Calcutta. Most of the Shivalingas have been removed except a few. These *Lingas* are not in the usual form but have prismatic sides. Just behind them on the wall, we find the image of Shiva, Parvati and their son, sitting together and above them are Vishnu and Brahma adoring them. This was the conception of the Pallavas of a Shiva temple and this same pattern has been carried on in all their temples. Through a small gate-way, we enter the inner courtyard and we see before us one Shiva shrine. But the main temple is in the western extremity of the courtyard and is just behind the temple we see in the front. Here, in the inner courtyard, we find that it is not a single temple but a large group of shrines neatly arranged round a big one. Facing the courtyard are rows of cells, each of which was originally a small temple. These temples

have in their front two pillars with lion bases, which is also a feature of Pallava architecture as we shall see later on. All around, beautiful carvings greet our eyes, and we cannot but recall the words of Alexander Rea, who was profoundly impressed by the temple :

"From every point of view, the most important of the Pallava structures is the Kailasanath temple, which is one of the most remarkable architectural manuments in the district alike for the extent and beauty of its sculptures—forming a complete series of the representations of the principal legends in the Saivite mythology—and from the fact that its architectural features, which compared with the *rathas* of Mamallapuram, show an earlier period of the Pallava style common to both. So also is it with regard to the other Pallava temples in Kanchipuram. The massive piers in Kailasanath Maha Mandapam also indicate an early period of the style."

The sculptured representations of Shiva in this temple are a study by themselves. According to the availability of space, the artist adjusted the size of the figure but kept up all the necessary details. All divine forms of that period were represented with eight hands and Shiva's images, here, are always with eight hands. Most of the forms represent one or other pose of *Shiva-tandava-natana* and a student of Indian dancing will find how the sculptor has tried to represent the posture with all the *mudras* (gestures). The numerous hands bring out beautiful representations of the *mudras* and show us how the artist was conversant with the mythological stories of the Saiva *agamas* as well as the art of dancing. Although the original building was in stone, it was fast losing shape due to the inferior material chosen and the later kings have tried to preserve them by plastering over them. Unfortunately, the plastering could not keep up the original beauty of the stone carving. The Vimana or the pyramidal tower over the main temple is higher than other structures and has its own simple decoration. But in spite of this havoc of time, one cannot but come out of the temple with the impression that it is an interesting place worthy of a visit.

The other temple of the Pallava period of some importance is the Vaikuntha-Perumal temple, which attracts our attention even from a distance by its tall Vimana. Undoubtedly, it must have been constructed much later than Kailasanath temple. Numerous improvements have been made and greater skill has been shown in the planning of the temple. As we enter, we find the base of a huge Gopuram, which is left unfinished. It must have been during the reign of the later Vijayanagara kings, whose ambitious schemes of building tall Gopurams in the front of temples did not always materialise. After crossing some high stone *mandapas* with rows of lion-based pillars, we get into the inner shrine, which is very dark. Just then the temple priest kindly lights a small lamp and reveals before us a big image of Vishnu seated behind the Utsava Vighraha or the smaller bronze figure. The image

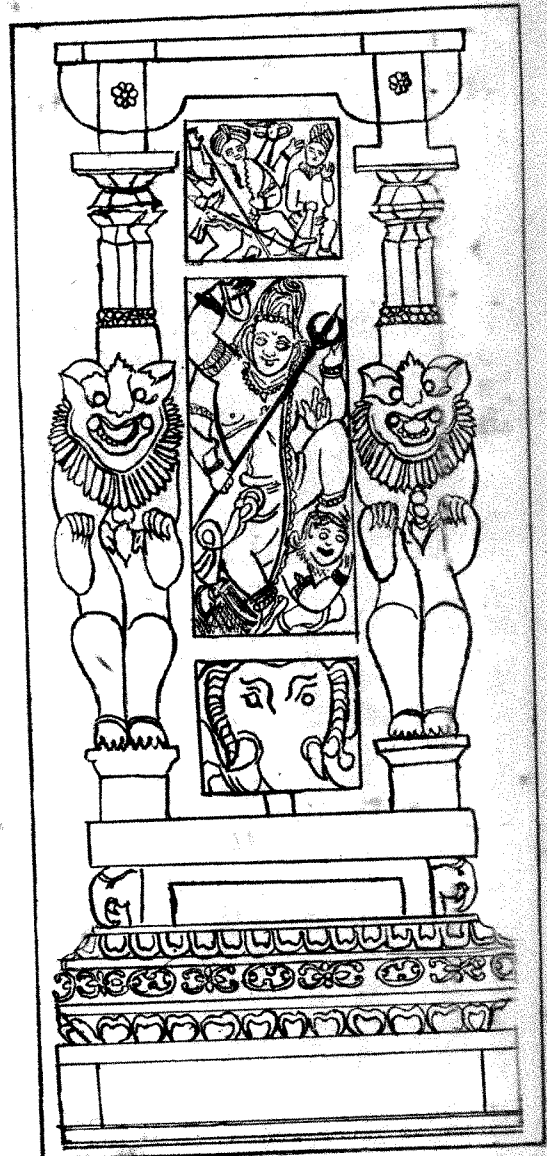
is hardly visible due to its black colour merging into the darkness that surrounds it. But patient waiting helps us to see the exceedingly charming figure, very carefully prepared, even up to the tip of the finger-nails. It was the period, when all Vishnu images were made very gigantic and we find the size helped the sculptors

of government and their amusements. The pictures of the wrestling bouts and dancing troupes are highly interesting. Besides these, there are many more smaller temples of the Pallava period, like the Mukteswara temple, Trilokeswara temple and others which do not have anything very important.



A panel of the Kailasanath temple showing Shiva-tandava-natana

to carry on the work very elaborately. The main temple is having three storeys one above the other and each one of them has an image of Vishnu and a balcony going round the shrine. It is worthy of mention here that this feature has been adopted by the Pallavas from the Buddhist Viharas. Around the main temple is a covered verandah very close to the inner shrine, which is covered with two rows of carvings. These are not representations of the legends but historic accounts of the Pallava kings. The carvers have inscribed short titles to all these and give us glimpses of the lives of the kings, how they fought their enemies, their mode



A panel of the Kailasanath temple
IV

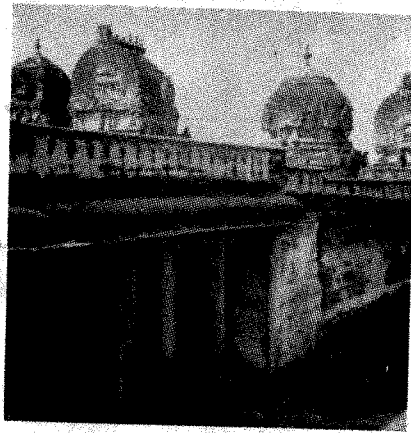
In the Big Kanchipuram the chief temple is that of Ekamreswara and is distinctly Dravidian in its structure. This temple was constructed much later than the temples of the Pallava period and they were constructed with good granite stone. At the very entrance is a big stone Mandapa with nicely carved pillars behind which the main Gopura reaching

gigantic height of 188 feet, attracts all travellers. The beautiful Mandapa and the tall Gopura are very imposing. The temple has two prakaras or enclosures surrounding the main temple, with its big Mandapa of 550 pillars in front. The temple is dedicated to Shiva. The Shivalinga here is made of earth, one of the five elements, and it is covered with a golden case. The traditional account of the temple is that Parvati made a great penance sitting under a mango-tree. The river Vegavati flowing close by, suddenly swelled and she being frightened clasped the Linga, when Shiva

city with all its temples old and new and the sandy river Vegavati marking its course can be had.

Next to the temple of Ekamranath is the temple dedicated to the worship of the Divine Mother Kamakshi. It is a very ancient temple where Vama-chara Tantric methods were adopted in the early days. The arrival of Sankaracharya to this place brought a reform in this method of worship. At present, before the image of the diety is the Yantra which Sankaracharya is said to have fixed with the cardinal Ashta Lakshmis. The worship is done to the Yantra alone and not to the image as it is done in other temples. Close to the main temple are the shrines dedicated to Sasta and also to Sri Sankaracharya with his four chief disciples.

Besides these two temples, there are a number of temples in the Big Conjeeveram like that of Pandava Duta and Trivikrama, Ashtabhuja and also Subramanya and numerous other gods. The next temple of much importance is that of Devaraja or Varadaraja in the Little Conjeeveram about two miles away from the main city. According to all followers of Sri Ramanuja, Sri Rangam, Thirupati and Kanchipuram are the three most sacred places and so, large numbers of Vaishnavites visit this temple every day. The main temple is on a small hillock called Hastigiri and so the god gets also the name as the Lord of Hastigiri. The life of the great Vaishnavite teacher Sri Ramanuja is associated much with this temple and hence, the shrine gets a historic importance. The Acharya himself worshipped the Lord for a long time and had the vision of Him. Here, it is worth-while to mention an interesting incident in the teacher's life. Sri Ramanuja, once while he was returning to Kanchi from Benares lost his way in the jungle. Suddenly he met there a hunter couple with whom he began to walk. After travelling for some time, the hunter's wife felt thirsty. Ramanuja promised to get water and after some search reached a well. He got inside and brought out some water. But he could not find his friends. He searched all around, but there was no trace of them and lo! he suddenly found the gopurams of Varadaraja at a distance. He felt surprised to see that he was so close to Kanchi and felt that none other than the Lord himself had guided him in the jungle. So he walked straight into the temple and worshipped the Lord with the water he brought. Even now the water from that well is brought to Varadaraja temple for the worship. The temple had many improvements by various kings; and the visitor cannot but be impressed by the fine stone Mandapas in front of the temple. They must have been made during the reign of the Vijayanagara kings who delighted in Mandapas with elaborate carved pillars; and we are reminded of the pavilions in Sri Rangam. The upright horses all around and the beautiful representations of the Lilas of Sri Krishna in the bigger Mandapa will make us wonder at the extraordinary skill with which they have been carved. But unfortunately, the hands of the



The Jain temple of Vardhamana in the Jina-Kanchi

appeared before her. Just behind the temple is the mango tree where this incident is said to have taken place and Shiva accordingly got the name of Ekamranath or Ekamreswara (Lord of the single mango tree). Surrounding the main temple are long corridors with exquisitely carved pillars reminding us of the corridors of Rameswaram. While the Pallavas filled the temples with heavy columns with lion bases, the later people adopted a different pattern and made each pillar a repository of pictures of puranic episodes. The octagonal pillars are interspersed with square faces each of which is used to represent one incident. Sometimes the four pictures form a series completing a legend. Scenes from the Ramayana and the Lilas of Sri Krishna and Shiva are given, so that they form interesting and useful panels for teaching children the great epics. A good variety of subjects is chosen so that the visitor will hardly feel any monotony in studying the carvings. The picture depicting Shiva burning Kama, the worship of Parvati at the foot of the mango tree, the legend of Markandeya are some of the carvings which are superb. The care with which the incidents were chosen and the graphic presentation of them are fine examples of the skill of the artisans. Besides these, the pillars are filled with decorative art of various designs. The main Gopuram at the entrance of the temple is the tallest one and if one can put up with the strong stench of the bats and climb to the top, a beautiful panoramic view of the whole

Mohammadan invaders have left their cruel mark. They have shown their skill in spoiling by breaking one part of each pillar and there are few pillars which escaped their destructive hands. But still the pavilion stands as a grand piece of stone-carving. Here and there, we find representations of birds and animals and from the corners of the roof of the Mandapa are hanging chains cut from solid stone. Besides these artistic features, are the inscriptions, which fill the outer wall of the main temple, in Tamil and Grantha scripts interesting to a student of epigraphy.

This indeed is a very short sketch of this city, which well deserves to be called a city of temples, considering the large number of temples to be seen

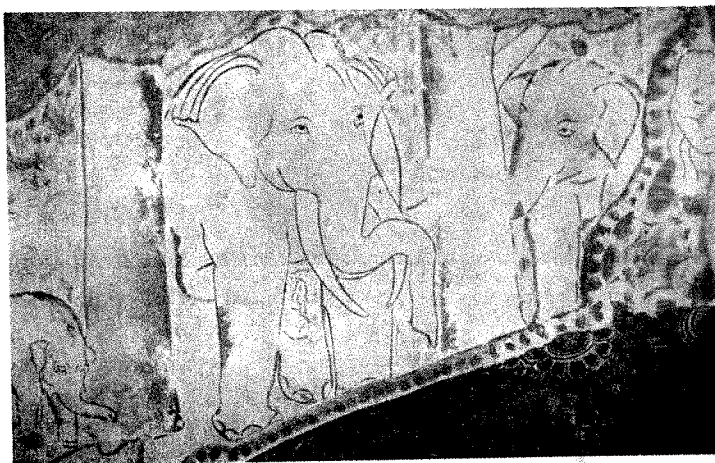
everywhere. So, although one may feel sorely disappointed in not finding gold in Kanchipuram, but still he may consider that the city is well worth the name since it is a museum of precious treasure of ancient art and architecture. Undoubtedly it is the only city in the South which possesses such a wealth of historic material. So, in spite of the fact that the traveller has to go through dusty roads and filthy streets, he cannot but leave the place without the impression that he has visited a store-house of cultural and artistic monuments. Of the various places in South India that deserve our attention on account of their antiquarian interest, there is no other city which is so prominent as Kanchipuram.

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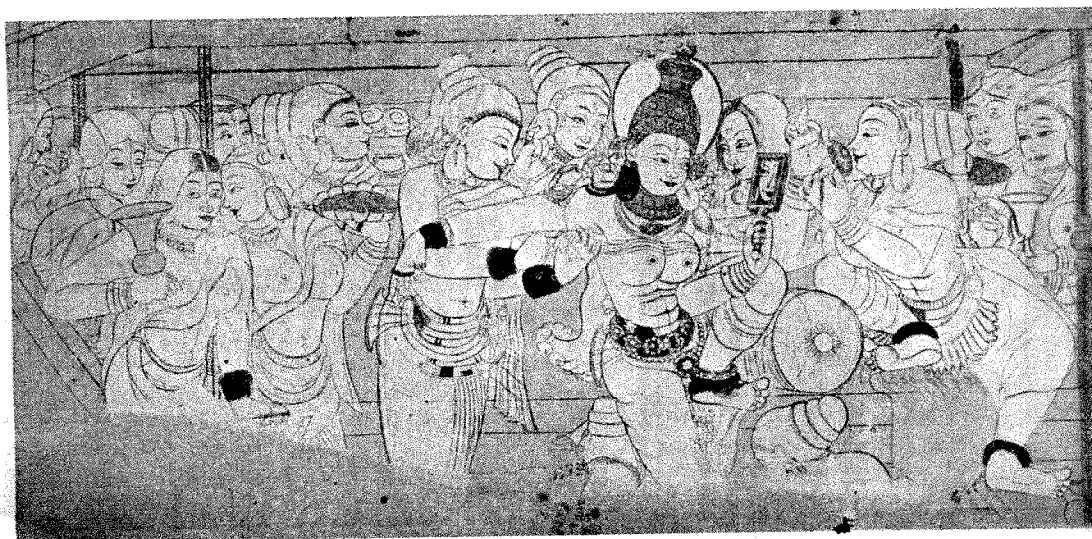
SOME MORE MURAL PAINTINGS OF KERALA

By JATINDRA MOHAN DATTA, B.A., M.SC., B.L., F.S.S. (Lond.) F.B.ECON.S. (Lond.)

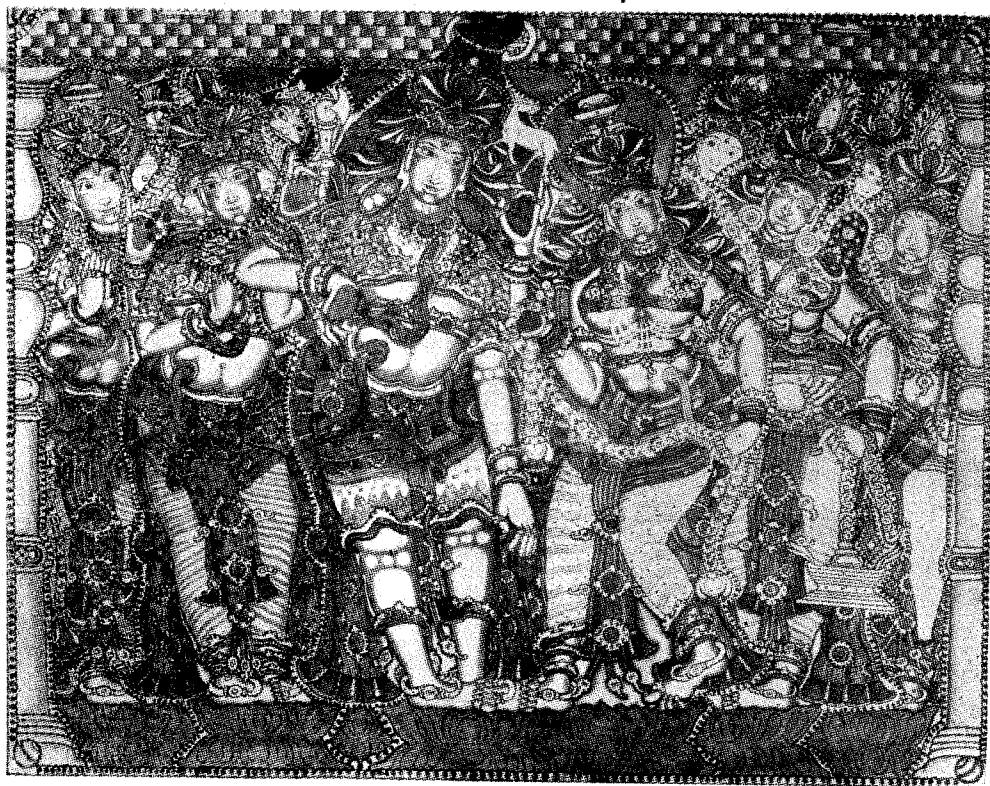
In the January issue of this year we wrote about "Mural Paintings of Kerala" in *The Modern Review*, and published some nine photos of mural paintings from different temples of Travancore. The paintings were exclusively religious in subject. In this further short note we are publishing some hitherto unpublished photos of mural paintings from the Padmanabhapuram Palace of Travancore and line sketches from the Mattancheri Palace of Cochin. Speaking of the Padmanabhapuram Palace, Dr. J. H. Cousins says that it is "a unique exhibition *in situ* of the major arts of architecture, sculpture, wood-carving and mural painting." Walls in these two Palaces are richly decorated with



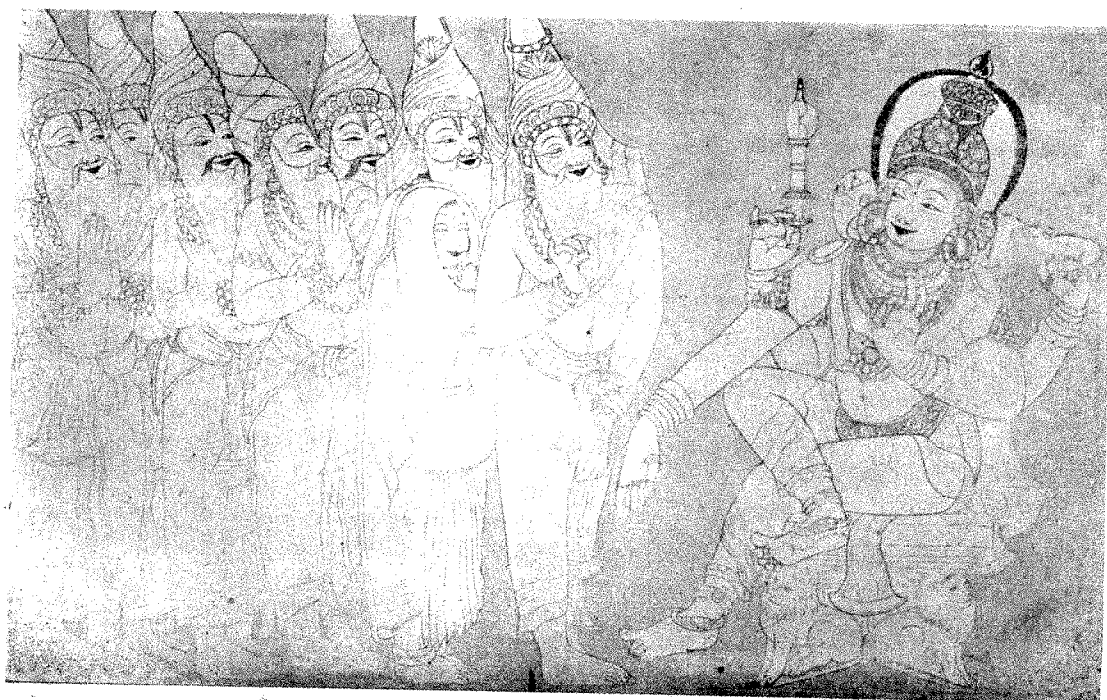
Wild elephants, Mattancheri palace



Parvati and her companions



Siva and Parvati (with Brahma)



The seven sages and Arundhati meet Siva at Kailas

paintings. These paintings, whatever they may have owed to traditional Buddhist technique, are entirely Hindu in subject; and mostly religious in treatment. They date from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth, or early 19th century. The murals of the Padmanabhapuram Palace are well preserved; and they are of an earlier date (16th century). Those of the Mattancheri Palace are not so well preserved. Through the refixing of the plaster on the walls, and the continued burning of oil-lamps in a corner of the *Palliyara* or royal bed-chamber, the paintings have been slightly affected; but they have been saved from the ravages of the equatorial sun and rain. Some paintings of later date give indications that they owe their technique to the Mughal and Rajput schools of painting. Almost the entire Ramayana in different scenes is depicted in the *Palliyara*. These are considered to be the earliest paintings in the Palace. Other subjects and other scenes are painted in other rooms; for example, scenes from the marriage of Siva and Parvati are painted on the walls of the lower stair-case room. They picture the story as described by the great Sanskrit Poet Kalidasa in his famous poem *Kumarasambhava*. They are monochrome, and are now in a state of deterioration.

It is a matter of great regret that many of the temple paintings are fast disappearing. The upper structure of the Siva temple at Chemvantatta, about ten miles from Trichur, was destroyed by fire some 50 or 60 years ago. The pictures form part of the gallery of the murals in the temple and are in colours. They are now fast disappearing. These paintings belong to the same period as those of the Vadakurnathan Temple of Trichur but they have a special gracefulness of their own. There the pictures represent mainly scenes from the Mahabharata, the other of the two great Hindu epics which have moulded and developed Hindu culture. According to an inscription recorded in an obscure corner of the shrine, these pictures were painted by a group of artists in the early half of the eighteenth century. It is indeed notable that the paintings, exposed as they are to sun and rain, have survived the ravages of the Malabar monsoon for two centuries and more. Covering a wall space of about a hundred feet in length these pictures still stand, faded and fragile, on the upper half of the wall of the circular shrine dedicated to God Sankara-Narayana.

Our government and State governments should encourage students of art to visit them, and study



Kodandz Rama, Padmanabhapuram palace

them. Universities and Art societies should help scholars in writing monographs on them.

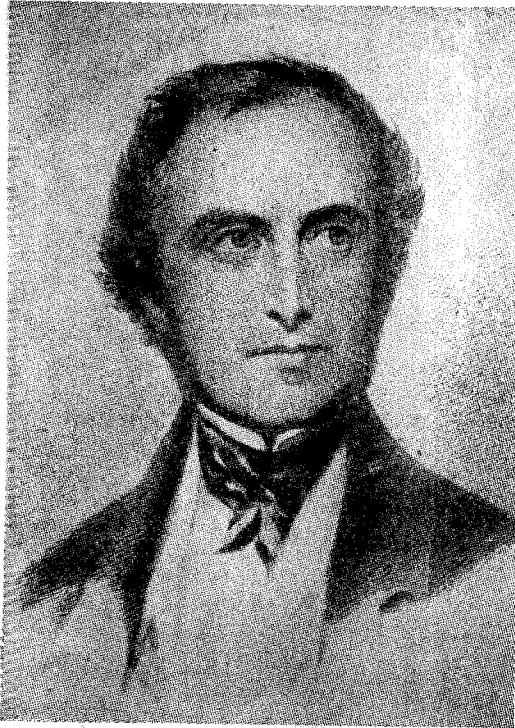
Early and systematic attempts should be made to have such paintings preserved for posterity, by copying them, by photographing them, by applying preservatives over them, by erecting sun-shades and rain-shades over them. Attempts also should be made to search for them on the walls of temples and *maths* and palaces everywhere, especially in Southern India, which has not been ravaged by the Muhammadans as systematically and for such a long period as Northern India.

THE BETHUNE SCHOOL

First Phase

By JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE school that bears the name of Bethune was founded in Calcutta on the 7th May, 1849 by John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune, the Legal Member of the Supreme Council of India. A College Department was added to it later in 1879 under the same name. The school, however, has retained its separate entity. It is, therefore, meet that the Centenary Celebrations of the school are being held this year by the authorities and well-wishers of the institution. The Bethune School as well as the Bethune College is regarded as the pioneer women's educational institution on this side of India. It has not only a history of its own, but it has also made history in this respect.



John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune

The later decades of the eighteenth century as well as the earlier ones of the nineteenth witnessed a revolution in the political, economic, social and cultural outlook of our society. Women's education formed a part of the evangelising activities of the Christian missionaries. They started schools in and around Calcutta in large numbers.¹ The leaders of the

Hindu community, Raja Radhakanta Deb, Raja Baidyanath Roy and a few others, helped the missionaries at the outset materially in their endeavour. But owing to the inculcation of Biblical instructions to the young girls these schools soon became unpopular. Women's education was necessarily confined among the girls of the lower and poorer order. Those of affluent circumstances engaged women teachers, the European ladies not excepted, for the education of their female wards.

But it was soon felt that for the proper diffusion of useful knowledge among the generality of our women-folk some other ways should be immediately found out. Ramgopal Ghose of Young Bengal fame, first personally and later on through the Bengal British India Society, formulated schemes for women's education in Bengal. Pearychurn Sircar, Kali Krishna Mitra and Nabin Krishna Mitra of Baraset and the Mukherjee brothers of Uttarpara set to devising plans for instituting public schools for girls in their respective places. And a school was actually started at the former station. But it was left for John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune to establish under more favourable and influential auspices the above-named female school to be a pioneer lay institution in this land of ours.

II

John Elliot Drinkwater Bethune was a brilliant student of the Trinity College, Cambridge. He studied Law and took to the Bar. As a counsel to the Home Office he came into prominence and remained in that post till his Indian appointment. A life-long bachelor, Bethune engaged himself heart and soul in the pursuit of knowledge. He was also a poet of considerable merit. Even while in England, he followed our educational efforts with unusual interest. He felt very much distressed at the sad plight of our women-folk. He considered education as the only means of their rapid improvement.

Bethune arrived in India in April, 1848, as Legal Member in the Governor-General's Council and by virtue of his position became President of the Council of Education. Here he made acquaintance with Ramgopal Ghose, also a member of the latter Council. Bethune wanted to set up a lay public school for girls and for the first time apprised Ramgopal of his intentions. Ramgopal heartily acquiesced. He told his friends of Bethune's desire and presented them before the latter for mutual discussion. Bethune made a clean breast of his intentions to them. They in their turn promised him all help and expressed readiness to send their daughters to the proposed school.²

1. Detailed accounts of the missionary activities and the events leading to the foundation of the Bethune School will be found in my *Beginnings of Modern Education in Bengal : Women's Education*.

2. *Sambad Bhaskar*, May 10, 1849.

Accompanied by Ramgopal, Bethune went to the Baitakkhana house of Dakshinaranjan Mookerji at 56, Sukeas' Street, then known as Bahir Simulia, in search of a site for the proposed school. Dakshinaranjan was not at home at the time. On his return he learnt of this matter. Though unknown to Bethune, Dakshinaranjan went to his place at the earliest opportunity and offered him his Baitakkhana house for the proposed school free of rent. He also offered his personal library worth about five thousand rupees for the school. For the permanent habitation of the school he proposed to make a gift of land, five bighas and a half, in Mirzapur.³ For building a permanent structure there he expressed his desire to give one thousand rupees more in cash. Dakshinaranjan came back home, made his proposals in writing and sent them to Bethune. Bethune accepted them with thanks.

Amongst others who helped Bethune mature his plans, the name of Pandit Madan Mohan Tarkalankar deserves special mention. Of him, more later on.

III

Preliminary arrangements completed, Bethune started the school at the above place on 7th May, 1849 with twenty-one girls on the roll. The opening ceremony was very simple. Bethune delivered an address suitable to the occasion. He gave reasons for his not asking government help, for in that case the establishment of the school would have been delayed. He did not invite the leading citizens of Calcutta, such as Raja Radhakanta Deb, Raja Kali Krishna, Asutosh Deb, and Prasannakumar Tagore, because they might not approve of the way of his approach or might try to impose their own method upon the new one. He also abstained from inviting the European ladies and gentlemen, for in that case it might look like a public function.

Bethune narrated in his address the nature of the course of studies to be followed. It was stipulated that no religious instruction would be given. Girls would be instructed, free of charge, through the medium of Bengali. English would be taught to those only whose parents would give their consent. Instruction in sewing and other feminine industries would be imparted regularly. He proposed that girls who lived at a distance would be taken to the school and sent back home by the school's carriage. None but the girls of respectable Hindus would be admitted. And the school would work in the morning up to 9. An old Brahmin Pandit was appointed to give instruction in the three R's. Mrs. Ridsdale took charge of the industrial work.

Of the twenty-one girls who attended school on the opening day were the two daughters of Pandit Madan Mohan Tarkalankar, Bhubanmala and Kundamala. Bethune made a special mention of Madan Mohan along with Ramgopal and Dakshinaranjan in his letter

to Lord Dalhousie, then Governor-General on the 29th March, 1850. Madan Mohan taught the girls of the school regularly for some time. He compiled Bengali primers specially suited to the girl alumni of the school.

IV

The school thus opened was a lay public institution, and there was no harm for the girls attending it in large numbers. But attending public schools was not yet the custom among the respectable classes. The more conservative amongst them rose publicly against the school. Some of those who sent their girls were dissuaded from doing so. The number of students at one time dwindled to seven, but it was a happy sign of the times that at the end of the first year the number rose to thirty-four.



Ramgopal Ghose

Raja Radhakanta Deb started one girl school in his house at Sobhabazar, Calcutta, only fifteen days after Bethune had founded his institution.

The Baraset Girl School was remodelled after that of Bethune, and some new girl schools were started at Neebudhia, Sooksagar and Uttarpara. Some people of Baraset put the organisers of the Baraset School to indignities even. The Government did not help these organisations; the mischief-mongers took advantage of this and construed this fact as governmental antipathy to these endeavours. Bethune, in his famous letter to Lord Dalhousie already referred to, requested the Government of India to issue a circular letter to the Local Government and through them to the Magistrates and the Council of Education to express public sympathy with these private endeavours. A circular was accordingly issued by the Government of India to the Local Government. Thus the foundation of the Female School by Bethune signalled a movement of national benefit as well of far-reaching consequences.

3. *Ibid.* Also see Srijut Brajendra Nath Banerjee's *Jaygopal Tarkalankar, Madan Mohan Tarkalankar*, p. 27.

In the above letter to Lord Dalhousie, Bethune requested him to sound the Court of Directors whether it would be feasible to name the institution after Queen Victoria. The Court were still very chary of the conservative feeling. Though they signified their approval of this pioneer attempt, they did not "think that the present state of female education is such as to warrant the unusual proceedings of applying for the



Dakshinaranjan Mukherji

sanction of Her Majesty's name to the Female School at Calcutta."

The Bengali newspapers of progressive thought, such as *Sambad Prabhakari* and *Sambad Bhaskar*, supported the school vigorously, while a few others, presumably of the old school, took to spreading calumny. Raja Radhakanta Deb, the doughty champion of women's education, in a letter to Bethune, wrote of these publications as "certainly the vituperation of a malignant mind that cannot rest without doing evil." It should be noted that the Raja himself was a conservative of the conservatives.

V

Bethune purchased a new plot of land adjacent to that given over by Dakshinaranjan Mookerji in Mirzapur at the cost of ten thousand rupees. The Government of Bengal owned some land to the west of the Cornwallis Square. As Mirzapur was then deemed as outskirts of the city, Bethune preferred this place to the former as a suitable site for the school. He

arranged with the Government of Bengal to have this plot in exchange of Dakshinaranjan's and his in Mirzapur.

The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of the school-building on this new piece of land was held on November 6, 1850. This day the East India Company's Attorney presented the title deeds of the ground to Bethune and Dakshinaranjan and made over possession of it to them by the delivery of an Asoka tree. At Bethune's request, towards the end of the ceremony Lady Littler planted it in a conspicuous part of the spot intended for the school garden. The main ceremony of laying the foundation-stone was conducted by Sir John Hunter Littler, Deputy Governor of Bengal, with the help of the Masonic brethren just at sun-set. A short account of the ceremony is given below :

"Sir John Littler first arrived, and, shortly afterwards, the masonic body marched from the General Assembly's Institution to the site of the intended building. Having arrived within a proper distance of the spot, the procession halted, the brethren opened to the right and the left, and faced inwards, so as to leave room for the officiating Grand Master, preceded by his standard and sword-bearer, to pass up the centre, followed by the rest, so as to invert the order of procession. When the Grand Master arrived, he received the plans of the building from the builder, Mr. Grey, and presented them to Sir John Littler and the rest of the company for their inspection. The inscription on the (copper) plate was then read by the Grand Master, who requested Sir John Littler to descend from the platform, in order to assist at the ceremony, presenting him at the same time with the silver trowel made for the occasion. The Grand Treasurer then placed two bottles, containing coins and records of the present reign, in cavities prepared for them in the lower part of the stone. The plate was then placed in its bed by Sir Littler, the cement was applied, and the stone laid down slowly to solemn music. The Grand Master next proved the stone by the square, level, and plumb-rule, which were successively handed to him by the Grand Wardens; after which the Grand Master said: 'May the Grand Architect of the universe bless this foundation-stone which we have laid, and may we be enabled, by His Providence, to perfect this and other virtuous undertakings.' The cornucopia and cup of wine and oil were then handed to the Grand Master, as before who having poured them on the stone, said: 'May the bounteous Author of all good bless the city with the abundance of corn, wine, and oil, and with all other necessities and comforts of life.'"

This interesting ceremony has been depicted in a picture reproduced elsewhere in this number.

Sir John Hunter Littler, after laying the foundation-stone, addressed the assembly in suitable terms.

VI

The Court of Directors, we have already known, did not think it prudent to approach Her Majesty for the appendage of her name to Bethune's school, which generally came to "be called "Hindu Female School."

4. *Selections from Educational Records*, Part II, by J. A. Ritchie, p. 61.

5. *Beginnings of Modern Education in Bengal: Women's Education*, Appendix, pp. 69, 70.

6. Quoted in *The Illustrated London News* for January 4, 1851 from *The Friend of India*.

There was one inscription on the copper-plate, and another on the silver trowel. In both these inscriptions occur the above name. The following is the inscription on the copper-plate deposited in the foundation-stone :

IN THE REIGN OF
HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY
VICTORIA,
THE FOUNDATION STONE
OF THE
HINDU FEMALE SCHOOL

IN
CORNWALLIS SQUARE CALCUTTA,
WAS LAID WITH MASONIC HONOURS
BY

MAJOR GENERAL THE HONOURABLE SIR JOHN
HUNTER LITTLER, G.C.B.,
DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF BENGAL

ASSISTED BY
THE OFFICIATING DEPUTY GRAND
MASTER OF BENGAL,

SUPPORTED BY A NUMEROUS AND RESPECTABLE
CONVOCATION OF THE CRAFT
AND A LARGE ASSEMBLY OF THE
INHABITANTS OF CALCUTTA.

ON WEDNESDAY THE SIXTH DAY OF NOVEMBER,
A.D. MDCCCL. A.L. VDCCL.

*Wisdom exalteth her children, and layeth hold of them
that seek her : he that loveth her loveth life, and
they that seek to her early shall be filled with joy.*
—Ecclesiasticus, IV, 11, 12.⁷

The Inscription on the Trowel, with which the mortar was laid on the copper-plate, was as follows :

PRESENTED BY
THE HONORABLE J. E. D. BETHUNE OF BALFOUR,
MEMBER OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL OF INDIA :
AND PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL OF
EDUCATION,
To

MAJOR GENERAL
THE HONORABLE SIR JOHN HUNTER LITTLER, G.C.B.,
DEPUTY GOVERNOR OF BENGAL.

Being the Trowel used in laying
THE FOUNDATION STONE
OF THE

Hindu Female School

A.D. MDCCCL. 6th Nov. A.L. VDCCL.

*Who can find a virtuous woman ? For her price is far
above rubies. She openeth her mouth with wisdom :
and in her tongue is the Law of Kindness. Her
children arise up and call her blessed ; her husband
also, and he praiseth her.*

—Prov. xxxi, 10, 26, 28.

[On the Reverse]

Elevation of the Building with Masonic emblems.⁸

VII

Bethune's speech on this occasion was a memorable one. From historical point of view, its importance cannot be over-estimated. It is wrongly said that the present site of the school stands on the land given by Dakshinaranjan. It has been more than proved that the present site was a governmental property, and taken in exchange of that given by Dakshinaranjan in Mirzapur together with the plot purchased by Bethune himself. The main burden of Bethune's speech was concerning this transfer of property. He referred to Dakshinaranjan's liberality in very glowing terms. The following excerpts from the speech are not only entertaining but illuminating too. Addressing Sir John Littler, Bethune said :

"For myself and for my friend Duckinarunjun Mookerjia, I make answer before these witnesses, that we accept the gift and assurance of this land according to the form and tenure of this same deed : and further for myself I promise and undertake, in the presence of this company, that, if life and ability be granted to me, I will build upon this spot a school for the education of Hindu girls, which with the blessings of God, I trust may be destined hereafter to produce effects worthily entitling it to have a name in the annals of the land.

"It is probable, Sir, that there are many persons present who do not know that the ceremony through which we have just gone, for giving us the ownership of this land, is the most ancient and honorable form of conveyance of land known to the English law. It has been selected on this occasion, not merely for that reason, not merely because of the remarkable analogy which it bears to the simple forms that have been immemorially used in Eastern countries, but also, and especially, because it has given me opportunity of publicly associating with myself, and enables me openly to proclaim my gratitude to, the enlightened man who stands near me, to whom jointly with myself, the land has been conveyed. Duckinarunjun Mookerjia was an utter stranger to me : I had never before heard his name, when he introduced himself to me a year and a half ago, for the purpose of letting me know that he had heard of my intention of founding a female school for the benefit of his country : that he could not bear the thought that it should be said hereafter of his countrymen that they had all stood idly looking on, without offering any help in furtherance of the good work : and in short without further preface, that he was the proprietor of a piece of ground in Calcutta, valued, as I have since learned, at about twelve thousand rupees, which he placed freely and unconditionally at my disposal for the use of the school. It was a noble gift, and nobly given. I subsequently was enabled to possess myself of some adjoining slips of land, until at last we became proprietors of the whole of that which by the munificent liberality of the Government of Bengal, exercised, and was in substance told, in the letter announcing their decision, expressly to testify their approval of my design, we were permitted to exchange for this more valuable and far more eligible site on which we are now met. It is due to Duckinarunjun Mookerjia that his name should be had in perpetual remembrance in connexion with the foundation of the school."

7. The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette, Nov. 8, 1850.

8. Ibid.

9. The Bengal Hurkaru and India Gazette, Nov. 9, 1850.

Referring to the symbol of the Asoka tree, Bethune said :

"You have seen possession of this land symbolically given, by delivery to us of a young Asoka tree, which I hope that one of the ladies present will presently do us the honour of planting in a conspicuous place, in that which is intended to become the garden of the school. The choice of this particular tree for the purpose has not been made unadvisedly or without a meaning. I am told that its Bengali name is not unfitly paraphrased as 'The Tree of Gladness.' It is commended for this day's ceremony, not only by the gracefulness of its foliage, and the surpassing beauty of its flowers, but also because it is held in especial honour among Hindu women. I understand that formerly they believed that, by eating its blossoms, they should bring a blessing on their children . . . I propose therefore and henceforth that the Asoka tree be made the symbol of female education in India ; and not only here, but by every school which has been recently established in the villages round Calcutta in imitation of this, and near all those which shall hereafter be multiplied in the land, I suggest that an Asoka tree be planted, a new tree of liberty, to remind us of the bond of fellowship which unites our labours in the common cause."¹⁰

After the ceremony had been over, the distinguished persons of the assemblage were taken to Dakshinaranja's house on the Sukeas' Street. There they were feasted sumptuously. They separated at about 9 p.m.

VIII

Bethune bore the expenses of the institution from his own pocket amounting to eight hundred rupees per month. The cost of the school-building was estimated to be not less than forty thousand rupees which also he was to bear. In December, 1850, Bethune appointed Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, Secretary to the school. We have it on the authority of Sambhu Chandra Vidyaratna, the biographer of Vidyasagar, that the latter induced many respectable Hindus to

send their girls here. From the same source we learn that before the proposed building was completed, the Hindu Female School was transferred to a house on the south-east corner of the College Square. This house had been previously occupied by David Hare's Patal-danga school, later known as the Hare School. The Hindu Female School soon attracted such influential Bengalis as Debendranath Tagore and Raja Kalikrishna Bahadur to its side and the number of its students increased to eighty in the middle of 1851. We find :

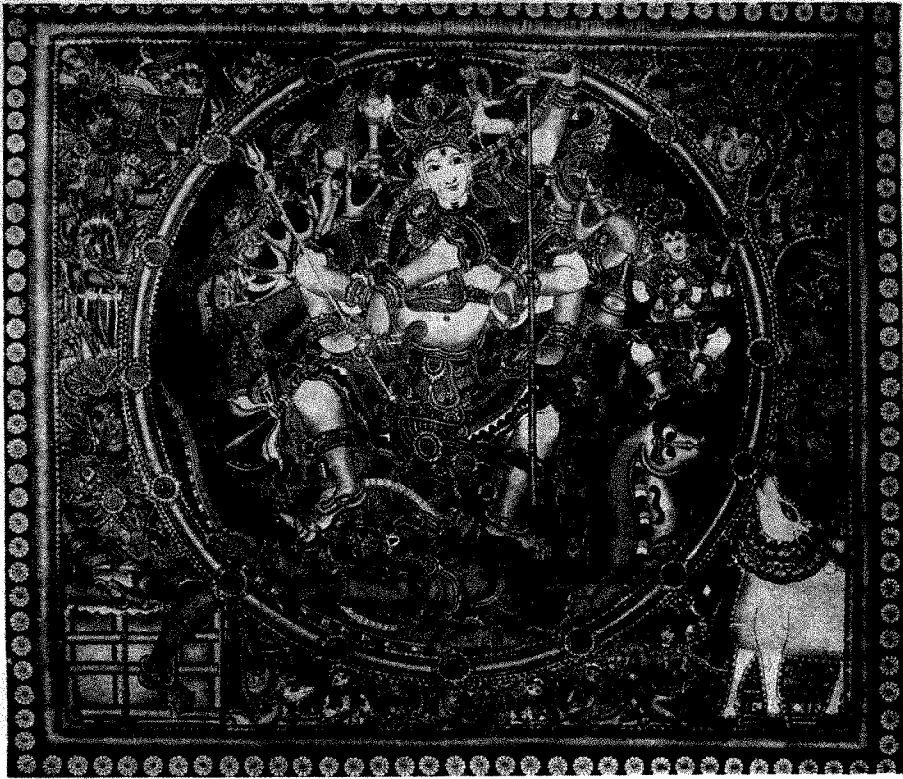
"One of the most influential Natives in Calcutta, Debendranath Tagore, has added his own daughter to the long list of eighty female children already receiving instruction in this institution, and the Raja Kali Krishna Bahadur, who occupies the most prominent position in Hindu Society in the metropolis has accepted the office of its president."¹¹

Bethune's life was cut short by death on 12th August, 1851. But it was found that he had made by will, a gift of his Calcutta property worth Rs. 30,000 to the school. Lord and Lady Dalhousie took keen interest in the progress of Bethune's institution. Lady Dalhousie often visited the school of her own accord and spent some time with the young girls. After the demise of Bethune, Lord Dalhousie took up the school as one of his private charges, which cost him seven hundred rupees a month. On his recommendation the Court of Directors agreed immediately to run the school in a despatch dated November 9, 1853.¹² They suggested that a monthly fee should be levied on each one of the girl students. This was not thought expedient by Dalhousie. He, however, bore the burden as a sacred trust from Bethune till his departure from India on March 6, 1856. Thus Bethune's school completed its first phase.

11. *The Calcutta Christian Observer* for August, 1851, pp. 378.

12. *Selections from Educational Records, Part II*, by J. A. Rich., p. 61.

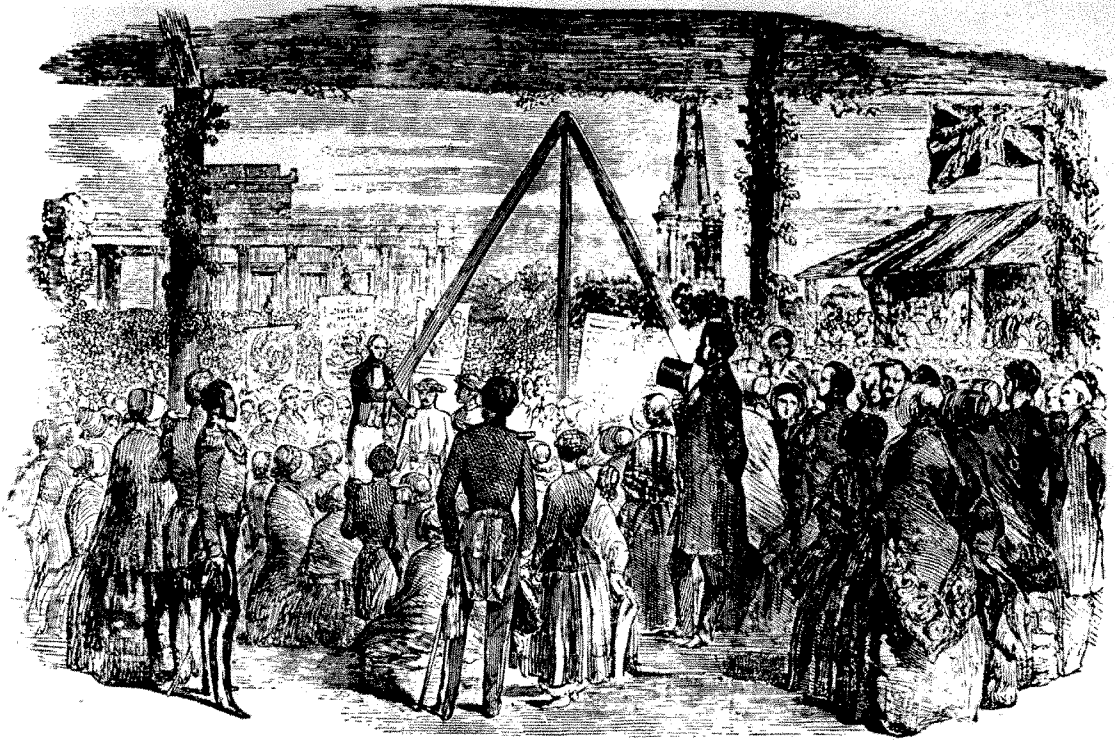




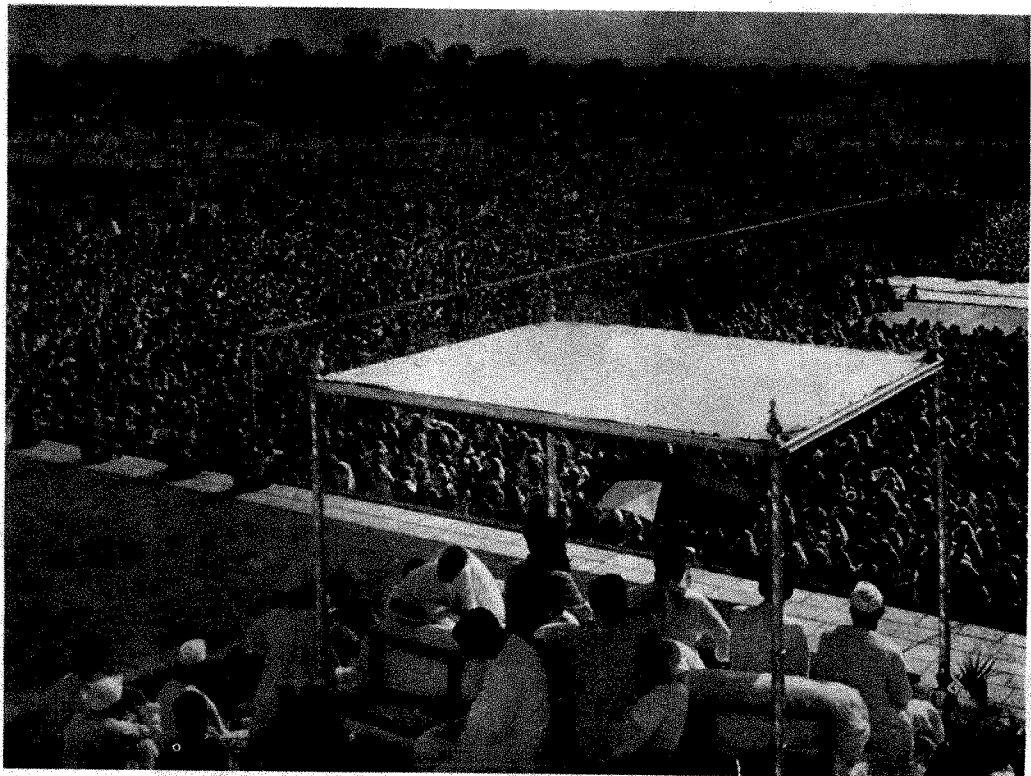
Nataraja, Padmanabhapuram palace



Krishna and Gopis, Padmanabhapuram palace



The ceremony of laying the foundation-stone of Bethune's Hindu Female School in Cornwallis Square, Calcutta, on November 6, 1850. Bethune is seen addressing the assembly. To his immediate left stands Dakshinaranjan Mukherji



Sardar Patel addressing a public meeting at Indore when he visited the place to open the second session of the I.N.T.U.C. held between 6th to 8th May. To the right of Patel is H. H. Holkar, to his left is H. H. Gwalior and next to him is Maniben Patel

THE WONDER WORLD OF ANTS

By K. D. PAUL

Of all the social insects of the world, ants are the largest and most successful, comprising over 6,000 different forms, three-quarters of which inhabit tropical countries. They are, however, cosmopolitans and are found from the outskirts of the Arctic regions to the Tropics and from the forest lines of the highest mountains to the plains and even deserts.

SOCIAL COMMUNITIES

Ants live in social communities inhabiting nests known as formicaries which are built in a bewildering variety of architecture. The nest is usually constructed in the soil beneath stones or logs or at the base of a large tree or in the walls and floorings of buildings. Some classes build mounds consisting not only of excavated soil, but also of leaves, branches, straw, etc., so arranged as to form an elaborate system of galleries and outhouses. Other classes live in cavities in stems, thorns, petioles of flowers, bulbous roots, etc. The red tree ant lives in nests in foliage of trees.

THE WEAVER ANTS

The red ant is also known as the "weaver ant." It constructs its nest by drawing and binding together the leaves of several adjacent shoots which later on dry up. The sticking is done with silken thread exuded by the ant-larvae whom the workers hold in their jaws and use as living shuttles. The larvae are applied to the edges of the leaves held together and wherever they touch a thread of silk is deposited. In addition to the main nest several outhouses are built in the same way, some of which are used for storing food material and others as cattle sheds in which "ant-cows" are kept. The nests are usually small but sometimes they are as big as a football, and are divided into many compartments.

The population of a flourishing colony is estimated as between 1 to 5 lacs of individuals. It consists of numerous wingless workers and soldiers, males, and reproductive females. These males and females which are winged swarm at certain seasons. Mating takes place outside in the open, usually in the air, soon after which the males die. The fertilized female known as the queen sheds her two pairs of wings and starts a new colony. She lays her eggs in the cavity of the nest and feeds the larvae when they emerge. The larvae after pupating in cocoons of silk spun by themselves emerge as wingless workers who at once take care of the larvae and the queen. The queen afterwards devotes herself to egg-laying only. Her normal span of life is 10-15 years.

SOCIALISM

A formicary is a socialist state *par excellence*. The wonderful industry and perseverance of ants is proverbial. Socialism in its highest expression, where individualism is voluntarily sacrificed for the welfare of the society to a degree unattained by humans, is reached by ants. The urge and endeavour that we find in the formicary is, however, only instinctive and not intelligent.

Ants show a remarkable degree of progress on the ladder of civilization. Hunting, pastoral, and agricultural modes of life appear to have succeeded each other much in a similar manner as in the case of Man.

The most primitive tribes of ants are carnivorous and hunt mainly small insects. They possess powerful jaws and are specially suited for the purpose.

ANTS THAT KEEP COWS

The pastoral ants keep herds of aphides (plant lice), and scale-insects commonly known as "ant-cows", whom they protect and domesticate in their formicaries. They collect newly-laid eggs of the aphides and scale-insects and keep them in their nests during the winter. On hatching, the larvae are taken out and nourished on their natural food plants. The ants tend them with the greatest fidelity and protect them from their natural enemies. In return the ants obtain from them a sweet and nutritious secretion known as "honey-dew" by stroking them with their antennae and jaws, thereby inducing them to void the colourless sweet droplets. When an ants' nest containing these "cows" is disturbed, the workers are seen to pick them in their jaws and carry them down the galleries into safety. During raids in which one community attacks the formicary of another, these cows are considered as priceless booty and it is a sight to see them changing masters repeatedly during the encounters which are generally very hazardous.

ANTS THAT CULTIVATE GARDENS

The agricultural ants cultivate certain fungi in special gardens which by a judicious system of weeding and pruning they keep from all undesirable varieties. The fungus gardens are manured with their faeces and pieces of leaves which they cut off from plants and trees and carry over their heads. The ants do not allow the fungus hyphae to grow into mushrooms which would normally result, but only allow them to produce small round white bromatia on which they feed.

The harvesting ants collect seeds in granaries which are generally built not more than 2½ feet under ground. If the grain becomes damp, it is brought out to dry to prevent it from germinating.

ROAD-BUILDING ANTS

Some ants are known to build regular roads to facilitate movement through herbage. Roads are built in all directions from the nest, and are as broad as 6 inches near the nest but narrower farther off. These are kept perfectly clean of all outgrowth. From morn till late in the night the endless streams of workers are seen going out along these routes in search of food and returning laden with their burdens to their formicaries.

LIVING BRIDGES

Certain species of ants are known to stretch across wide gaps by holding on to each other by their specially

long waists to form a chain. It is even said by some observers that some species are able to cross small streams in this way.

With very few exceptions, ants belonging to one community are hostile to those of an other community, even of the same species. However, no one community will dare to raid the formicary of another because generally their relative strength is almost equal which makes the undertaking very dangerous. Among the natural enemies of ants are spiders, tiger beetles, frogs, toads, blind snakes, some birds, moles, shrews, scaly ant-eaters, and sometimes even bears and monkeys.

—:O:—

FUTURE FARMERS OF AMERICA

SUCCESSFUL establishment in farming is the goal of more than 200,000 members of the Future Farmers of America, a national organization of high school boys who have chosen agriculture as their lifetime career. These boys, aged 14 to 21, are studying vocational agriculture in 15,000 rural high schools throughout the United States, Hawaii and Puerto Rico. They find in the activities of the Future Farmers of America, popularly called the FFA, a laboratory wherein they can apply classroom theories and lessons to actual work on the farm.

The organization had its beginning in 1917 when the Federal Government first appropriated funds to aid state schools which gave vocational training in agriculture. Within a few years the vocational agriculture students began to form local clubs. Local clubs co-operated in various programs and activities and state organizations developed. In 1928 under the sponsorship of the United States Office of Education the boys decided to co-ordinate all local and state vocational agriculture clubs into a national organization and called it the Future Farmers of America.

The primary aim of the Future Farmers of America is the development of agricultural leadership, co-operation and citizenship. This is the creed to which the future farmers adhere:

"I believe in the future of farming, with a faith born not of words but of deeds..."

"I believe that to live and work on a good farm is pleasant as well as challenging..."

"I believe in leadership from ourselves and respect from others..."

"I believe that rural America can and will hold true to the best traditions in our national life and that I can exert an influence in my home and community which will stand solid for my part in that inspiring task."

ORGANIZATION HAS 6,000 CHAPTERS

The FFA has more than 6,000 chapters. In these chapters the boys, working on individual and group

projects, progress from "Green Hands" "Chapter Hands," then to "State Farmers" and finally "American Farmers." These designations denote the successive degrees of achievement shown by the boys in farming



A local chapter meets in a school class-room under the leadership of an elected president

practices, scholarship, school and community leadership. The highest honor for which vocational agriculture students compete is the "Star Farmer" award. Each year four outstanding "American Farmer" candidates receive this award at the national FFA Convention

which is held in Kansas City in the mid-western state of Missouri, at the same time as the American Royal Livestock Show.



A farmer from the south-western state of Oklahoma received the 1945 "Star Farmer" award

The FFA makes farming mean something to its members. The boys are encouraged to go at the business of farming scientifically and earn while they learn. In school they take full advantage of the machine shop and carpentry work, livestock, crop and pasture improvement courses and other instruction in agriculture.

Out of school the vocational agriculture instructor follows up classroom theory by advising the young farmer on individual and club projects on a year-round basis. He visits the boys on their home farms, constantly exposing them to the latest and most worthwhile developments in agriculture and guides them in actual farm work. In this way FFA members make as much progress in five or six years as many farmers do in a lifetime.

WORK OF TYPICAL CHAPTER

Typical of the FFA is Flathead Chapter of Kalispell in the state of Montana. In this American farming community of some 8,000 population, 79 boys in 1945 carried out large farming projects in connection with their vocational agriculture studies. They completed an average of four productive projects per member which produced 25,936 dollars worth of agricultural products, or a net worth to each student of 672 dollars.

The Flathead Chapter's Dairy Herd Improvement Association resulted in higher production per cow and in improved feeding practices. Milk testing was done in the school laboratory by the boys. Over several years they have acquired several head of outstanding breeding stock for use not only of FFA members but by local farmers as well. This revolving-ring livestock program is responsible for the many purebred or registered herds of sheep, dairy cattle, beef and swine in the community.

Putting into practice their lessons in mechanical drawing and shop work, the members of the Flathead Chapter repaired or constructed 85 large farm machines and pieces of farm equipment such as hay stackers, buck rakes, sawmills, electric brooders, self-feeders and hog houses. Their slogan is, "If you can't buy it, build it." The boys also own a 22-acre tract of land which they use to demonstrate the proper management of farm woodland to obtain a sustained yield and the greatest return.

Many of the boys of the Flathead Chapter are on the school honor roll. Scholarship is stimulated by having "Big Brothers"—old members—help new boys, and by holding meetings on "how to study." Gradually the chapter is building a library of periodicals and books of special interest to the farmers.

This FFA chapter won the school soft-ball championship, held a father and son banquet, gave a picnic for the Home Economic girls, and attended a summer camp in Glacier National Park.

TROUBLESOME PROBLEMS DEALT WITH

FFA chapter meetings are continued under the sponsorship of the local vocational agriculture instructor for FFA alumni and other adult farmers. Here young boys and adult farmers exchange ideas and experiences, discuss new projects for the community, and have round-table discussions by authorities on such subjects as poultry raising, management of orchards, marketing of produce, pasture improvement and soil conservation.

In Burlington, in the eastern state of New Jersey, a young farmer found himself with a troublesome problem of standing water on his farm. He presented the problem at a chapter meeting. There followed an exhaustive discussion of plow soles and subsoiling to eliminate the formation of an impervious and deep-down layer in long-cultivated fields. The following spring after the low-lying areas had been subsoiled as directed, the water vanished.

Chapters of the FFA have membership in local co-operatives through which the club members buy feed, fertilizer, certified seed and livestock. They take part in campaigns to prevent livestock and crop losses by inspecting and treating animals and plants for diseases and pests. Seed and soil testing is another community project of FFA boys.

WHAT ENCOURAGEMENT CAN DO

What an individual can do under the FFA can be seen from the case of a poor boy in New Jersey who

wanted to be a veterinarian. Like most other boys in the community he had a trap line. Under the guidance of the vocational agriculture instructor he trapped and sold 50 dollars worth of skunk and muskrat hides, and safeguard their funds. Many chapters operate thrift banks and in 1945 FFA members purchased more than eight million dollars worth of United States Savings Bonds. During the war FFA members canned 12 million jars of fruits and vegetables, of which one million cans were donated to the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.



A vocational agricultural teacher advising a young future farmer on the selection of good corn

which he used to buy a purebred heifer for his FFA project. The heifer matured, and had two heifers and two bull calves. Taking on more FFA projects the boy acquired 83 hogs, then 220 turkeys, later some 1,300 chickens, and five acres of blueberries. In his senior year another project consisted in studying test plots of lines of corn the college agronomists were developing. He gave up his idea of becoming a veterinarian and was appointed to grow hybrid seed corn for the college.

Five years later this New Jersey boy was specializing in the production of commercial hybrid seed corn and hybrid seed sweet corn on 310 acres of land, 100 of which he had paid for and owned. He feeds 400 turkeys and over 1,000 chickens with discards from his graded seeds. He practices diversified farming and raises seed of Wong barley, soybeans, alfalfa, pumpkins, tomatoes and string beans. His work schedules call for six hired men.

ENCOURAGES PRACTICE OF THRIFT

FFA encourages the practice of thrift. Under supervised farming projects members earn money to finance their chapter activities. They learn to budget

Members of FFA feature rural landscaping, beautifying public property as well as improving the attractiveness of their farmsteads. They improve community picnic grounds on which they build outdoor fireplaces and erect tables and benches.

FFA members learn that farming is a science which requires vision as well as brawn and brains. They learn that the health and nutrition of people depend on the quality of the food they eat; so each boy strives to raise better livestock and crops. He learns that the chemist can take farm products and transform them into industrial products. Wheat can be used to produce alcohol which



National officers of the Future Farmers of America visited President Truman in 1946 to invite him to attend the National Convention of the F.F.A. in Kansas City, Missouri

the chemist turns into synthetic rubber. Soybeans are transformed into hard, tough plastics.

Members of the Future Farmers of America look to the future with confidence. Through improved agriculture, more satisfying farm home life, better local communities, and more efficient farmer-citizens, the FFA creed becomes a reality.—USIS.

THE DRAMAS OF RABINDRANATH TAGORE

By AMAR MUKERJI, M.A., Ph.D.

THE dramatic creation of Rabindranath Tagore comprises about forty-five slender volumes; and yet, the variety of it is so considerable that it would be almost impossible to say anything generally about his dramatic works, to discover a standard of judgment that would meet such widely diverse plays as *Valmiki Pratibha* and *Bisarjan*, *Sarodotsav* and *Raktakaravi*, *Natir Puja* and *Sesh Raksha*, *Nabin* and *Kaler-yatra*, *Bansari* and *Nrityanaty Shyama*. It would be definitely futile to make a general characterization of his plays; to say whether his plays are plays of ideas, or action symbolical or allegorical, realistic or romantic. They present such a wonderful spectacle of diverse form and technique, of subject-matter and method, even of attitude to life and towards the dramatist himself that a broad statement is liable to border on the point of absurdity.

For, the sources that Tagore drew from, the experiences that moved him to write plays and his method of writing and re-writing them, had been wonderfully perplexing. If he had followed the Irish melodies and written *Valmiki Pratibha*, he had also known the Greek ideals and written *Malini*; if he had attempted the Shakespearean technique and produced *Bisarjan*, he had also developed the tragedy of silence and written *Grihapravesha*; if he had tackled the Javanese technique in *Tasher Desh*, he had also cultivated the problem drama in *Bansari*. Many strains and impulses had operated on him to produce complexity: realism and idealism; allegory and symbolism; objectification of mood as well as depiction of action; development of an idea as well as immersion in a theatre movement that sought fulfilment of new values. Rabindranath in his characteristic way had sought to fuse external action with internal calm, his poetic personality with his dramatic characters; and the barrenness of plot with the creation of a most difficult dramatic illusion.

For, Rabindranath's artistic being, as he himself confessed in one of his letters, was never satisfied with one literary form. From form to form he ceaselessly went forward, from the most complicated technique to the barest depiction of mood he constantly changed. And so, to say that, drama being entirely the conflict of characters, Tagore's genius is not dramatic, is to leave out of consideration at least a dozen plays that show Tagore not only going through his apprenticeship, but at the height of his dramatic achievement. It is true that Tagore's most successful plays were those where he did not inflict a severe blow on the dramatic tradition of Bengal that Madhusudan and Dinabandhu had left behind, authors whom Tagore had zealously read. It would be indeed an interesting fact to know that Tagore in his early youth read and even translated Shakespeare—and of all plays, *Macbeth*—whose profound effect on the imagination of a sentimental lad was bound to be stimulating. The technique

of Shakespeare was the same as that which most of Tagore's predecessors were trying to emulate, bringing in its touches of the heroic-romantic drama of the Elizabethan period. The predominance of one model, as was in the classical Sanskrit plays, gave way to the conflict of characters which showed themselves in prodigality of action that tended to be external, bringing in its trail a complicated, though not effective plot. In the social plays it was realism that was trying to instil itself—a realism that degenerated often into a moralising straightforward statement. But the Sanskrit tradition had not entirely disappeared, and lived in the indigenous theatre called *yatra*, which was undergoing a considerable secularization, while its profusion of songs, its continued action, and allegorical if not symbolical treatment, were getting gradually absorbed into the main trends of the Bengali drama. The outdoor stage and the emphasis on the poetic temper of the play rather than on its realistic appeal were the most characteristic features of the *yatra*.

Rabindranath who grew in a most congenial dramatic atmosphere naturally did not allow himself to be led away entirely by the Western standards and quickly seized the technique of the indigenous drama which was very much consistent with his own poetic temperament and for which he had considerable admiration. Tagore's earliest plays did not therefore thrive on the Shakespearean model; as a matter of fact, he seized most eagerly the musical drama—thanks to his acquaintance with the Irish melodies—and his *Valmiki Pratibha* and *Mayar Khela* were musical plays. Tagore's chief concern as a dramatist had been the mingling of Eastern and Western styles, an objective that, as he himself said in his *Reminiscences*, he had achieved:

"From this mixed cultivation of foreign and native melody was born the *Valmiki Pratibha*. The tunes in this musical drama are mostly Indian, but they have been dragged out of their classic dignity; that which soared in the sky was taught to run on the earth. Those who have seen and heard it performed will, I trust, bear witness that the harnessing of Indian melodic modes to the service of the drama has proved neither derogatory nor futile. This conjunction is the only special feature of *Valmiki Pratibha*."

The other important feature of that play was that there Rabindranath for the first time saw his true emergence of his dramatic genius, particularly at a time when it was undergoing a tremendous upheaval in the poetic field. The poet in Rabindranath suddenly saw the dramatist in himself just as the poet in Valmiki saw the poet in himself; and *Valmiki Pratibha* fructified a long struggle to be more objective than it was possible to be in the lyric. Its technique of construction has nothing of the complicated structure of a Shakespearean play; it was a simple form with suspense based on the principle that the dramatic

surprise had already been half-told at the beginning. The construction was rather in the mould of the *Kathakas* where "speech takes on tuneful inflexions whenever emotions come into play." The play naturally had a single knot that had to be opened—a loose knot technically viewed from the point of view of the drama—but a difficult one viewed from the angle of the poet's own soul. The framework was indeed simple though the struggle was sharply intense—a characteristic that was so patent in Tagore's later plays. *Valmiki Pratibha* and *Kal Mrigaya* broke the tradition of the Bengali drama, not only because they contained a considerable projection of Tagore's own personality, but because they defied the standard of action that was laid down by Madhusudan. *Mayar Khela* too belonged to the same genre, though of a slightly different type.

"In this the songs were important, not the drama. In the others a series of dramatic situations were strung on a thread of melody; this was a garland of songs with just a thread of dramatic plot running through. The play of feeling, and not of action, was its essential feature. In point of fact I was, while composing it, saturated with the mood of song."

By leaving aside the type of drama which Tagore's predecessors had practised, he gained in subtlety and elegance what he lost in mass and power.

But Tagore wanted a greater measure of stage success than what his previous plays could secure and he very soon realised, because of his close association with the theatre, that this was impossible without accepting the Shakespearean technique that Madhusudan had introduced in the Bengali drama. Jyotirindranath, Rabindranath's brother, was in his own way continuing that tradition and it was really embarrassing for the public to witness performances based on any other approach. Realism was against Rabindranath; the use of romantic motivation was against him; and the five-act technique was against him too. The result was that Rabindranath himself became inclined towards depiction of character through its many stages and this he did in *Raja O Rani*, *Bisarjan*, *Malini*, which had in them all the elements that the Bengalis had recently acquired from the British playwrights. The tradition of the acted verse-drama of the heroic-romantic type lived with the Bengali auditors and there grew too a devotion to political causes which led dramatists like Jyotirindranath to seek a correlation between drama and national life. There was also the pure enthusiasm for dramatic statement, for 'showing events' as well as telling them. Shakespearean ideals had degenerated in the hands of Bengali imitators into some kind of an external action and a conflict that was not the outcome of an inherent shortcoming in the character, but was the resultant of an external force. The four or five plays of this period show Tagore's come-back to the tradition of his predecessors who relied on an abundant fare of external action and varied incidents. The audience was now a mixed body of spectators (for the

admission to theatres by tickets had started) who demanded a full-blooded drama that must include vehemence of passion and fine outbursts of poetical frenzy. The stage conditions too which permitted the multitude of shifting scenes demanded a long description which the audience would gladly listen to were it clothed in the fullest of poetic form. The dramatic structure of the numerous plays that were then being written had become loose and the emphasis was not always on the main action and the single situation but on a variety of side-lights and by-scenes that catered for the auditor's demand for spectacle. Tagore naturally apprehended the danger of such a movement towards an episodic plot and felt that characterization and not merely plot would be the chief interest of drama. He had not yet acquired a command over the new technique which was also not suited to his lyrical temperament and the result of the attempt that he made to fit himself in the dramatic tradition was the play *Raja O Rani* where he tried to shift the degree of emphasis from plot to character. *Raja O Rani* however, as Tagore himself admitted, was not a great drama though it had rich dramatic possibilities. Maybe this was because of Tagore's inherent dislike for that type of drama; maybe it was because of Tagore's lack of mastery over the form that he was going to use. *Raja O Rani* therefore, became a "mixture of melodrama and superb tragedy, of carelessness and subtle art, as disordered a close as ever a good plot gave."² There is only a little differentiation of character with a good lot of "secondarily relevant material" and unequal distribution of emphasis in the scenes. The subplot is there too as well as the "tragic loading" of the last scene which are reminiscent of the Elizabethan tradition.

In the next play *Bisarjan*, Tagore had revealed a greater mastery of the technique which he had employed in *Raja O Rani* and showed what he could achieve in dramatic characterization. The underplot which was bequeathed to Tagore by the Shakespearean convention was undoubtedly there but the characters came to have a more differentiated and independent existence. The structure of the plot was more rigidly moulded while the conflict attained a force that was unknown to his predecessors. Reflection made way for action whose free development was not hampered by any external power. *Bisarjan* had, therefore, ever been a tremendous success on the public stage specially because "the passion and the magnificent emotion"³ that the play contained catered to the demands of the auditors. Rabindranath however in his next two plays *Malini* and *Chitrangada* carried the technique to its logical conclusion and achieved a simplicity of form that was almost Greek. The emphasis was now on single action while the plot was bereft of any complications and even of Tagore's erstwhile favourite sub-

2. Rabindranath Tagore : Poet and Dramatist by Thompson, page 94.

3. Ibid., page 99.

plot. Tagore gave in these plays bodily form to the noblest capacities of man and to 'the thought that wanders through eternity'—all with the intense fervour of a poet's vision of life. Yet this period of Rabindranath's dramatic activity shows him paying his allegiance to a form that was not entirely his own; even the use of blank verse that he made, his introduction of the supernatural in *Chitrangada*; his use of too many and not very justifiable deaths in *Raja O Rani* and even of some horror tragedy in *Malini* were in keeping with the demands of his age. Tagore undoubtedly used these devices with considerable excellence, but the main difficulty was that he was ever contending with his own subject, to evolve a technique that could meet his demands on the drama. It was not an easy job to discover a dramatic medium for such poetic soul as his, and there were no models before him. He had moreover to compete with the main tendency of realism of his age as well as of his own attitude to life which was hardening into a definite philosophy.

Of it, Rabindranath had already given a hint in his *Prakritir Parisodh*, of which he later wrote in his *Reminiscences* thus:

"This *Prakritir Parisodh* may be looked upon as an introduction to the whole of my future literary work; or rather, this has been the subject on which all my writings have dwelt—the joy of attaining the Infinite within the Finite."

This statement has perhaps led some critics to opine that Tagore's plays are mainly plays of ideas. Plays of ideas, they like most plays, are. But the question is: Is it necessary to stop by labelling Rabindranath's plays like that? If Rabindranath in an introspective and reminiscent mood had said that he had symbolised a certain idea in a certain play or even that a certain quasi-philosophical approach is the burden of his plays, can we over-state the point and infer that his plays lack the qualities that are dramatic? It is not enough to say that because a certain casual relationship between two concepts run through his plays, they cease to be effective dramas particularly when we know that this approach may well serve to link his plays with his other creations. Such a fundamental approach to the universe may at best become the theme of his plays where the idea ultimately emerges not as an abstraction but as a deeply imagined picture of the relationship of man with the absolute and speculative questions that face him in his daily life. The conflicts of mood, matter and thought and the various juxtapositions of these in the life of an individual ultimately tell us of the connexion of a soul with the all-enveloping mystery of the universe. Tagore afforded himself the spaciousness of a philosophical doctrine undoubtedly but when he came to the writing of his plays he receded this doctrine to the background and created men and women about whose existence and about whose relationship with the universe there could be no scope for doubt. At best it can be said that Tagore dealt with a theme that belonged to the borderline of drama, specially when

the action-sequence that gave some kind of an approach to the external life yielded place to a more perplexing pattern that communicated a spiritual insight. Has not Tagore himself said in some of his own statements about his plays that the philosophical approach to life that was his, was unconsciously transformed into a conflict that belonged to the characters of his plays and so became dramatically real? But Tagore never tried to deduce this dramatic conflict consciously from his philosophical doctrines, which too he could not entirely forget. This was indeed a difficult position, made all the more difficult by an attempt at reconciliation that must be made between a dramatic form that involves the dramatic existence of his *dramatis personae* and an underlying idea whose nature would seem incompatible with that form. This idea must have essentially a philosophical basis (in the widest sense of the term 'philosophy') and as not Tagore himself said with reference to his play, beginning with *Sarodotsav* that the eternal conflict of the soul is between its joy that is its inherent nature and the facts of sorrow, states of fear, hatred, indifference and doubt that prevent us from attaining infinite bliss? This conflict—fundamental in its nature—naturally involves many more things than the realisation of a philosophical conflict in the drama. A second conflict runs across the first; the closure of man's senses by man's own injunctions and appetite versus the urge of nature through the call of seasons to open the senses in order that man may meet one another more intimately.⁴ These two conflicts practically involve everything that a good tragedy can contain. Ultimately they are reduced to a conflict between the vision of the cosmic unity where everything from dust to galaxy is held together, and the impulse of the individual to fulfil its unity by breaking away from the separations of life, in time and space. In this pattern, action is sometime an element of the seen life of human relations but it is an element of the unseen life too particularly when Rabindranath's relationship between the individual and the total is not always on a ground level, but between the individual synthesis of various human powers and the supertotality in which the powers subsume.⁵

There are naturally, as Prof. Cousins has pointed out, two directions of movement—one towards the material and the external, the other towards the internal and the spiritual; the outward-movement with its emphasis on these things that pertain to the senses and the internal movement with its intuition of natural and inescapable unity. Action under such condition comes to have the force of a symbol—and has not Rabindranath talked of 'movement' frequently in his plays⁶—which conversely assumes the character of

4. Tagore by D. P. Mukerji, p. 120.

5. "Tagore on Tagore" by J. H. Cousins in *Gurudev Tagore*, p. 26, et seq.

6. Cf. "With the Hindu philosophers Tagore believes in the gradual perfection of individuals till the ideal is attained. The soul had to pass through many lives before the goal is reached." *Philosophy of Rabindranath Tagore* by Radhakrishnan, p. 63.

action. A good instance of this is in *Sarodotsav* itself as well in *Koja*, where in the story of the transformation of the personalities to states of complete fulfilment, is concentrated 'the infinite action that is necessary to attain the infinite being.' The songs too of the plays of Tagore's second period are remarkable not merely for their structural use but for their suggestiveness often as pure epitomes of spiritual truths.

Such an unforeseen use of 'action' has led many critics to say that Tagore's middle plays have no action. They say that there may be philosophy in Tagore but of action there is none in his plays, ever missing the fact that Tagore's technique of life is in fact so much dynamic that 'action' becomes its inherent property and does not wait for external impetus and even canalization. The world that Tagore creates is not an unreal or too real one, though it is considerably different from the world we are accustomed to find in drama. As a mental world it had its own standard of truthfulness; as a world of Tagore's own personal experience, its own modicum of truth. Rabindranath's means may often be of utter suggestiveness, but his end was to depict a world that was true and exceedingly proximate; a standard of emotional and spiritual reality that he had himself felt and experienced. *The Post Office*, for example, presents a feeling of an acutely intense world, a play that has a veiled truth at the back of its eternal elusiveness. *The Cycle of Spring* too is not a cycle of spring whose revolution can be seen with physical eyes, it contains essentially the exuberant high spirits and fun, the irrepressible abandon of eternal youth. The beauty of Rabindranath's symbolism lies in the use of irrealities as symbols of an intensely real world.

The difficulty however arose when Tagore found that his technique was not successful on the public stage and that even scholars differed vastly in opinion about the success or failure of his plays. The first and apparent reason for such a mixed reception was that his auditors had never seen anything of this kind before. The second reason is a more psychological one. Tagore perhaps residing in his own plane of consciousness did not have a correct idea of his auditor's plane of consciousness with the result that his reality became his auditor's fantasy. Queen Sudarshana's trouble was Tagore's own trouble; his public could not discover the real king. Tagore's demand on the sensibilities of his audience was more than they could reciprocate and so his plays like *Nabin*, *Ritu-Utshav*, etc., failed once to be popular successes. To be more precise, Tagore's real shortcoming was not that his plane of reality was entirely beyond the comprehension of the common man but that he sometimes refined the material world rather too much—adding to it occasionally a very mystic tone. The meaning would be more clear if it is pointed out that in the re-written version of his plays, Rabindranath achieved a larger measure of popular success by giving a more concrete touch to the whole theme, as it were, by making his imagery more

rational than mystical. Again, the limited success that came to his Nature dramas where the spirits of nature have been symbolised to an almost unforeseen extent, was not because people understood their meaning but because the show attracted the eye and the ear more than the intellect. Flowers like *malati*, *madhavi*, etc., were sometimes invested with a human touch to give some kind of an appeal to an ethereal symbolization. Again, in some plays the unreality of the action has been matched by an intensely poetic dialogue, and an imagery that is more human than can be reasonably expected in such plays.

Another reason for such a confusion about the use of 'action' in Rabindranath is the recurrence in some shape or other, of the same theme and of the lyric strain which, as Tagore himself admitted, disturbed the dramatic texture of his plays. It is also true that the germ of many of his plays can be seen in his lyrics. And moreover, the over-use of songs which people always took to be lyrical without caring to appreciate their dramatic propriety⁷ provided another source of confusion. What Tagore essentially did was that, particularly in his later plays, he used a kind of vocabulary that was well known in his poetry with the inevitable consequence that his public which had been humming his strains of music failed to detect the dramatic in the songs⁸. The emotion was naturally the same but his dramatic emotion was different from the poetic emotion in the sense that the former had a movement, a direction and also a crisis which the latter had not. It is said that the drama is more objective than the lyric poetry and with Tagore particularly the distinction was sharp like a razor's edge, and movement from one stage to another was merely a matter of degrees. *Sarodotsav*, for example, is one of the most original and delicate of Tagore's plays, one with the most attenuated action, one of which it will be easiest to say that it is undramatic. Yet the play is essentially dramatic in conception and tone, as the beginning song itself would suggest. Its emotion is the most delicate of emotions, an idea of which has been given in Tagore's lecture on the Philosophy of Leisure. Yet the drama develops not merely on one central 'emotion' but on a chain of 'emotions' that clash with each other in a way that becomes dramatic. It involves essentially a refinement of method that has often been mistaken as a confusion of form. The same is almost true of *Achalayatan* where the dramatic intensity of the climax lies in the perspective that it unfolds—the prospect of a free communion with Nature which not only destroys but creates.

What Tagore, unlike some other creative writers, wonderfully combined in his plays were attitudes that had been for long accepted to be antagonistic: spiri-

7. and 8. For instance, *Valmiki Pratibha* had its songs in styles that are dramatic. 'The Telugu style of Indian modes specially lends itself to dramatic purposes, and has been frequently utilised in this work.' *My Reminiscences*, p. 193. In most of his songs in his plays Tagore used fast *tal-s*.

tual, dramatic and poetic values. Tagore had a life to express; he was acquainted with a powerful dramatic tradition and so had an acute sense of the dramatic form; and yet he was a poet with his personal standards of values and individual conflicts. An interaction, or rather, a fusion of these it was, that sought fulfilment in his drama—a kind of a development that involved a constant movement away from realism. Tagore's plays, therefore, became so distinctly original that they dispensed with the accepted manner of dramatic writing, and involved the conflict and subsequent fusion of so many contrary tendencies of feeling and essences of the spirit that are prolongations of the poetic sensibility (*Prakritir Parisodh*); of a personal kinship with the strand of thought of his country (*Bisarjan*); of an endeavour to discover a dramatic statement of emotions and moods that are personal (*The Cycle of Spring*); and finally, of an acceptance within the orbit of drama of the various socio-political causes that were shaking the age in which he thrived (*Achalayatan* and the *Machine* dramas). There were moreover, many aspects of Rabindranath's own personality, the various aspects of his creative self that delighted in experimenting with practically all forms of literature. The latter particularly together with his lyric inclinations, had their effects on the dramatic texture of his plays—an influence that made him doubtful about the force of the effect that his plays would ultimately produce on his audience.

Dramatically speaking too, the difficulty was between the diverse demands of characterization, and the depiction of mood; the demands of intellect and feeling. If in the plays beginning with *Raja O Rani*, Rabindranath depicts the conflict and decay of character, the characters develop because they are driven to seek freedom for themselves through self-knowledge, through the realisation of the truth that the avoidance of sorrow cannot entitle you to the supreme bliss. The ideals and faiths of the characters have been shaken, as in *Raja O Rani* or *Malini* or *Bisarjan*, shaken by the knowledge that to vaper round the smaller-I in us is not the *summum bonum* of human existence. The socio-political background of the age also came to have its full play and *Bisarjan* and *Achalayatan* belonged considerably to the tyranny of a dogmatic age. The conflict of the plays apparently started as the conflict of warring men, though fundamentally speaking, they grew to be conflicts of a different and more elemental order.

The plays beginning from *Sarodotshov* laid greater emphasis on this fundamental concept, which in Tagore's own words was something like this:

"The soul's expression is Joy for which he (man) can accept sorrow and death; he who avoids the path of sorrow in fear, or in laziness or doubt is denied the Joy in the world."

The conflicts in Rabindranath's tragedies then grew to be conflicts between the narrow world of selfhood that man has created for himself and the Joy in universal soul that he can ever secure for himself, but which he unfortunately avoids because of the small

eddies of fears and doubts and hatreds that he creates around himself. The conflict of personalities naturally recedes to the background, though it is the human conflict on which this inner conflict is sought to be engrafted. The result was that the human beings that Tagore created in the plays of this period became not only eternal types, but beings whose natures, actions, thoughts and passions became of lasting significance for all times. An undying quality of mankind was symbolised in them—symbolised in such a way that their spiritual significances appeal to us not through the medium of reason, but of feeling. It was a form of symbolism that was beyond the competence of the common man who was unable to string up his sensibilities to the same tenor to which Tagore wanted him to do. The profusion of songs and the use of everyday speech carried to its perfection of utterance helped the creation of the necessary atmosphere—an atmosphere of soul-existence as contrasted to mere physical being. In *The Cycle of Spring* which is the last play of this period, this use of symbolism was carried to its farthest point. In that play particularly, symbolism consisted in regarding the whole natural world as a symbol of an inner spiritual reality, of a spiritual truth that verges on the right side of pantheism. Death and birth; resurrection and destruction; these transcended the Poet's being and gave it a glow that was almost mystical. The result is that the plot is reduced to its barest simplicity and the dialogue comes almost to the point of silence, imparting a magnificent solemnity to his plays, and effect that Tagore's recently developed stage-craft sought to fulfil. His formal pattern tended to be more commensurate with the basic idea; the continued action, the minimum stage devices and the successful enhancement of poetic expression, all furthering the effect. The dramatic action had been minimised without disturbing the artistic impressiveness of suffering, ultimately identifying the dramatic action with the dynamics of his philosophy⁹.

In the next series of plays beginning with *Muktadhara*, the symbolic pattern which is mostly atmospheric, has tended to disappear while his plays seek to assimilate within themselves some of the vital trends of the age of machinery. To make machinery a protagonist had been the objective of dramatists like Capek and Rice and Toller. They showed machinery as an active agent that directly moulded the behaviour of the characters and the order of the society they lived in. But Tagore allegorized the machinery and instead of making it stand before us as a living being kept it at a distance (as in *Muktadhara*) as an object of terror and perhaps, hatred. Its influences on men were shown to us—or rather, a manifestation of the influences—at work in a society which had not forgotten the intimations of immortality. On the one hand, we have the sense of feeling of the joys of free existence while on the other the sense of an intellectual comprehension of the evils of machinery. The two faculties of ratiocination and feeling have to work together in

9. *Sadhana*, chapter on *Realisation in Action*, page 129 & seq.

unison if we expect to understand the plays—a combination that does not produce symbolism of the highest type but an allegory of the common variety. That Tagore understood this, is evident from his two explanatory statements in which he sought to clarify his meaning—a comprehension of which in itself is more intellectual than it was in his previous plays. When Tagore had sought to slash the world of ratiocination and actuality he did it by means that belonged to the world he was seeking to slash; the occasional immortal visitations that Nandita and Abhijit get are washed off by the many lines in the plays that read like Shavian propaganda. Moreover, the plays give only one side of our experience of machinery and though the inner struggle was there, the outer struggle took the upper hand. The treatment that Tagore gave to the theme was the result of a conscious effort to accommodate certain trends of international thought into drama. Or, to be more precise, it may be said that in the plays of this period, there is a mixture of allegory and realism, where the machinery is an epitome while the characters are natural, preserving in between them an artistic consistency that is remarkable.

In the next cycle of plays, we notice Rabindranath celebrating the seasons of the year, giving to Nature a dramatic scope different from what he had given her in his earlier plays. In his previous plays, Nature was used to suggest the world surrounding the action; now Nature came to have the importance she had in the Sanskrit dramas¹⁰. Here he gave to Nature the expression of certain emotions by means of his peculiar imagery and discovered in her a certain human affinity that was the product of a deep personal contact. The playlets of this period have, therefore, little action in the common sense of the word and have rarely the catastrophe that belongs to tragedy. Rabindranath here for the first time shows the extent to which Nature can through the call of the seasons help us to regain our lost bliss and to mingle with the Infinite that is within us. The festive appearance is already there, and also the sanctity of the ritual; Rabindranath could very conveniently in plays like *Basantotsav*, *Barshamangal*, *Seshbarshan*, *Nataraj*, *Nabin* and *Sundar* use a kind of symbolism that transcended the limits of allegory and lived not only by its atmosphere but by a musical repetition of intensely poetic images and imageries. *Sal* trees, *bokul* trees and flowers sing in chorus at the advent of the spring or at the commencement of the rains. These natural objects have sometimes been associated with arbitrary qualities but very soon they have been enriched by tender human values that endear these seasons to us. It is then converted into a mystical experience where Nature breathes the spirit of joy and freedom in mankind and does not become, as in Synge, a protagonist. Nature remains a continuously surprising source of imageries whose combinations conjure up ideas that do not entirely belong to the region of drama but of lyrical poetry. Nature does not merely develop a

background or create an atmosphere as in *Sarodotsav* or *Phalguni*; she has a distinct existence that thrives on human affinity and human response. For, with Rabindranath natural beauty is not merely one of the many forms of beauty that he loves, it is an actor recognised by us, an actor who has the pulsation of life and rhythm of movement as much as human beings have. The most important point about Rabindranath's treatment of nature, particularly in the season-plays, is that he has intensified the almost mystic appeal of Nature by the profusion of songs and by all other means of suggestion which he with a prolonged stage experience could think of. As in the plays of Synge, Nature here does not reveal herself in terms of character, thought and fate, though Nature without human touch has no significance either.

From the point of view of dramatic technique too, this period is remarkable for its plentiful use of songs, even at a jeopardy to the dramatic moment or moments. The prose dialogue was also being reduced to its barest minimum and the dance was being employed to clarify the delicate moments of emotional tension that the songs contained. The tempo of the drama concentrated itself in song to seek its outlet again in dance.

The development from the drama of the seasons to dance dramas was therefore logical. In technique it asserted in a new way the virtue of convention and formality, exploiting to the full the expressiveness of design in speech, movement, stage-setting and music. Tagore's ambition was naturally the enhancement of expression that sought its freedom from the conflict between the lyric poet and the dramatist. The verbal contents of the play came to be concentrated in songs from which it again wanted to go out to the dance and the following statement is fairly indicative of the change: "The events of human life in their outward aspects are all displayed as movement. So when any event of an outstanding importance has to be portrayed, it is but natural that its movement should be given a corresponding dignity by the addition of rhythmic grace. The dance here is just giving of rhythmic prominence to the events of a story, keeping in the background or leaving altogether the words. In drama where the words are metrical, it is surely inconsistent to leave the movements realistic. Our very word for drama or play *nataka* shows that the dance was its essential feature."¹¹ This not merely involved the acceptance of a new dramatic technique born out of a consideration for the poet in the theatre but of a fuller acceptance and realisation of the use of symbolism in the theatre. As regards Rabindranath's attitude towards the theatre it would be wise to recollect that almost from the very commencement of his dramatic career, he was never an admirer of the modern attempt at making scenic representation usurp the place of imagination. His opinion was that the deliberate pursuit of scenic realism was antagonistic to the law of dramatic art and that the dramatic illusion must

10. Creative Unity; chapter entitled "The Message of the Forest."

11. *Vishva Bharati Quarterly*, Vol. 6, No. 1, pp. 2-3.

ultimately spring from the active and unrestricted exercise of the imaginative faculty of the author, actor and audience combined. Such an approach to the theatre was perhaps because of the influence of the Sanskrit tradition, on the one hand, and of the demands of his poetic temperament on the other. But it was essential that an equilibrium was established between the poetic drama of his type and the craze for 'action' that was in Bengal without which no drama could be successful on the public stage of Bengal twenty years ago. Moreover, the Dramatic School at Santiniketan was bubbling with a new enthusiasm for fine arts, an enthusiasm whose outcome was in the shape of highly collaborative plays like his dance-dramas where the poet, the dancer and the musician combined to make the plays what they were. 'Action' in these dance-dramas came to be inherent in the character of things and the realistic fidelity made way for the profundity of emotions that exist only in solitude and in silence. And the Poet's effect flowed finally from an imagery of emotion that is intense to the complex use of different media towards a single end—and effect about which Tagore had very little doubts himself, thanks to his acquaintance with the Javanese and No plays.

Such an approach to the theatre and such an use of 'action' immediately necessitated a peculiar assembling and ordering as symbols which as noted already added in its turn a function to action itself. Instead of treating a plot as something that illuminates human character, Tagore identifies action with emotion—action that does not flow from and is not entirely dependent on character but invokes instead some of the most subtle emotions of the soul-life. Truly speaking* Tagore dwells on mood, the mood of suspense, of suffering, of beauty expressed in terms of the submission of 'the soul to the all-enveloping mystery. Not that 'action' was, really speaking, concentrated in the very movement of thought, in the progress of mood, which in their turn created an element of the unseen life of the soul presented not only in an atmosphere charged with symbolism but through a medium of expression that is remarkably symbolic—we mean, dance. Of this form Tagore indicated some new possibilities in his dance-dramas where dances, unlike some of his previous plays, were not merely illustrative of the verbal contents of the play or its songs, but became a complete imaginative symbol of all that Nataraja symbolises. *Natir Puja* is perhaps the most important play from that point of view because there the dance is a part of the dramatic incident itself and so becomes a crucial factor in the development of the play. Dance there is not merely a peg on which the motivation hangs but is a symbolism of the transcendence of an aesthetic world. Dance, poetry, song and colour form a complete harmony which affects the complex aesthetic life of Srimati so that she is herself freed from her own limited being and becomes a part of the universal existence. Later in the dance dramas of *Chitrangada*, *Chandalika* and

Shyama, it was through the dance movements that realistic 'action' was sought to be portrayed—as a matter of fact it went so far that, as Mr. D. P. Mukherji has admitted, in certain scenes "dancing attained self-government." In these plays Tagore gave through dance, as Yeats did in some of his plays, the expression to certain emotion in a way that seemed to strike at the roots of dramatic convention. But, "to have been more dramatic in the conventional sense would have done less for drama."

Yet, in spite of all these Tagore's plays were half as much successful on the public stage of Bengal as were the plays of some of the second-rate dramatists. This has induced critics to say, that in spite of all the theoretical peculiarities that we might have in Tagore's plays, they are fundamentally deficient in certain qualities that are theatre's peculiarly own. It is a difficult point to face yet a point that has to be squarely met. The answer would however be clear if it is recognised firstly that by one straight jump Tagore carried the dramatic tradition of Bengal so much forward that the people could not equally advance in time—a statement that is substantiated by the growing popularity of Tagore's plays today. The other reason is more complicated and technical than the first one. Tagore's plays reveal a peculiar progress in the development of form in the sense that instead of going to passion and characterization for the making of his plays, he relied on a kind of a symbolism which thrived on suggestion. It was perhaps also because of the fact that against the real world of drama that his contemporaries used in their plays, Tagore used in his, a purely mental world where the progression was from outward to inward, from a world of intellect to a world of mood or perhaps, an ideal world of the spirit. The other difficulty with the plays of Tagore was the dominating interest of a personal conflict that they contained—a conflict whose true appeal is not of the nature of a mass appeal, as we have in theatre, but of the type of a contact that an individual establishes with his personal deity. This personal feeling the poet can hardly share with the audience, particularly when the "tragedy does not become the tragedy of a community but remains the tragedy of the individual"

"A poet," as R. Peacock has admitted, "trying to create his own tragic values enters the arena of opinion; his audience loses its cohesion and emotional unity; we disagree with his opinion and are insensible to his tragedy."¹²

The difficulty is much more intensified when the conflict runs between the poet's imagination and his auditor's intellect. Rabindranath's contribution to world's dramatic technique would, however, be always remembered.*

12. Ronald Peacock : *The Poet in the Theatre*, p. 130.

* This study is based on Tagore's original plays in Bengali though the statements made are generally true of the English versions as well. The remarks made on the dramatic texture of the Bengali plays would however not be true of the English counterparts which are not literal translations but re-written versions of the original plays, where the original arrangement of scenes has been freely changed.

THE BATTLE FOR FOOD

By SARATHI NATH SET, M.A.,

SINCE the termination of hostilities, the most complex issue of the hour has perhaps arisen in the shape of world food-shortage for the entire population on earth. The statesmen, all the world over, face the challenge, nationally and internationally, bravely and intelligently, with an eye to the demands of the large scarcity areas over the vast regions of Eurasia. On April 2, 1946, the British Government issued a White Paper which stated the most alarming position of world food. Production of bread grains (wheat and rye) in Continental Europe excluding U.S.S.R. during 1945 autumn amounted to only 31 million tons, compared with 46 million tons in 1944 and a pre-war average of 59 million tons. The import requirements of Europe for the year 1945-46 (June-July) amounted to 15 million tons of bread grains compared with the pre-war imports of 3.7 million tons. In India, China, France, North Africa and South Africa and certain other countries import needs for 1945-46 amounted to 10 million tons compared with a pre-war import of 2.4 million tons. In the two principal rice-exporting countries, Burma and Siam production in 1946 is estimated at only 4.9 million tons against a pre-war average of 3.4 million tons. The current consumption levels in calories per head per day in different countries may be considered in understanding the trends of the world food situation. Below is given the table :

Calories Consumption for the Whole Population		
Countries	Average for the year 1945	Percent of pre-war
United States	3,150	102
Canada	3,000	100
Australia	2,900	97
Denmark and Sweden	2,850/2,900	90/95
United Kingdom	2,850	95
France, Belgium, Holland, Norway	2,300/2,500	75/85
UNRAA countries (Greece, Yugoslavia, Czechoslovakia and Italy)	1,800/2,200	70/75
Germany, Austria including four zones of Germany	1,600/1,800	50/60
India, China and other semi-developed areas	1,500/2,000	

—Kessing's *Contemporary Archives*, p. 7840.

It may be relevant to point out that North America leads in the increase in caloric production with an expansion of 30 per cent over the pre-war standard and South America is second with an increase of 17 per cent. (*The Food for the World* by Chicago University Press, 1945, p. 153). Moreover, the fact must be faced that

"The people of India are only somewhat more poorly fed in years of famine than in years of relative abundance. China suffers acutely from various specific deficiencies and from the cataclysms of periodic famine. Japan's pre-war consumption had not approached most Western European countries in terms of nutritional adequacy." (p. 163)

To fight the famine crisis relatively for a short and long period over the large scarcity areas of the world,

a machinery was born during the war in the shape of the Combined Food Board set up by the U.S.A., Great Britain and Canada. Soon it became clear that the machinery was inadequate to meet the enormous problems at hand. A fresh approach came from the United Nations' Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia in the dark days of 1943, that laid down :

"There must be expansion of the whole world economy to provide the purchasing power sufficient to maintain an adequate diet for all." (*U. S. State Department Bulletin*, June 19, 1943).

During the first conference of the United Nations' Food and Agriculture Organisation held at Quebec from October 16 to November 1, 1945, President Mr. Lester B. Pearson (Canadian Minister in Washington), while presenting a draft letter to the Governments of the nations represented on or associated with FAO, gave a warning that if through "apathy or ignorance" Governments failed to give the organisation full support, "it would not succeed in its goal of ending avertible hunger and malnutrition throughout the world." (*K.C.A.*, p. 7874). The matter did not rest there. An emergency conference of the FAO called by the Director-General (Sir John Boyd Orr) on account of the prevailing critical world food position was held in Washington from May 20 to 27, 1946, under the chairmanship of Mr. Cliton Anderson, U. S. Secretary of Agriculture. The Conference instructed Sir John Boyd Orr to proceed with plans for a permanent world food authority with executive powers to control world food scarcities and to distribute surplus to be submitted for approval by the full FAO conference, (*K., C.A.*, p. 7988). During the second full session of the FAO held at Copenhagen from September 2 to 13, 1946, the Director-General observed that

"There had never been enough food in the world, that before the war there were thousand million people consuming less than 2,250 calories per head (by contrast the present standard in Great Britain, even with the prevailing food shortage, was 2,750 calories per head)."

The Director-General simultaneously issued a report for the betterment of nutritional standards throughout the world.

Based on data from 70 countries covering 90 per cent of the world's population the report recommended, on the assumption that the world's population would have increased 25 per cent in 1960, the following percentage increases by that year in 8 basic food commodities :

Cereals	..	21 per cent
Roots and tubers	..	27 "
Sugar	..	12 "
Fats	..	34 "
Pulses	..	80 "
Fruits and Vegetables	..	163 "
Meat	..	46 "
Milk	..	100 "

The report said that

"About one-half of the world's population was subsisting before the war at a level of food consumption which was not high enough to maintain normal health to allow for normal growth of children or to furnish enough to energy for normal work."—(Kessing's *Contemporary Archives*, p. 8195).

As regards food cereals (wheat, rye and rice) world production during 12 months ended June 1946 was 340 million tons, compared to an average annual pre-war output of 410 million tons while world consumption during the period was 355 million tons. The production for the 12 months period July 1946 to June 1947 was estimated at 320 million tons, which though an increase, was still 12.4 per cent below world demand.

Rice allocations for the first half of 1947 were announced by the International Emergency Food Council in Washington on January 2, 1947, as follows:

India	..	..	..	410,000 tons
China	..	..	..	245,000 "
Malaya	..	..	..	225,000 "
Ceylon	..	..	..	200,000 "
British responsibilities in the Pacific				
Islands, Middle East and West				
Indies	..	..	..	58,700 "
Korea	..	..	..	50,000 "
South Africa	..	..	..	7,000 "

The I.E.F.C. emphasised that world rice supplies were far below even minimum subsistence requirements of nations where rice was the major element of diet, the total amount available for allocation (1,682,600) being 50 per cent less than the stated requirements of the countries and areas for which allocations were recommended. (K, C.A., p. 8377).

Later on, a conference organised under the initiative of Mr. Fitzgerald, Secretary-General of the I.E.F.C., known as the International Cereals Conference met in Paris from July 9 to 13, 1947, thirty-four nations being represented by their ministers of Food and Agriculture or by experts. Dr. Fitzgerald emphasised that for 1947-48 there would be an estimated deficit of 18 million tons between import requirements (50 million tons of all sorts of cereals) in deficit countries all over the world and prospective exports (32 million tons) from surplus countries. He conceived that programmes of utilisation must be set in motion immediately and carried through relentlessly, if the nations wanted to keep to a minimum the crippling results of the world food shortage. (K, C.A., p. 8377).

So the story goes on. During the third annual conference of the FAO attended by delegates from 39 nations and by observers from more than 30 organisations and non-member Governments was held at Geneva from August 25 to September 12, 1947, under the chairmanship of Dr. F. T. Wahlen (Switzerland). In his report on the world food situation presented on August 27, Sir John Boyd Orr, the Director-General of FAO, gave a warning that during the coming winter and spring millions in Europe would be "worse fed than during the war," that there was little hope of improvement in Asia where "starvation had long been

the lot of the majority of the population," and that failing far-reaching measures to increase food supplies there was small chance of avoiding "widespread starvation and a third world war."

During the fourth conference held on November 15 to November 29, 1948, Washington, the new Director-General of FAO, Mr. Norris E. Dodd declared that though improved crops in 1948 had 'dulled the edge' of the food crisis, the position was still critical and there still remained an extreme dependence on North American production—an unbalanced situation upon which the world could not risk easily. For the world as a whole, he said, there was only nine-tenths as much food per head as before the war, and only three-fourths as much was now moving in international trade. Mr. Dodd emphasised that despite much progress towards rehabilitation, the pre-war level of food production would be inadequate, since each day there were 55,000 extra mouths to feed in the world, while there are yet no signs of 55,000 more bowls of rice or 55,000 more loaves of bread being made ready for consumption. It must be remembered that during the last decade alone, the world's population has grown by 200 millions in spite of the destruction and carnage of the greatest war in history. (K, C.A., p. 9815).

During the first quarter of the year 1949, several regional conferences on the problems facing Asia and the Far East were held so as to focus the attention of the member-nations of F.A.O. on the stupendous tasks ahead. Recently, the International Rice Commission held at Bangkok, the F.A.O. Regional Office for Asia, was attended by fifteen countries, namely, Burma, Ceylon, Cuba, Ecuador, Egypt, France, India, Italy, Mexico, Netherlands, Pakistan, the Philippines, Siam, the United Kingdom and the United States of America. This Commission was vitally interested in encouraging co-operative action in matters relating to the production, conservation, distribution and consumption of rice (excepting matters relating to international trade). The pressing need for co-operative work along lines proposed for the Rice Commission is emphasised in a recent F.A.O. bulletin on the rice situation, which reports that after four post-war years this staple food of virtually half the world's population continues to be in critically short supply with a danger of starvation ever present among the millions who depend almost exclusively on rice for their life.

F.A.O. Director-General Norris E. Dodd while opening the first meeting of the newly organised Indo-Pacific Fisheries Council at Singapore on March 24, 1949 last, reminded the Council delegates that the war against starvation and want is a total war, and it must be fought simultaneously on many fronts—such as production, distribution, conservation, nutrition, etc.—all inter-related and inter-dependent. The rich resources of the seas, as yet virtually untapped, Mr. Dodd said, promise the quickest result in the battle against starvation and the disease and misery which follow in its train. In the Indo-Pacific area there is a general shortage of animal protein in the diet of

the people. To make up for this deficiency greater use for fish products is hoped for.

It is in view of the world shortages in general and particularly those over Asia and the Far East, that the vigorous drive for rehabilitation calls for a global strategy. F.A.O.'s report on the state of Food and Agriculture, 1948 shows that the present production efforts of F.A.O. member countries are not enough to cope with the world's long-term needs, particularly in the low-income areas of the world. The Far East, for example, which contains half the world's population living on one-fifth of the world's land surface, has been drawing particular attention of the F.A.O.'s experts since the World War II. It is a fact that the areas having little cultivated land but with a large population, have to depend overwhelmingly upon its own food production as far as possible. Imports, even of the magnitude of recent years, provide only a fraction of the total food supplies of countries like China and India. The slight increase in wheat production in these areas compared with pre-war has been offset by the fall in rice production, specially in Burma, China, Indo-China and Indonesia. It is an encouraging sign, however, that recovery in rice cultivation has proceeded satisfactorily in Burma and Siam, but less so in Indo-China (perhaps on account of political unrest). In Burma, the 1947-48 crop reached 5.4 million metric tons of paddy, a notable advance on the previous year and comparing well with pre-war average of 7.0 million tons. However, because of the increase in consumption of rice inside Burma, exports are only 50 per cent of the pre-war level. In Siam, although the production has fully recovered, more is being consumed locally and exports have been held back partly on account of the low prices prevailing at the time. Prices have now been adjusted upwards and exports from Siam approaching a million tons may be forthcoming in 1948-49. In Indo-China, general disorganization and economic insecurity have discouraged production of crops on commercial scale so that the output of rice, maize, sugar, coffee and pepper continues at a very low level. In Indonesia the output of crops for local consumption has recovered to 70-80 per cent of pre-war, although there is difficulty in assuring equitable distribution between the various islands, particularly in respect of rice. In the Philippines, the recovery of the general pre-war production plus reasonably adequate rice imports kept supplies at a steady level throughout 1947-48 and prevented the sharp price increase associated with the period of scarcity which usually occurs just before harvests. It is clear from the above that in the five exporting countries the central agricultural problem has been the rehabilitation of food production for export. As regards the food-importing countries, Ceylon and Malaya are striving to diversify their economies and to become less dependent on imports of food. Before the war Ceylon imported over 70 per cent of its rice requirements. During the war and since, it had been obliged to substitute wheat for rice imports to a large extent, but the combined quantity

of cereals remains about the same. As elsewhere in the Far East, production of root crops, vegetables and fruits in Ceylon and Malaya is reported to be higher than in the pre-war period. Malaya has always relied on imports of about 60 per cent of its rice supply and like Ceylon, has had to import wheat in place of rice during and since the war.

In the four main exporting countries, namely, the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, the problem is to keep production from getting ahead of requirements. Although technically the most advanced in the world, they can still expand production under favourable circumstances. But over the less developed regions like Africa and Latin America, the problem is how to organize and to expand food and other agricultural production. There is also a shortage of technicians and a need for large-scale investment. The central problem in Europe on the other hand lies in restoration of international trade so that Europe can produce and exchange industrial and other products for food-stuffs and raw materials overseas. If Europe's foreign trade cannot be extended, she must concentrate on programmes of agricultural self-sufficiency, with possibly reduced food standards. It is a pleasure to note that in 1948-49 there will be the largest world export from surplus countries of foodgrains since 1930-31, amounting to 38 million metric tons as compared with 35 million last year and 29 million the year before.

It is clear from the above Survey that the world opinion has been more or less stirred to the vital tasks ahead. The countries or nations, geographically fortunate to meet their own requirements, have been playing their part to solve the continuing deterioration over the large scarcity areas of the globe. It is in view of the world economy as a whole that an international food policy must be stated with the goodwill and promotion of world co-operation at a high level.

Inevitably, India (the Indian Union and Pakistan) has more or less been able to grapple with the situation by the undergoing terrible ordeals or regimentation, controls and austerity plans since the year 1943. It is a fact that the partition has been tremendously affecting the food economy of the two dominions since August 15, 1947. The pre-partition India annually produced the following among others for her requirements:

Cereals	..	..	60.0	million tons.
Pulses	..	..	7.5	" "
Fats & oils	..	..	1.9	" "
Fruits	..	..	6.0	" "
Vegetables	..	..	9.0	" "
Milk	..	..	23.0	" "
Meat, Eggs & Fish				

In contrast with the poor production of India, the position of the privileged nations like the U.S.A., Canada and South Africa as compared with the basic period of 1935-39, is interesting:

The percentage increases being	
Cereals ..	106
Fruits and Vegetables ..	109
Edible Oil and Crop ..	123
Sugar Crops ..	105

—
Total Crops .. 107

Generally speaking, the Indian agriculture is limited with poor yield per acre. Below is given a table :-

Rice :	India ..	600 lbs.
	China ..	1,400 "
	U.S.A. ..	1,450 "
	Egypt ..	2,000 "
	Japan ..	2,300 "
	Italy ..	3,000 "
Wheat :	India ..	800 "
	(Stationary for many decades)	
	Germany ..	2,200 lbs.
	Italy ..	1,350 "

It explains that India continues to be tied up with a type of agriculture economy that needs an immediate change. The advanced countries of the West bear testimony to the fact that concerted attack with all the offensive weapons of agricultural science, soil conservation, afforestation, irrigation, better seed, better implements, the use of organic and inorganic fertilisers, better quality livestock, reformed credit facilities and establishment of extension service is the crying need of the hour for the agriculture-world. For many decades past India has been a case of arrested development. Her potentialities are great and her problems are great too. The agricultural problem over the two dominions is, in brief, to intensify production at the maximum possible rate because, even if considerable numbers of people can be given occupation in the developed industries there will still remain so many on the land that only the most intensive farming can give them adequate incomes. (*Food for the World*, p. 184.)

It is relevant to point out that

"According to a recent estimate 81 per cent of the world's population have an average real income of less than the equivalent of \$10 per week per breadwinner, and about 53 per cent less than \$4 per week per breadwinner. Only in Argentine, Australia, Canada, Great Britain, New Zealand, Switzerland and the United States which contain between them about 10 per cent of the world's population is the income \$20 per week per breadwinner or more."—*International Labour Review*, January, 1944, "Social Aspects of a Public Investment Policy" by D. Christie Tait.

Be that as it may, the Indian Union has been alive to the stupendous tasks facing the reconstruction of agriculture as a whole. The present Cabinet has been able to overcome the famine-crisis the Indian Union passes through. Viewed objectively, the food policy of the Government that continues to pursue one of rigid control over supplies and distribution was bound up with the world food situation during the six years of war. The present position is that India spent on

imported food-grains to the tune of Rs. 80 crores in 1945-46 in foreign exchange against a total earning of Rs. 270 crores, and Rs. 100 crores in 1946-47 against our total foreign earnings of Rs. 300 crores. Against the background of the colossal expenditures, the fact remains that the Indian Union has been living on a diet of 10 ozs or 4 ozs (in some places) per head per day. It is in view of the national food crisis confronting the three hundred million souls that the Dominion's Food Minister appointed a Food Grains Committee to examine the food policy of the country in the light of the demands of a free nation. The Food-grains Policy Committee emphasises the increased annual production of 10 million tons to be achieved through large-multi-purpose projects which will provide assured irrigation, intensive efforts to raise the production from the cultivable area by increased use of water, manure and improved seeds, and the development of cultivable waste land. The expected increase in production from multi-purpose projects is 4 million tons from the existing food production plans of Provinces and States within the next five years, 3 million tons and the balance is to be bridged by the reclamation and cultivation of cultivable waste lands of all types.

Very recently, an ambitious project to make India self-sufficient in food supplies within three years was announced in Parliament by the Minister for Food and Agriculture. The plan was that barring unforeseen calamities and the need for central reserves, no food-grain should be imported after 1951. By reclaiming nearly 800,000 acres of a cultivable waste land, sinking tube wells and diverting some of the land now under surplus crops, it was intended to extend cultivation and produce larger quantity of food-grains. Furthermore, cultivation was to be intensified in areas already served by perennial irrigation through improved seeds, organic manure and artificial fertilizers. It is to be hoped that the scheme while being treated on war-time emergency basis, may wipe off India's food deficit by 10 per cent by the end of 1951.—A Newsagency's despatch from New Delhi on March 19, 1949.

It may be stated here that India imported 28.4 million tons of food-grains costing about Rs. 130 crores and entered into eight agreements with foreign countries in 1948 (Food Minister's Report). Of these agreements, three were with Pakistan, two with Australia, and one each with Argentina, U.S.S.R. and Yugoslavia. In view of the limitations of foreign exchange resources and working on the assumption that the Provinces and the States would procure more this year, it is proposed to import 4 million tons. It would be possible to reduce this figure, if the procurement shows better results.

We must admit that the development of world agriculture lies in several lines of international policy. The students of world affairs have been aware of the important meeting of the world Food Council held in Washington from November 4 to 11, 1947, las. Sir John Boyd Orr while addressing the Council gave a warning of a possible "complete breakdown of the

structure of human society" and called for a "bold and far-reaching policy" in dealing with current food shortages and future "unmarketable surpluses" adding that "if the nations' efforts were turned to agricultural production as they had been to war purposes a world of hunger could be turned into a world of plenty within 5 years . . ." Taking into account the present war situation he said that "there was no hope that the present shortage will end with the 1948 harvest," and stocks were so low even with the bumper cereal harvest of 1948 that many countries might be forced to continue bread rationing through 1949.—(K. C.A., p. 8971.)

The outstanding fact must be faced that "freedom of access to food from the world's great surplus areas and freedom from need of food are nothing but empty phrases unless they are made workable by opening the gates of the wealthier nations to a prosperous foreign trade. . . . The main obstacle to the introduction of such an international exchange of food within the world economy lies in the economic nationalism and protectionism which are so deeply ingrained in the history of America as well as that of other nations."—(*Food for the World*, p. 330).

Sir John Boyd Orr (now Lord Boyd Orr) is probably right:

"If immediate and long range plans to free the world from hunger are carried through by the U. N. Organisation of which both the supplying and

receiving countries are members the provision of food can be put on a business footing."—(K. C.A., p. 8971).

The tragedy of the situation lies in the fact that the formation of certain blocks of nations for purposes of strengthening their bargaining position with other blocs of nations perhaps with interests apparently not common to one another faces the less developed countries like the Indian Union, Pakistan, China, etc., in the International plane. So far any approach to the international food policy has not been practicable in the larger context of the present world situation. Sooner or later (perhaps it would be sooner than later) an international food policy may emerge from the sum-total of national policies, hitherto pursued by the wealthier and less privileged nations alike. The trends of national policies have more or less been aimed at the attainment of self-sufficiency of the great powers who constantly live in an atmosphere of fear or the anticipation of risk of another war and reliance in that emergency upon domestic food resources. It may be pointed out that constructive international food policy must begin at home, nowhere more than among the great powers. It remains to be seen whether the great powers would adjust themselves to the most stupendous of tasks of human welfare which is to be achieved with an international food policy intelligently and intellectually at a high level.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Books in the principal European and Indian languages are reviewed in *The Modern Review*. But reviews of all books sent cannot be guaranteed. Newspapers, periodicals, school and college text-books, pamphlets, reprints of magazine articles, addresses, etc., are not noticed. The receipt of books received for review cannot be acknowledged, nor can any enquiries relating thereto answered. No criticism of book-reviews and notices is published.

EDITOR, *The Modern Review*.

ENGLISH

HINDU CULTURE IN GREATER INDIA: By Swami Sadanand. Published by All-India Arya (Hindu) Dharma Sewa Sangha, Delhi. 1949. First edition. Price Rs. 2.

The rise and expansion of Indian culture throughout the vast regions of South-East Asia in the first millennium of the Christian era is one of the greatest historical movements of the ancient world and fills one of the most glorious chapters in the annals of our ancient land. Unfortunately, few even among our educated countrymen are acquainted with the outlines of this grand movement, and fewer still have cared to undertake pilgrimages to the lands affected by the same. Swami Sadanand has qualified himself for the task of bringing this little known topic to the knowledge of his countrymen by making a number of journeys to Indo-China and Indonesia in course of which he inspected, with intelligent, if not scholarly interest, some of the ancient sites and important museums scattered throughout this region. In the present work the author, while making good use of the

material available in English and occasionally enlivening his narrative with records of his reminiscences, has succeeded in presenting a popular account of the state of Indian culture (past as well as present) in the countries of South-East Asia with the important and lamentable exception of Burma. The interest of the author's writing is enhanced by his quotation of some extant Sanskrit ritual texts and ancient Sanskrit inscriptions. A number of very interesting illustrations dealing not only with the art and architecture of "Greater India," but also with its social and religious life is another welcome feature of this work. Considering the good quality of the print, paper and get-up, the price is remarkably low.

We propose to make a few remarks. The author, strangely enough, uses as his source-book for "the ancient history of Kamboja and its people in pre-historic times" the tales of the Mahabharata, the Harivamsa and the Ramayana as well as the references in the Brahmanda Purana and other works (pp. 70-85). From these data he draws the conclusion, unworthy of a serious student, that "the Aryans in the Dwapara Yuga at the time of the Mahabharata, carried into

distant Cambodia their flag of conquest, and along with it, Hindu civilisation and culture" (p. 82). Of a piece with the above is the author's inference that (apparently in the same Dwapara Yuga) "the Kambojas (*sic*) from Cambodia" along with the Yavanas from the Greek colonies on the North-West of Aryavarta, the Sakas from the banks of the Oxus and other peoples "came to take part in the dreadful conflict of Kurukshetra" (p. 80). *Per contra*, it is odd to find the author referring to "the Chinese legends" of the embassy sent by Rudravarman, the then king of Kamboja (read Kambuja) to the Imperial Court in 539 A.D. The treacherous deduction from similarity of sounds which is shown by the author's systematic identification of Kambuja (ancient name for Cambodia) with the Kambojas of Sanskrit literature is illustrated with equal crudeness by his derivation of the island-name Bali from "the demon-king of Indian mythology" who "had his seat here" (p. 11). Some of the author's statements are loose and misleading as when he characterises the art of Angkor Wat Temple as resembling that of Ajanta (p. 93), or describes "kings Jaya Varma, (read Jayavarman II), Sorya Varma (read Suryavarman II) and such others" of Angkor fame as professing the Vaidic faith or that which is now known as the Hindu religion" (*ibid*). Instances of positive inaccuracies are the repeated description of Borobudur as a temple (p. 30 etc.), and the identification of Angkor Wat with Nagor Thom (p. 92) as well as the reference to the paintings on its walls (p. 96). Misprints are numerous and the transliteration of proper names which are invariably printed without diacritical marks is irregular. "Mulasaraswatiwadani-kaya" of p. 53 is a grievous slip. In his account of Borneo, the author fails even to put together the scanty traces of Indian culture, but contents himself in the main with giving a long (and wholly unnecessary) description of the aboriginal inhabitants. The complete absence of maps is very much to be regretted.

U. N. GHOSHAL

TO THE PROTAGONISTS OF PAKISTAN: By Mahatma Gandhi. *Gandhi Series Vol. V. Edited and published by Anand T. Hingorani. Sole distributors, Rupa and Co., Calcutta. Pp. xvi+268. Price Rs. 6-8.*

Sri Hingorani has been doing singularly useful work by editing Gandhiji's writings in classified form in various subjects. In the present volume, which forms the fifth of his series, he has brought together all of Gandhiji's ideas with regard to Pakistan, before it came into being. The writings cover a period from November, 1939, to January, 1947. The Appendix contains valuable relevant material in the shape of the Muslim League's Lahore Resolution, the Cripps' Proposal, the A.I.C.C. resolution on self-determination, the Quit-India resolution, a report of several correspondences between Desai and Liaquat Ali and so on.

The book will prove indispensable not only to students of Gandhian literature, but also to those interested in the history of current times.

SELF-RESTRAINT Vs. SELF-INDULGENCE: By M. K. Gandhi. Navajivan Publishing House, Ahmedabad. 1947. Pp. viii + 232. Price Rs. 2.

Gandhiji held strong views about sex and sexual morality. And, we believe, for one reason or another, this collection of his writings on the subject has commanded the largest circulation and sale. The publishers have now issued the former two parts in the shape of one single volume, which has been priced moderately.

GANDHI AND THE YOUTH: By S. Ramathan. Sole distributors, Thacker and Co., Ltd., Bombay. 1947. Pp. viii+112. Price Re. 1-8.

The author, who was a minister under the Congress Government when it first accepted office, is obviously a very learned man. He was once responsible for organizing khadi work in Madras. Later on, he travelled widely, and saw the shape of things in the modern world in several countries outside India, including Russia. He is clearly of opinion that, in spite of his correct insistence upon non-violence, Gandhiji has practically acted as the brake upon India's industrial and social progress through his insistence upon the *charkha* and the *Gita*, two things which stand for technological backwardness and racial discrimination, which, according to him, is the root of the caste system, and the central teaching of the *Gita*. The author has many bitter things to say about the persons and cliques which surrounded Gandhiji during his lifetime. The recital of certain experiences makes him angry; and he ends his book by appealing to the youthful forces of India to shed the hypocrisy and the backward economic and social doctrines popularized by Gandhiji, so that India can freely march abreast with the progressive forces of the world.

NIRMAL LUMAE BOSE

NETAJI SUBHAS CHANDRA: By Jitendra Nath Ghosh, Advocate. Published by Orient Book Company, Calcutta. Pages 178. Price Rs. 6.

The book is not a biography of the great Bengali leader in the sense as it is ordinarily understood. The author limits his study in Part I in elucidating the political philosophy of Netaji and by pointed arguments throws in bold relief his ideological conflict with Gandhiji and through him, with the then All-India Congress Committee. Advocate Ghosh delineates one after another a series of chronological political developments and in each case emphasises how the political views of Subhas Chandra based on his keen foresight and sound political wisdom always vindicated themselves when the time for action came. The author also gives one the impression that the great leader was never fully recognised and appreciated in his own country, nay he was cried down and condemned and branded as a supporter of violence in some quarters.

Matters have perhaps been too simplified and one-sided in places. India was supposed to have missed the bus by letting slip the extremely favourable international situation that arose out of the second World War and our erstwhile rulers being already knee-deep in it, could ill afford to face an India in turmoil. Gandhiji was violently criticised for not launching the Non-co-operation Movement at that opportune moment. Surely Gandhiji had his reasons. Did he withhold the Movement only to oblige our enemy (our rulers) in peril on the score of reciter of his belief in unadulterated non-violence or when he smelt violence in the air, he rightly apprehended that in case of a movement the country would go off in violence (which it in places actually did in the 1942-upheaval in spite of Gandhiji) and would get out of control of the sober element in it? The outcome was very likely to be one far removed from Gandhiji's cherished ideal. There are weighty arguments on each side and opinions may quite naturally vary.

Non-violence was not a creed with Netaji as it was with Gandhiji. Netaji recognised and accepted non-violence as the only handy and effective weapon available for a fight from within India. His role in the I.N.A. clearly shows that he had no pangs to fight evil back with evil if that was the quickest and most effective means of putting an end to it.

In ultimate analysis, their ideological conflict is the conflict between the real and the ideal. It is extremely

difficult for the ideal to escape adverse criticism of rational scrutiny when practical application of its principle is called for, specially in the highly complicated political sphere where nothing succeeds like immediate success.

Part II of the book deals with the history of the Azad Hind Government and reads like a thrilling story. In Part III, consisting of a few pages only, the status of the I.N.A. is examined in the eye of the international law. The get-up of the book is respectable. A few printing mistakes found here and there should have been avoided.

NARAYAN C. CHANDA

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE INDIAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: By Bijoy Krishna Bhattacharya. The Book Emporium Ltd., 22/1 Cornwallis Street, Calcutta. Pp. 261.

In English there are a good number of books on the history of the Indian National Congress, and the book under notice is an addition to this. The author tells us in the Preface: "No proper appreciation of an institution is possible if we lift it out of its contemporary environment and judge it in the light of subsequent developments." But strangely enough, he has given only 28 pages out of 261 to the description of the period previous to the start of the Congress, from the Dark Ages to the year previous to 1885. Any account of the Indian National Congress will be incomplete without the proper assessment of the various intellectual, social, economic and political forces that were responsible for the ushering in of the Congress in 1885.

Those written up till now, have either omitted or very scantily referred to this all-important aspect of our political progress. The present volume, too, suffers no less in this respect. The author has, however, presented us with a rapid sketch of the currents and undercurrents of thought moulding the Congress in its variegated and colourful life. The account runs up to 1947. The style of the book is elegant. So far as the affairs of the Congress are concerned, this volume will be helpful to the publicist and the general reader.

JOGESH C. BAGAL

THE A B C OF CENTRAL BANKING WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO INDIA AND HYDERABAD: By Nawab Mir Nawab Jung and S. Kesava Iyengar. Published by the Bangalore Printing and Publishing Co., Ltd. 1945. Pp. xvii + 556. Price Rs. 20.

The book is not an elementary text-book on Central Banking, as its name would apparently imply. The author's mainly intend to show here the necessity and utility of a Central Bank at Hyderabad; its possibilities and prospects. The book suggests the lines along which the Hyderabad State Bank, established in 1912, should seek to develop and ultimately become a "real Reserve Bank of Hyderabad" i.e., a real Central Bank like the Reserve Bank of India. It points out, no doubt, the advantages of central banking in general and discusses its principles and purposes. But this is done chiefly to set up the standard that a central bank should attain and bring out the deficiency by which the State Bank of Hyderabad falls short of the ideal.

The book will not be helpful to our students as a text-book on central banking. But the book will be found interesting to all students of social economics in another way. It throws light on several economic and monetary problems of Hyderabad, and helps us better to understand the monetary organisation of the State.

The book appears over-burdened with extracts; more than two-fifths of the book is filled up with them.

P. C. GHOSH

BENGALI

SUTOR JANMA KATHA: By Swami Viswalmunda. To be had of S. Sailesh Kumar Bose, Vivekananda Silpi Sangha, Po. Ambra (Manbhum). Price Re. 1.

This small book is mainly intended for young boys and girls who will receive from it practical hints and suggestions on the art of preparing woolen thread. The writer's style is easy and simple. Every passage of the book indicates that the author is an adept in the art of story-telling and he knows how to make his subject interesting even to little boys. For this reason, his present work, though full of technical intricacies, reads like a story-book.

NALINI K. BHADRA

HINDI

PRACHIN BHARATIYA SHASAN-PADDHATI: By A. S. Altekar. Bharati Bhandar, Allahabad. Pp. 276. Price Rs. 5.

A valuable treatise on the science and style of government in ancient India from the pen of a person, whose name is a by-word for extensiveness and incisiveness of enquiry. Reading it alongside with the outlines of our New India Constitution, now on the anvil, one is constrained to exclaim Hamlet-wise, "Look at this and look at that," and one cannot help wishing that we would have been wise in grafting some of the fundamental principles adopted and implemented by our ancestors on the Magna Carta of our newly-won freedom.

PUSTAKALAYA: Edited by Rai Mathuraprasad Ramdayal Pandeya and Bholanath (Vimal). Pustak-Jagat, Kadankuan, Patna. Pp. 273. Price Rs. 5-8.

A symposium of twenty-one articles by different contributors on the significance of the Library Movement, the place of the Library as an instrument of popular culture, its objectives and its activities and its management. It is the first book of its kind on the subject and as such, almost indispensable to librarians in cities and in villages.

G. M.

GUJARATI

SHRI RAMAKRISHNA VARTALAP (Parts I and II): By Ratneshwar Bhavanishankar Bhatt. The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad. 1947. Pp. 88 and 310. Price six annas and Rs. 2.

Shri Ramakrishna Paramahansa is known all over the world as one of modern India's saintly sons. His discourses have been published in Bengali in four volumes. These two parts contain all the talks, discourses and addresses of the saint contained in the fourth volume of *Shri Shri Ramakrishna Kathamrita*. The language is so simple, that they have already become popular.

BHARTRIHARI'S NITISHATAK (Text and Translation): By Shantilal Thakkar, M.A. The Society for the Encouragement of Cheap Literature, Ahmedabad 1948. Pp. 80. Price three annas.

It is a remarkable production, remarkable not only for the scholarship displayed by the translator but for the cheap price with an illustrated cover.

BHAKTA ROHIDASJI: By Mangalji Udhavji Shastri. 1948. Pp. 60. Price three annas.

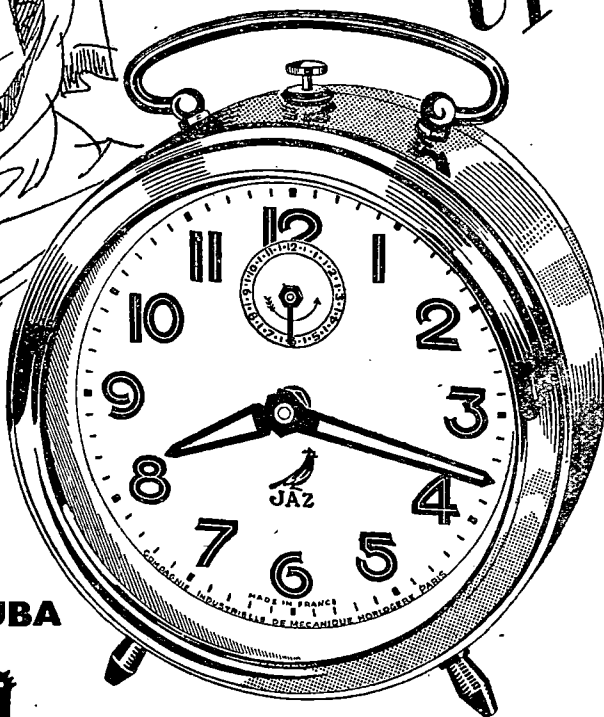
It is a very short and informative biography of the saint, who though he handled animal-hide was one of those accepted by Him as His own, because though he loyally followed his profession, he did not neglect *bhakti* (devotion).

K. M. J.



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Gandhiji's great key of Non-Violence is not much in use in the offices of organised governments, including those of India. But some friends are uniting to give a turn to that key so as to unlock some possibilities, now lying hidden and fallow, for building a World at Peace. Horace Alexander writes in *The Aryan Path*:

In his contribution to Chandrashanker's book of Recollections of Gandhiji, Fenner Brockway records that Gandhiji told some war resisters who met him in London in 1931 that when India was free he would like to take part in a world-wide movement for non-violence. Freedom was delayed and he has not lived to fulfil that hope.

One of the practical steps that he himself was contemplating before his death was a meeting in which he could discuss world problems with men and women from outside India who were trying to witness to the way of non-violence in a violent world.

"Unity is strength," we are told; if the movement for non-violence is to be strong, its adherents in the West need to be united with those of the East.

Western visitors do not come to India expecting to find all India living in a marvellous, idyllic condition of peace and love and mutual respect and tolerance. They come to India because, when all is said and done, India did produce Mahatma Gandhi; and because they know that Gandhiji's spirit is not dead, even though it may seem to be almost suffocated.

Moreover, what they are saying to India is really this:

"You may have learnt some things we have not learnt; we, on our side, may have learnt through our harsh experiences certain things that you have not learnt. Let us sit down together and with God's help we may be given insight that will strengthen us to be truer, purer, more effective witnesses among men to what we believe is in fact God's truth."

Another line of doubt and hesitation is this: Gandhiji, we are reminded, strove to convert men and women to non-violence; yet, in spite of the fact that for a generation he has been the mightiest influence in India and one of the greatest men of the twentieth century, we see now that he has failed to convert more than a handful. Many use his name, but how few accept his principles! If, then, he who was so amazingly true to his own principles even in the details of his daily life, could not succeed, how can we who by comparison fall so miserably to live up to what we advocate, expect to succeed? To this surely the answer is that we cannot judge of success or failure.

Did Buddha succeed? Did Christ succeed? Yes, they succeeded in implanting imperishable truths in the hearts of men.

Most men have failed to live by those truths, but we all know from their example that men can live like that. We know that it is the good life. Gandhiji has

shown us again in this generation that man can live by those exalted principles. We shall not "succeed" where even Gandhiji has failed. But to retire out of the battle because the forces of untruth, of stupidity and selfishness and inertia seem to be too strong would be the most despicable behaviour. No man who claims to be a man will turn and run away simply because the battle of life is seen to have no easy end in victory or because he knows himself to be weak.

India is one of those more fortunate countries that has not seen for herself what modern war can do. It is true that millions starved in Bengal as a result of the last world war; but millions have starved again and again through the history of mankind; famine is one of the least of the horrors that modern war inflicts on the human race. The fiendish effects of modern war on the whole of man's life, not alone on his body, or his possessions, but above all on his mind and soul, and on the whole structure of human society, defy all description in language. It is literally true today that either we control this monster, the Power-State, that man in his fumbling progress has created, or all human life, including the villages of India, will perish off the globe. So there is no time to wait. It cannot be: and economic exploitation in this generation: then end the international anarchy; both must be tackled now. Some may be called to the one task, some to the other, some perhaps to both. And each must remember that the worker in the other sphere is a friend and colleague. For both alike are striving to realise peace on earth. And both, if they work well, will in the course of their labour find peace expanding in their own hearts.

The formation of a world government, provided it was not a world tyranny, would be a decisive step towards the abolition of war.

But the nations of the world will not be ready for world government till their minds are changed. Today, the inhabitants of foreign nations still more the governments of foreign States, are regarded by the vast majority of mankind with suspicion, dislike or fear; and too often the newspapers foster this attitude of mind day by day. Most men, even those who think they are educated, have little idea how much their thoughts on world politics are moulded by the daily dose from their daily paper. The newspapers generally both reflect and continue to foster the modern disease of nationalism, from which 99 per cent. and more of the educated citizens of the world chronically suffer. The machinery of the United Nations today, as of the League of Nations ten years ago, might well be adequate for the preservation of international peace if machinery were the only need. But it is not. Loyalty is the fundamental requirement; today loyalty to mankind still tarries.

At the inauguration of UNESCO, Mr. Attlee said: "Wars are made in the minds of men, and therefore in the minds of men peace must be prepared." And the minds of men are made up not only by the influences that come to them through daily intercourse and daily newspapers but also through those deeper, more penetrating influences that touch their hearts, their souls, what psychologists call the subconscious, which also includes the super-conscious.

It is a superficial judgment that sees humanity as a mass of innocent people wanting to be left in peace while a few war-mongers seize power and then force the peoples to fight their battles.

"Wanting to be left in peace" is a selfish desire. Selfishness cannot be the root of peace.

The wealthy miser who has contrived to pile up his millions by grinding the poor till they starve, wants to be left in peace to enjoy his ill-gotten gains. But he has been sowing the seeds of war all his life and he cannot complain if he finally reaps what he has sown.

The true man of peace is the man who has rooted out of his heart all fear, even the fear of death, all self-love, all anger and hatred and bitterness and jealousy, all the subtle forms that love of power takes, all pride and complacency. Those who are afraid of the power of Moscow or of the Anglo-American bloc, all those who hate capitalists or communists or Muslims or Sikhs or Hindus or Christians, all who fear that truth may be destroyed, all who live in fear lest they and their families become destitute, all these (and are we not all in one or other of these categories?) still have some of the seeds of war in their hearts.

The true peacemakers, the true *satyagrahis*, are those who spend their lives, and who devise means by which others may spend their lives, in loving service to other men: not in self-righteousness, hardly even in pity for suffering, but in pure love for their fellow-men, if possible even in pure love for their enemies. They must learn what it is to be loyal, first and foremost, to all mankind, seeing in all men, whatever the colour of their skin, whatever their crimes of exploitation or of narrow selfishness, members of one brotherhood, children of one spirit.

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That Foreign Capital

The New Review observes :

The Indian Parliament adjourned with a minimum record of 51 sittings for 42 bills covering a multitude of points. The Congress Working Committee went into recess after having postponed the linguistic adjustments of provinces to better times, and Pandit Nehru remained alone on the scene for his two leading declarations on foreign capital investments and on the Commonwealth Conference.

Why invite foreign capital? Because of the interdependence of independent nations, a fact which youthful patriots brush aside with impatience and which weighs heavily on all national leaders. Circumstances peculiar to India to-day aggravate what is a normal phenomenon. International business normally must accommodate international investments. In India adverse balance of payments with dollar countries, dollar deficit due to continued imports of foodstuffs, diffidence and inertia of Indian investors along with the necessity of industrializing the country make an appeal to foreign capitalists necessary and urgent.

The point can be made in simple style. India is short of food; she cannot get much from places like Burma or Indo-China; she has to find it in America. American traders want to be paid. India gets a few dollars for the little jute, etc., she sends out and she has to find the enormous balance some way or other. She has a stock of pounds in London, but owing to previous agreements with Britain, she cannot convert this sterling into dollars. She applied for a dollar loan from the International Monetary Fund, a pool to which most nations contributed. Last year she got one thousand lakhs of dollars but of that huge sum there remains not more than seventy-five lakhs which she husbands with care for future food purchases, and she is negotiating for further credit with the Fund Mission now at Delhi.

On the other hand, Indian industrialists and merchants produce little that could fetch dollars in the U.S.A. or in hard currency areas. Most citizens have been taxed dry, and those who managed to save something hoard it quietly in earthen pots or in iron safes. Indian investors have grown shy and sit up by the side of their hiding-places like moping bears. Industrial uncertainties, labour-capital frictions, political disharmony, fear of premature nationalisation of private enterprises, dread of heavier taxation have worked them into despondency. Were they in a better mood, they could start or enlarge factories and produce a surplus that could be exported. For the present they refuse to oblige the Government with their money since their patriotism begins at home.

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With no money at home and little chance of getting much more from international sources, the Government of India has no other alternative but to induce foreign private individuals and banks to invest their money in Indian undertakings. They would not have a free field before them. They were invited courteously but on business terms. They would receive no preferential treatment; they would have to take a majority of partners or share-holders among Indians, and provide technical training for Indian employees; in case of future nationalisation, they would receive fair and adequate compensation; they would not remit profits and capital abroad except according to India's control regulations on exchange.

British and American capitalists hurried to express their deep appreciation of the kind invitation but the Stock-exchanges soon registered a slight depreciation. Foreign investors understand the cautious policy which the Government of India announced; it is quite normal, though the treatment accorded to foreign capital varies from country to country, and there is no lack of moneyed people who take all sorts of risks.

Ireland

The same *Review* observes :

Eire walked out of the Commonwealth on Easter Monday. As she walked out, all the sisters big and small were there to wish her godspeed, and even Britannia with matronly courtesy had a message of 'greeting and all good wishes, ... holding in most grateful memory the services and sacrifices of the men and women who rendered gallant assistance to our cause and made a notable contribution to our victories.'

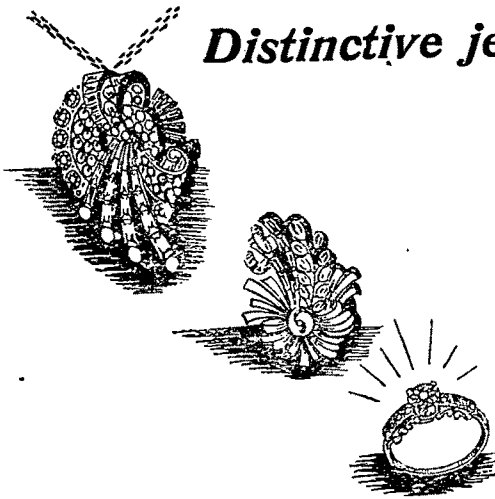
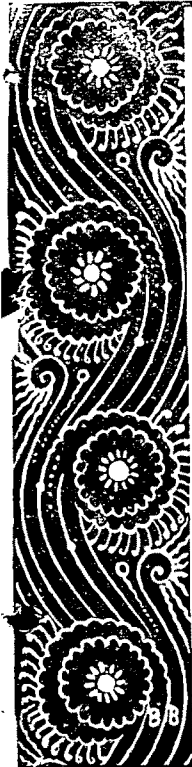
Big sister India was there too, looking wistfully at the little person who was so pertly walking out of the old home.

Eire had long hesitated on the threshold. She had used the Crown as 'an external agent', as 'a bridge with the world', over which Ulster might walk back to where she belonged. But Ulster had proved obdurate and the bridge was dismantled. Britannia looked on undismayed, and refused to change the name of North Ireland into Ulster; she will not meddle in Irish affairs. Whether the move of the new Republic of Ireland will be profitable to the Irish except as a gain in self-respect is not very clear. Mr. de Valera is not happy about it. Geographical situations and economic necessities impose an inescapable interdependence between nations which is becoming severer with modern developments. But the Irish are idealists and idealists are rare enough in our sorry world to command respect and sympathy.

The Western Question

Prabuddha Bharata writes editorially :

The picture of Aryan civilization which ancient Indian literature, Vedic and post-Vedic, presents to us across tens of centuries is the picture of a moving and enlarging society, constantly growing rich in colour and details as it gradually spreads itself over the vast sub-continent of India. It is a spiritual story more than it is political. Political methods are, of course, employed for expansion and for securing social cohesion by a rein of law. But politics is of secondary importance and is employed as the instrument of a spiritual principle which is broad enough, and which



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alone is capable, to circumvent the conflicts inherent in a social situation showing wide disparities. More often politics merely gathers the rich harvest of a spiritual sowing which has laid the basis of a psychological unity among the people. A spiritual unity becomes now and then translated into its equivalent political form. Political supremacy changes hands in later times and passes to new peoples who originally stood outside the Vedic tradition but later became its upholders. Consider for example the Satavahanas of the Andhra country who lead, from towards the close of the 1st century B.C., a fresh spiritual and political revival from the South when the North lay in ruins under the blows of foreigners like the Yavanas, the Sakas, and the Pahlavas. Again these Yavanas, Sakas, and Pahlavas themselves enter Aryan society later on as *Kshatriyas* (*vide Manusamhita*), and stand guard over Indian culture.

The spiritual character of the Indian expansion is reflected very clearly in the Epics.

India has always paid more attention to the spiritual side of life than to its political or economic aspects. But in society this spiritual emphasis has sometimes been carried to a point where it has meant the upsetting of a just balance between all its factors.

The Epics, however, give us the picture of a balanced polity, often very ideal it may be, where, though spirituality rules, real politics is never at a discount. Their emphasis on a spiritual conception of existence distinguishes these Epics clearly from similar literature that arose elsewhere. They are not mere hero-lauds that is to say, tales in praise of war-lords and military adventurers. The *Mahabharata* says of itself that it is not only a *dharmaśāstra* (a book of conduct for the achievement, in accordance with moral principles, of *artha*, power, and *kama*, pleasure) but also a *mokshaśāstra* (a gospel of Liberation). It, of course, also calls itself a *jaya* (a tale of victory), but the tale is one of religious conquest. The *Ramayana* is not only a *kavya* (poem) but also an *itihasa purana*, whose aim is to teach the fourfold aim of existence (*dharma*, *artha*, *kama*, and *moksha*) by means of apt stories and illustrations. The *Ramayana* primarily sets itself to the task of portraying ideal spiritual characters and an ideal civilization, *ramarajya*.

In none of the Epics war and strife occupy the centre of the picture. Can we say the same thing about similar compositions elsewhere?

Rama is no political celebrity seeking military glory by exterminating peoples and laying countries in ruins. He goes everywhere as a friend of the right-

eous and as a foe of the ungodly, the self-sufficient man. Rama's character symbolizes power subordinated to spirituality. He humbles the pride of Parashurama but makes friends with the Nishada chieftain and the Shabari woman whose acceptance of the spiritual idea makes them part of a common culture. He destroys Ravana but puts in his place his brother Vibhishana. It is not always easy to sift fact from fiction, but can an open mind which does not approach history with preconceived notions dismiss this vast literature as pure fabrication? Is not the broad underlying fact sufficiently clear? It is a natural habit with us to explain things we do not know in terms of those we do. It is inevitable; but it is also true that when facts demand of our intelligence that we rise above our habitual conceptions we fail very often to do so. Virochana regarded the Self he was taught as the body; it was a natural idea. But to Indra it became evident that such a notion could not be reconciled with the teachings he had received. (It is interesting to speculate if the story does not reflect actual history, at remote Vedic times, when masses of 'natural' men failed to grasp the pure spiritual idea and made a travesty of it.) Rama has for this reason been regarded as a political conqueror by 'enlightened' scholarship. At the back of all such erudition are certain assumptions which the present age has converted into dogmas not open to question. There can be nothing beyond touch and sight, and no aim that is not political or economic. All else is unreal and bunkum. This philosophy explains the marked and constant tendency, that has been a characteristic of modern thought since Renaissance, to interpret a developed civilization, in its true spiritual sense, in terms of human societies, early and late, which have not awakened or find difficult to awaken still to the root conceptions of civilization and culture. Modern civilization, it seems, is irrevocably committed to the Aristotelian proposition that man is a political animal. There is no evidence anywhere today of a superior conception ruling society. In a modern society all that floats to the top is usually the scum and not its cream.

The great diversity of social conditions and peoples, the references to the Vratyas, Vrishalas, Andhras, Pulindas, Nishadas, Nagas and so on and to new popular cults and beliefs that we find in later Vedic and post-Vedic literature, and all of which are included in a common society, tell unmistakably a long and exciting story of cultural integration.

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All this, however, is an inside story. A foreign question in the real sense of the term faced India in an acute form, in recorded history, when the Achaemenian power and, shortly after, the Greeks, extended their operations across the Hindukush to the plains of the Indus and even beyond. These impacts proved momentous for humanity, but not in a political sense. The impacts from abroad, like those within, led to cultural developments which were far-reaching in their consequences. At first the familiar and easy responses arise. We find, on the one hand, some evidence of mimesis of the dominant political power, for example, of the Greek, in particular, in material externals like iconography, coinage, political and administrative terminology and arrangements, but usually the response takes the form of a narrow reactionism in face of the political and cultural danger. Society becomes rigid, status of women changes for the worse, and the orthodox party tries to establish an exclusive, totalitarian cult of Vedic ritualism and elaborates rules of ceremonial purity. Slavery and serfdom clearly appear. All these consequences are largely due to fear and necessity. It is futile to attribute them entirely to selfishness. But man is always looking for a devil on which he can foist all blame and fix his fate.

The broad liberal spirit which had however gone deep into the roots of the society was far from dead.

It had already come to form a Tradition of pure spirituality. It is reflected in the imperishable Upanishadic story of Satyakama Jabala, whose mother, a maidservant at the houses of the wealthy, failed to answer her son's question about his parenthood. But this damaging truth about himself which Satyakama related to his teacher, far from proving a bar to his discipleship, lifted him to the level of a true Brahmin in the eyes of the teacher and qualified him for the highest Knowledge. In the Epics, the philosophers declare that in early days there was no distinction of caste (*brahman idam jagat*), and that caste arose later as a result of *karma*. The remark is significant as referring to an early homogeneous and simple society which became diversified and complex as time went on. Intermarriage and commensality still prevailed in epic times. Both the Epics and the early Buddhist literature say that character and not birth or ceremonial purity is the true test of caste.

The Birth of a Human Being

Prof. Dr. D. K. De writes in the *Cacutta Homoeopathic Medical College Magazine* :

A concentrated living force contained in a very minute creature within man comes out from its father and enters its mother's womb. Here by its action on maternal organism it sets up a reaction. The new environment within the maternal womb, reacts on the minute creature to struggle for its existence. The increased life-force liberated from the minute creature receives increased resistive forces of the environment. The environments try to overpower the acting life force but fails. The struggle for life of this little creature within the uncongenial environments becomes constantly increased day by day with the increased expansion of life-force and with the consequent increase and modifications of form.

For nearly ten four-weeks the minute living creature gradually develops into a large human body immersed in water within its mother's womb and cut off from all the outside world. Lungs were there but not to receive air to oxidise blood. Brain was there but it could not get any impression on it to receive any sensation or to send any impulse to any organ or to any part. Heart was there actively doing its work to circulate blood through all the organs and tissues of its body. There was life in it, still it should not be said a living human being as it cannot live by its own life-force. Its life is maintained by the impetus of the maternal blood circulating through the placenta which sets up foetal circulation and foetal heart beats. Receiving the impetus of the maternal blood the foetal heart works according to the needs of its own body. The life-force is maintained by the working of the heart and circulation of the blood up to the end of a certain period.

The birth of the foetus is attended with the mechanism of labour. A tremendous pressure is exerted by the maternal parts constituting the birth canal and the surrounding structures. Such an extraordinary effort is made by the mother to expell the foetus from the uterus that the mother becomes completely exhausted, and there may be damage to the maternal parts or the mother may collapse. But what happens to the foetus as it is born? The foetal skull becomes compressed the skull bones overlap one another and the soft parts of the foetus are compressed to a severe degree, but the foetus is born unwounded, and undamaged, without any signs of pain and injury. A healthy human baby is born in the world.

Now, air outside the maternal birth canal getting free access to the respiratory passage of the foetus inflates the lungs by its air pressure. The next moment there is reaction in the newborn baby. The elastic recoil of the lungs and contraction of chest, forces the newborn baby to expell air from the lungs which has been taken in as an inspiration through the voice box which becomes evident for the first time as a sound. Repeated and interrupted efforts to expel air forcibly from the lungs through the larynx produces notes which are identified as the newborn baby's cry.

Afterwards the newborn baby occasionally cries out. It relaxes its respiratory process, feeling some sort of unusual sensation within its body. The internal feeling originating in the blood circulation and referred to the stomach, makes the baby cry. This is nothing but one of the processes of forced expiration to help pulmonary circulation to draw more blood from the right ventricle into the lungs due to lowering of intrapulmonary air pressure. The volume of blood which has been sufficiently diminished through the excretory

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system causes some tissues and organs to receive diminished nourishment with consequent spasms in some organs, especially the stomach causing hunger, pain and resulting in crying. The baby is to be fed with sufficient fluid to maintain the normal volume of blood when again harmony in the circulation returns relieving the unusual but natural feeling originating in the stomach for the desire of liquid food.

Movements of limbs and contraction and relaxation muscles in a baby cannot be considered as voluntary the workings of the so-called voluntary muscles and other groups of muscles that are noticeable, may be due to the effects of reflex action within the body, but not due to external stimuli. The contractions and relaxations of all the muscles take place due to some internal feelings within the baby, which is directed by the invisible inner-self. The only changes that are noticeable within the baby are in the circulatory system and the respiratory system. So it can be said that all the movements of the baby are due to these changes in the blood circulation and respiration. But the flow of blood and activity of the heart also depends upon the changes in respiration. But it is also true that the flow of blood can alter the respiratory activity. In a baby whose mind is just growing, disturbances in the blood circulation can easily change the mode of respiratory activity to relieve some unusual feeling within its system.

Mind in a baby is just developing after its birth without any development of will-power. The movements of the baby are always involuntary. The so-called voluntary muscles are not yet under the control of will. The movements of the limbs and parts worked by their muscles depend on some internal changes within the muscles. These internal changes no doubt depend on the variations in the blood supply and the blood flow within these muscles. The inner-self of the baby feels these changes and directs the heart and lungs to work in such relation between them that the whole body can be kept in a healthy state, though the power of will has not yet developed in its mind.

The newborn baby, placed under new environments in the world, react to external stimulus by altering the process of blood circulation and respiration. These frequent reactions within the baby are necessary for its survival and growth. Gradually the baby is trained to co such acts by which it can develop its control over the process of respiration and guide the heart to do its work according to the needs of the different parts of the body. This training and controlling of the act of respiration, practised unconsciously leads to the development of will-power. Hereafter some muscles, which are repeatedly made to work by this change of respiratory activity, become the so-called voluntary muscles and those which are not noticed due to want knowledge as to their mode of action become the involuntary muscles.

Thus it is evident that the inner-self of the baby is trained by circumstantial influences to struggle for its own existence by adopting same processes to modify its respiratory activity for the harmonious working of the heart. The repetition of those processes teaches the baby to act with ease. Later on, this kind of repeated practice helps to develop the will-power to control some of the mechanisms of bodily activity. Forces of external environments repeatedly acting on the baby make impressions on the brain by developing sensory and motor areas and the controlling areas for application of will-power. But one who knows how to exert his will-power will be able to find out that he does so by controlling the process of respiration.

Environment is the greatest teacher to train the human being to develop its will-power.



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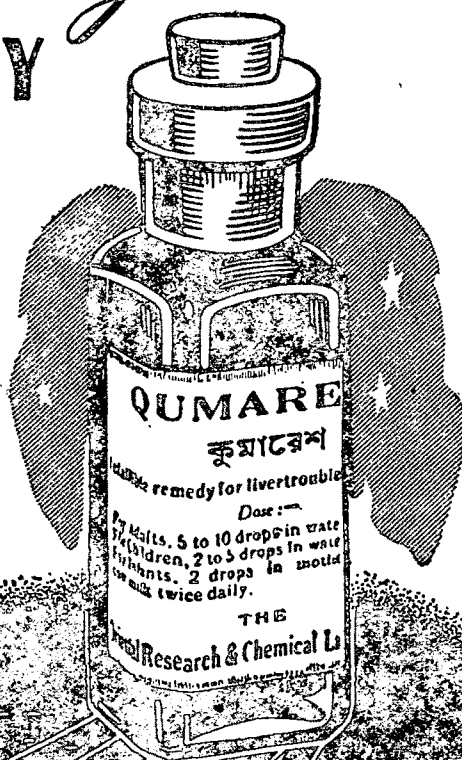
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FOREIGN PERIODICALS

Albert Einstein: Scientist and Seer

Leo Hirsch introduces Einstein to the reader a new light and gives a new interpretation his theory of Relativity in *Unity*, Jan.-Feb., 1949.

If we were to take a world poll today, asking: What is the greatest force in the world today?, it is my belief that an overwhelming majority of persons would say: it is atomic energy and the atomic bomb. The objective answer, however, would be that the greatest force in the world today is the power of ideas. Ideas rule and dominate our civilization today. For it was an idea born in the mind of the most brilliant scientist of our time that really brought the possibility of atomic energy into actuality and realization.

Forty years have passed since Einstein first enunciated the principle that mass is not unchangeable, that mass and energy are but different forms of the same basic stuff, that matter can be converted into energy, and, conversely, that energy can be converted into matter. He found the relationship to be such that it requires the conversion of only a very small amount of matter to form a tremendous amount of energy. If that energy could be liberated in a short space of time, the result would be a frightful explosion.

In the fall of 1939, when a second World War was inevitable, Einstein suggested to President Roosevelt the possibility of the atomic bomb. Roosevelt must have had great confidence in Einstein's theory and ability to have poured more than 2 billion dollars into an utterly untried project. Einstein's motive in projecting the atomic bomb was to convince Germany, in particular, that here was a weapon that they could not combat and he thought that it would be the means of preventing the impending world war. His intention was to hold a public demonstration of this cosmic power and invite the representatives of all the nations of the world to witness the preview and outcome. For it was neither his nor President Roosevelt's intention to first destroy Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and thus coerce the warring nations.

He was profoundly impressed that the world presentation of this power, when the atomic bomb was once achieved, would make all the nations realize that we have reached a point where we can no longer afford war. The world is too small, the new atomic power too great.

Einstein realized then as he realizes now that henceforth war means for all of us a ruthless, indiscriminate obliteration. He knows that Hiroshima and Nagasaki are but the initial, tame intimations of what war in the near future will mean.

Who is this man who has added so much to man's knowledge? It is Albert Einstein, the German Jew who has become an American citizen, a great moral leader as well as a seer of science. He escaped the terrors and acquisitions of the Hitler regime that burned his books, confiscated his property, and put a price on his head.

Shortly before World War II, he anticipated a bath of blood and fire. He firmly refused to lend himself to the military objectives of Nazism. War to him is a plague spot of civilization that must be abolished with the utmost speed. War seems to him senseless violence and a contemptible, degrading thing that solves nothing. He saw in Fascist totalitarianism a brute attack on civilization and advocated resistance to such an evil force.

He entered the temple of science not for the sake of science herself or because it offered the opportunity to display his particular genius, neither did he enter that temple to secure money returns; he entered so that he could bring more truth of the universe to his fellow men and to enable man to further harness the forces of nature to increase the general welfare. That is why we love him.

What led Einstein to the discovery of relativity? It was the new scientific method and technique which he helped to create—observation, experimentation, generalization, and interim report. The new science walks on two feet—theory and experiment, and continuous progress is made only by the use of both. To Einstein, research is search for more light and truth. He constantly searched for new ideas and examined the validity of those ideas already advanced. When he entered the scientific field, he realized there were certain accepted ideas, concepts, theories of the nineteenth century physicists. Their slogan was: *Ne plus ultra*—"No more beyond." Einstein soon found that beyond that slogan stretched out a vast sea, terrifying in its unimaginable depth. He not only doubted the validity of that slogan but immediately extended the range of his thought to include that unknown sea. He had the courage and audacity of a Columbus and the trained imagination that is able to take the creative leap into the unknown.

From the very start, Einstein was attracted to the ideas of the whole, the universal; and the individual parts only interested him to the extent that they aided in the harmony and synthesis of the whole. The central idea of Einstein's work, namely, the story of the atom, long occupied the minds of philosophers throughout the centuries. He simply coordinated the best in others and added to them his own contribution.

The positive contribution of Einstein is this: for the first time in scientific history he established mathematical proofs that gave validity to the conception of Relativity and thus opened the door to the release of atomic energy.

The end result of Einstein's thinking leaves the average person bewildered. Not because it is so vague and difficult but because it is as yet so unfamiliar. Of course, one must admit that, unless you are a mathematician and familiar with the intricacies of higher mathematics, you may not grasp the inner core of relativity. Newton's concepts so familiar to us now, were also incomprehensible to the non-scientific mind when first put forward. Relativity must be grasped slowly, imaginatively until what is seen only in flashes becomes a positive part of our understanding. Patience, time, and familiarity will confer understanding. Einstein firmly believed that "a new type of thinking is essential if mankind is to survive and move to ever higher levels of living." Einstein's theory has certainly enabled us to climb one rung higher in the ladder of thinking and living.

Einstein has time and again declared that through his studies of science, he has achieved an unconquerable faith in the spiritual forces operating in the universe and in man; that, wherever he penetrated, he found Law and Order, and therefore he believes that the universe is friendly to man and not the result of chance; that evolution is not a gamble, because, before certain elements of life come to a dead end, there are certain other superior elements so vital that they persist and carry evolution to ever higher reaches of perfection.

While his mathematical equations resulted in the discovery of the tremendous power in the atom, they at the same time resulted in the knowledge that the *human soul* possesses even greater power to recreate the universe. The human soul can only be released and express its great powers in the synthesis of fine human relationships.

It is not a politician, nor a financier, nor a minister of religion, but Einstein who says: "In the light of new knowledge, a world authority and an eventual world state are not just *desirable* in the name of brotherhood, they are *necessary* for survival—otherwise we face disaster."


What is Einstein's religious belief and outlook? It certainly is not dogmatism or religiosity. Are religion and science irreconcilable to him? To the second question, his answer is a definite no. He says, however, that a great deal depends upon what is meant by science and religion. As I interpret Einstein, religious goals to him are beyond science. For him, religion deals primarily with the ethical goals of human relationships. He believes that religious influence depends on its ability to divest itself of superstition, dogmas, and mythology. When religion accomplishes that goal, then religion and science

stand on common ground. His attitude and duty that it must be in harmony with the good and true and that it must be integrated with the order in the universe.

Einstein has given up the idea of a personal God. What does he give us back to take its place? Confidence in man, in religious faith, and in ethical conduct. Is there anything left in the universe which corresponds with the idea of divinity? Yes, unification of the manifold, grandeur of reason, which in its profoundest aspect is ethical conduct.

The god of Einstein is a composite of faith in spiritual universe, grandeur of reason, and ethical conduct. Is it possible to build a religion on this concept? I would designate it as an Ethical Humanism. If priests must become teachers of reason and ethics, as help to develop man's spiritual resources. The function of its prophets is to be exemplars of the ethical ideal and teachers of a living, acting righteousness. Such a religion will be beyond all selfish ambitions. Such a religion must be in search of what is enduring in life. Does theology endure? Does speculation endure? Much more enduring are mercy, justice, and humility. When these are ignored, everything cracks up. Judaism, Mohammedanism, and Christianity all seem to be cracking up in Palestine. As the world is today, with its undeveloped human nature, humanity itself is cracking up. Mercy, pity, peace, and love all pray for the emergence of a New World, a better world, with man as its child and core, integrating himself with the spiritual force in the universe. All of which is to say that the universe and its inhabitant, man, have a purpose, a purpose that far transcends anything that we humans as yet know or can understand or believe.

The requirements of Einstein's religion are: (1) Rise above dogmatism and ceremonialism. (2) Search for what is enduring and eternal. (3) Let man build a community and a social order in which these values are dominant.



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Abraham Lincoln

Alfred Stiernotte pays a glorious tribute in honour of Abraham Lincoln in *Unity*, Jan.-Feb. 1949:

Every country has its own national heroes. England speaks of her Cromwell, Shakespeare, William Pitt, Byron, Wellington, Gladstone, and perhaps Churchill. Canada may speak of Papineau and McKenzie who lay their struggle for freedom brought about the rebellion of 1837, which finally led to Confederation; or of George Brown and Sir John A. MacDonald reaching a deadlock over their policies and then sacrificing their partisan opinions to cement the foundations of Canadian confederation.

But there are times when national heroes break the bounds of their own nation, of their own culture. There are times when they achieve a greatness which transcends the limitations of their country, and by the strength of their peculiar genius, they are able to raise the souls of weary generations, not only in their nation, but in other nations as well. Such men, though born in one nation, are not the possession of that nation alone. They are summit characters, they represent the height of the human spirit, they belong to the whole of mankind.

Such a man was Abraham Lincoln. He did not rise from the great and mighty of this earth. He perpetuates the saga of all those great men born in humble circumstances, who have made their way in the world in spite of these humble surroundings, in spite of all obstacles.

Lincoln was born in a log cabin in Kentucky in 1809. He was poor enough to suit any democrat of any nation. He had the barest rudiments of learning. He educated himself by reading many English classics, including the Bible, Shakespeare, and Aesop's Fables. By all standards, he was a man of the people. He lived with them, knew their trials, knew their daily work, knew their hopes and fears, knew the still sad music of humanity.

There was always a robust rusticity about him coming from his daily contact with elemental things. Fame and power never took away from him his belief in the common people, his great love for humanity, his mercy and gentleness for those in suffering.

We see him in his early years as a rail-splitter, with his gaunt and bony frame wielding tremendous blows to the work in hand. Then we see him an obscure lawyer and a Whig member of the Illinois legislature. There was then no sign of his future greatness. As he approached the age of fifty, he was little known except as a local politician in Illinois.

Then a tremendous issue arose, an issue tearing the country apart between North and South, an issue which thrust Lincoln into the forefront of public office, and carried him to the highest position in the land.

This terrible issue was, as you know, the slavery question. The Northern states were opposed to slavery, while the Southern states were for it. As states were added to the Union, the question arose as to whether these states would be free states or slave-owning states. If you were to look at a map of the United States just before the Civil War you would see in New England and around the Great Lakes a small area of free states. But all around them, extending to the South, and to the West, and to the North were slave-owning states.

In his famous debates with Douglas, Lincoln made his memorable speeches, and the following words have come down to challenge us in our own day, as they were a challenge in his:

"A house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe this government cannot endure permanently, half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing, or all the other."

How true these words are! And the house of which Lincoln spoke may be anything. It may be a society, a party, a church; and it may be the whole wide world. This world of ours, in this day and age, cannot remain half slave and half free. Let us resolve that the whole world will become free, and will no longer remain half slave and half free.

Lincoln attempted to settle the issue between North and South by peaceful means. He was not an extreme abolitionist like Garrison. He was willing to temporize. But when the Republican Party carried him to the White House and he became the leader of the nation, the issue was thrust upon him and he had no recourse but war.

He knew all the tragedy of this conflict between brothers of one nation. He endured all the sufferings which such a civil war always entails. But out of the tragedy of this Civil War, there came things of beauty and power.

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The New England literary men were inclined to be pedantic. To them, Lincoln was a mere illiterate son of the plains and the mountains, an obscure figure not deserving even their haughty glances. Walt Whitman was later to suffer the same treatment at the hands of that supercilious critic, Stedman. But in spite of all the erudition and the cloistered learning of these New England poets, and in spite of all their sneers at Lincoln, they could never produce a gem like the Gettysburg address, which will last as long as the English language is spoken on this earth. On this battlefield, Lincoln was able to compress into a few simple words the beauty and the tragedy of the Civil War.

In his second inaugural address, as the war was drawing to a close, he spoke these words: "With malice toward none...let us strive on to finish the work, we are in...to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace, among ourselves, and with all nations." What generosity and mercy are implied in his words: "With malice toward none"!

Lincoln was continuing this work of mercy, he was preparing for a peace of reconciliation when on April 15th, 1865, he was foully murdered by John Wilkes Booth. And thus came the end of that great, gaunt, gigantic figure, incarnating in itself so much of the virtues of the common people. But the impact of Lincoln's personality did not come to an end. The fact of his death threw light on his life. It threw the admiration and adoration of the world on Abraham Lincoln.

Walt Whitman cried his soul out in many of his poems and writings, as he bemoaned the loss of his captain, Lincoln. Walt Whitman and Abraham Lincoln were men of the same mold. They were men of the people, with the same instinctive faith in the courage and the nobility of the people. They were free from all the subtlety of pedantic intellectuals. The middle class intellectuals think that they will lead the people. They think that the working people are a vast, inchoate,

unthinking mass, requiring their special leadership and administration to achieve their goals.

Not so with Lincoln and Walt Whitman. They knew the intrinsic falsity of pedantic intellectualism. They had a profound faith in the potentialities of the common people. Of the struggles and trials of the common people, arise great literature, and great art; men who are able to symbolize, to dramatize their person, the conflicts and tragedies of millions.

Such a man was Lincoln. And this is how Walt Whitman speaks of his death:

I repeat it—the grand deaths of the race, the dramatic deaths of every nationality—are its most important inheritance-value, in some respect beyond its literature and art. Is not here indeed the point and the tragedy? the famous pieces of the Grecian drama—and all masters? Why if the old Greeks had had no man what trilogies of plays—what epics—would have made out of him!—When centuries hence—leading historians and dramatists seek for some page, some special event, incisive enough to mark the cut and mnemonize, this turbulent nineteenth century, something to close that gorgeous process of European feudalism, with all its pomp and caste-pretensions—something to identify with terrible identification the far the greatest revolutionary step in the history of the United States—the absolute extirpation and eradication of slavery from the States—those historians will seek for any point to serve more thoroughly their purpose than Abraham Lincoln's death.

Dear to the Muse—thrice dear to the Nation—the whole human race—precious to this Union—precious to Democracy—unspeakably and forever precious—first great Martyr Chief.